

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

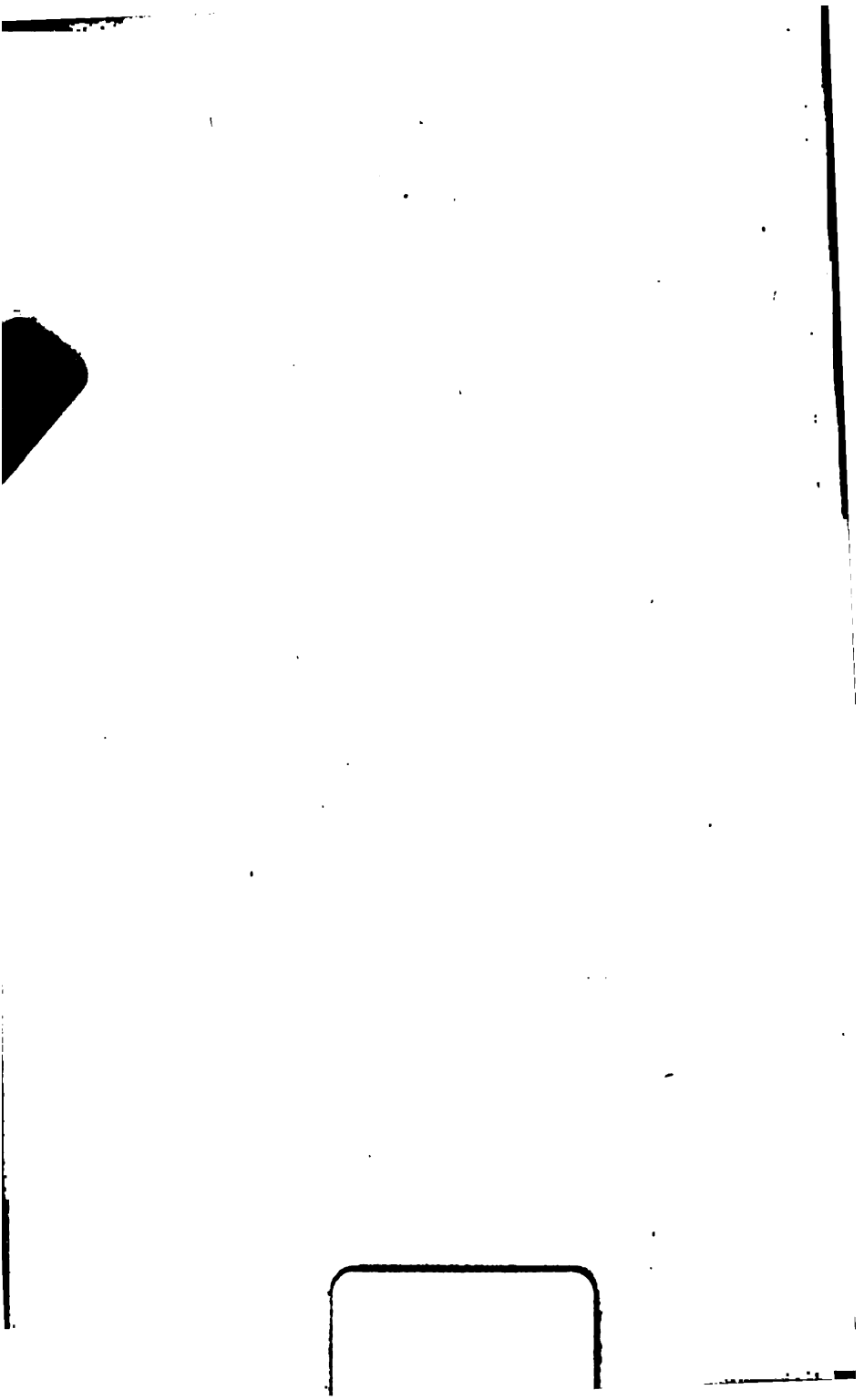
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

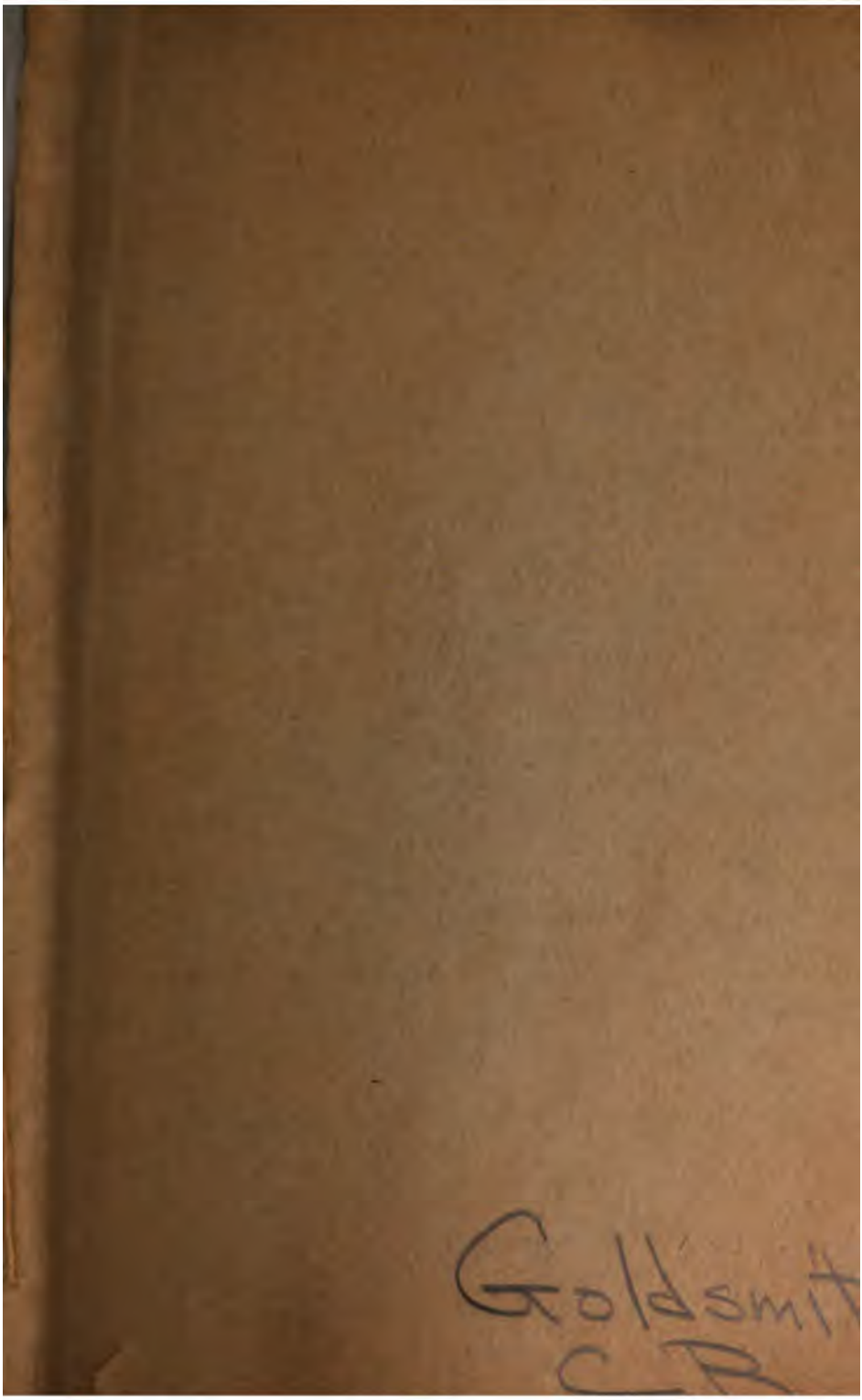
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

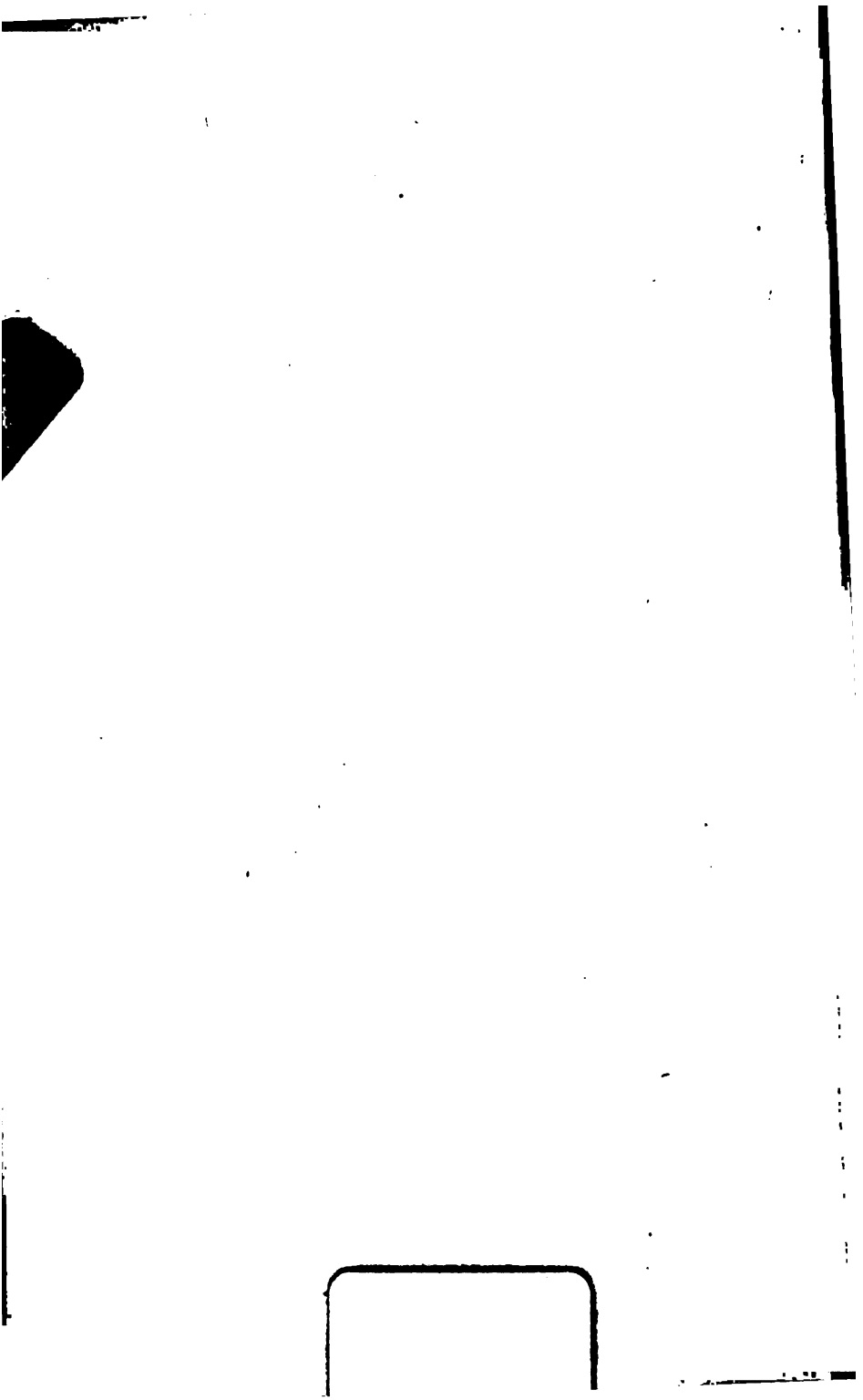
About Google Book Search

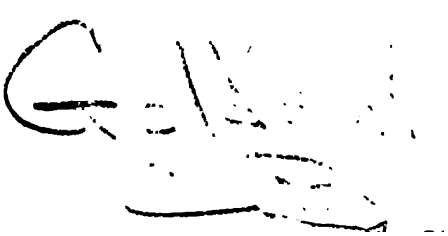
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 07587085 1




Goldsmit

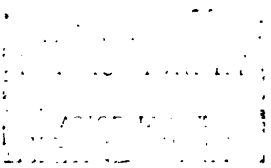


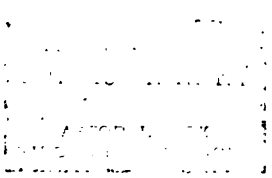




Thos. McGeorge

Incumpbell







OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE

DEATH OF GEORGE THE SE[illegible]

BY OLIVER GOLDSM[illegible]

WITH A

CONTINUATION

TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF

GEORGE THE FOURTH,

IN

1825.

BY JOHN WATKINS, LL.D.

LONDON:

Printed at the Caxton Press,

BY HENRY FISHER, SON, AND CO.

PUBLISHED AT 38, NEWGATE-STREET, AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1825.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
157A
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

PREFACE.

THE History of England, by Dr. Goldsmith, has so long and fully secured a fixed reputation, by the perspicuity of the style, and the fidelity of the narrative, that any observations upon its peculiar merits would be superfluous. Though confessedly nothing more than a compendium of our national annals, it exhibits all the prominent events necessary to be known, correctly, and delineates the characters that pass under review with impartiality. The plan of the work, however, has been so clearly explained by the author himself, that it would be unjust to state it in any other language than his own.

"To attain the greatest number of advantages with the fewest inconveniences, is all that can be attained in an abridgment, the very name of which implies imperfection. It will be sufficient, therefore, to satisfy the writer's wishes, if the present work be found a plain, unaffected, narrative of facts, with just ornament enough to keep attention awake, and with reflection barely sufficient to set the reader upon thinking. Very moderate abilities were equal to such an undertaking; and it is hoped the performance will satisfy such as take up books to be informed or amused, without much considering who the writer is, or envying him any success he may have had in a former compilation.

"As the present publication is designed for the benefit of those who intend to lay a foundation for future study, or desire to refresh their memories upon the old, or who think a moderate share of history sufficient for the purposes of life, recourse has been had only to those authors which are best known, and those facts only have been selected, which are allowed on all hands to be true. Were an epitome of history the field for displaying erudition, the author could shew that he has read many books which others have neglected, and that he also could advance many anecdotes which are at present very little known. But it must be remembered, that all those minute recoveries could be inserted, only to the exclusion of more material facts, which it would be unpardonable to omit. He foregoes, therefore, the petty ambition of being thought a reader of forgotten books; his aim being, not to add to our present stock of history, but to contract it.

"The books which have been used in this present abridgment, are chiefly Rapin, Carte, Smollet, and Hume. They have each their peculiar admirers, in proportion as the reader is studious of historical antiquities, fond of minute anecdote, a warm partisan, or a deliberate reasoner. Of these I have particularly taken Hume for my guide, as far as he goes; and it is but justice to say, that wherever I was obliged to abridge his work, I did it with reluctance, as I scarce cut out a line that did not contain a beauty.

"But though I must warmly subscribe to the learning, elegance, and depth, of Mr. Hume's history, yet I cannot entirely acquiesce in his principles. With regard to religion, he seems desirous of playing a double part, of appearing to some readers as if he reverenced it, and to others as if he ridiculed it. He seems sensible of the political necessity of religion in every state; but, at the same time, he would every where insinuate that it owes its authority to no higher an origin. Thus he weakens its influence, while he contends for its utility, and vainly hopes, that while free-thinkers shall applaud his scepticism, real believers will reverence him for his zeal.

"In his opinions respecting government, perhaps, also, he may be sometimes reprehensible; but in a country like ours, where mutual contention contributes to the security of the constitution, it will be impossible for an historian, who attempts to have any opinion, to satisfy all parties. It is not yet decided in politics, whether the diminution of kingly power in England, tends to increase the happiness or the freedom of the people. For my own part, far from seeing the bad effects of the tyranny of the great, in those republican states that pretend to be free, I cannot help wishing that our monarchs may still be allowed to enjoy the power of controlling the encroachments of the great at home. A king may easily be restrained from doing wrong, as he is but one man; but if a number of the great are permitted to divide all authority, who can punish them if they deserve it? Upon this principle, therefore, and not from any empty notion of divine or hereditary right, some may think I have leaned towards monarchy. But, as in the things I have hitherto written, I have neither allured the vanity of the great by flattery, nor satisfied the malignity of the vulgar by scandal, as I have endeavoured to get an honest reputation by liberal pursuits, it is hoped the reader will admit my impartiality."

Of the continuation of the history, it must suffice to say, that the Editor has, throughout, been careful to keep his prototype in view, by a studious regard to simplicity of diction, and candour of sentiment. He has avoided all affectation of ornament, that he might compress as much fact as possible within a limited space, and he has abstained from political reflections, that he might not, while traversing ground covered with latent fire, lose his own temper, and mislead instead of informing the reader.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Of the BRITONS *before the Arrival of the* ROMANS.

IT is fortunate for mankind, that those periods of history which are the least serviceable, are the least known. It has been the study of many learned men to rescue from obscurity, and throw light upon, those early ages when the Britons were wholly barbarous, and their country uncultivated. But these researches have generally terminated in conjecture; so that whence Britain was at first peopled, or took its name, is still uncertain. The variety of opinions upon this head serve to prove the futility of all.

It will, therefore, be sufficient to observe, that this beautiful island, by some thought the largest in the world, was called Britannia by the Romans long before the time of Cæsar. It is supposed that this name was originally given to it by the merchants, who resorted hither from the continent. These called the inhabitants by one common name of Briths, from the custom among the natives of painting their naked bodies and small shields with an azure blue, which in the language of the country was called *brith*, and which served to distinguish them from those strangers who came among them for the purpose of trade or alliance.

The Britons were very little known to the rest of the world before the time of the Romans. The coasts opposite Gaul, indeed, were frequented by merchants who traded thither for such commodities as the natives were able to produce. These, it is thought, after a time, possessed themselves of all the maritime places where they had at first been permitted to reside. There, finding the country fertile, and commodiously situated for trade, they settled upon the sea-side, and introduced the practice of agriculture. But it was very different with the inland inhabitants of the country, who considered themselves as the lawful possessors of the soil. These avoided all correspondence with the new-comers, whom they considered as intruders upon their property.

The inland inhabitants are represented as extremely numerous, living in cottages thatched with straw, and feeding large herds of cattle. Their houses were scattered all over the country, without observance of order or distance, being placed at smaller or greater intervals, as they were invited by the fertility of the soil, or the convenience of wood and water. They lived mostly upon milk, or flesh procured by the chase. What clothes they wore to cover any part of their bodies, were usually the skins of beasts; but much of the body (as the arms, legs, and thighs) was left naked, and those parts were usually painted blue. Their hair, which was long, flowed down upon their backs and shoulders, while their beards were kept close shaven, except upon the upper lip, where it was suffered to grow. The dress of savage nations is every where pretty much the same, being calculated rather to inspire terror than to excite love or respect.

The commodities exported from Britain were chiefly hides and tin. Th metal was then thought peculiar to the island, and was in much reque abroad, both in nearer and remoter regions. Some silver mines were al known, but not in common use, as the inhabitants had little knowledge how dig, refine, or improve them. Pearls also were frequently found on the shores, but neither clear nor coloured like the oriental, and therefore in great esteem among strangers. They had little iron; and what they ha was used either for arms, or for rings, a sort of money current among then They had brass money also; but this was all brought from abroad.

Their language, customs, religion, and government, were generally th same with those of the Gauls, their neighbours of the continent. As their government, it consisted of several small principalities, each unde its respective leader; and this seems to be the earliest mode of dominio with which mankind is acquainted, and deduced from the natural privilege of paternal authority. Whether these small principalities descended b succession, or the princes were elected in consequence of the advantage of age, wisdom, or valour in their families, is not recorded. Upon great c uncommon dangers, a commander in chief was chosen by common consent, i a general assembly; and to him was committed the conduct of the gener interest, the power of making peace, or leading to war. In the choice of person to such power, it is easy to suppose that unanimity could not alway be found; whence it often happened, that the separate tribes were defeate one after the other, before they could unite under a single leader for thei mutual safety.

Their forces consisted chiefly of foot, and yet they could bring a consider able number of horse into the field upon great occasions. They likewis used chariots in battle, which, with short scythes fastened to the ends of th axle-trees, inflicted desperate wounds, spreading terror and devastatio wheresoever they drove. Nor, while the chariots were thus destroying were the warriors who conducted them unemployed. These darted thei javelins against the enemy, ran along the beam, leaped on the ground resumed their seat, stopped or turned their horses at full speed, and some times cunningly retreated to draw the enemy into confusion. Nothing ca be more terrible than the idea of a charioteer thus driving furiously in th midst of dangers; but these machines seem to have been more dreadful tha dangerous; for they were quickly laid aside when this brave people wa instructed in the more regular arts of war.

The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerable parts of thei government; and the Druids, who were the guardians of it, possessed grea authority among them. These endeavoured to impress the minds of th people with an opinion of their skill in the arts of divination; they offere sacrifices in public and private, and pretended to explain the immediate wil of Heaven. No species of superstition was ever more horrible than theirs Besides the severe penalties which they were permitted to inflict in thi world, they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls, and thus extende their authority as far as the fears of their votaries. They sacrificed humar victims, which they burned in large wicker idols, made so capacious as t contain a multitude of persons at once, who were thus consumed together. The female Druids plunged their knives into the breasts of the prisoner taken in war, and prophesied from the manner in which the blood happened to stream from the wound. Their altars consisted of four broad stones, three set edgewise, and the fourth at top, many of which remain to this day. To these rites, tending to impress ignorance with awe, they added the austerity of their manners, and the simplicity of their lives. They lived in woods, caves, and hollow trees; their food was acorns and berries, and their drink water: by these arts they were not only respected, but almost adored by the people. They were admired not only for knowing more than other men, but for despising what all others valued and pursued. Hence they were patiently permitted to punish and correct crimes from which they themselves were supposed to be wholly free; and their authority was so great, that not only the property but also the lives of the people were entirely at their disposal. No laws were instituted by the princes, or common assemblies, without their

advice and approbation; no person was punished by bonds or death, without their passing sentence; no plunder taken in war was used by the captor, until the Druids determined what part they should seclude for themselves.

It may be easily supposed that the manners of the people took a tincture from the discipline of their teachers. Their lives were simple, but they were marked with cruelty and fierceness; their courage was great, but neither dignified by mercy nor by perseverance. In short, to have a just idea of what the Britons then were, we have only to turn to the savage nations which still subsist in primæval rudeness. Temperate rather from necessity than choice; patient of fatigue, yet inconstant in attachment; bold, improvident, and rapacious:—such is the picture of savage life at present, and such it appears to have been from the beginning. Little entertainment, therefore, can be expected from the accounts of a nation thus circumstanced; nor can its transactions come properly under the notice of an historian, since they are too minutely divided to be exhibited at one view; the actors are too barbarous to interest the reader; and no skill can be shewn in developing the motives and counsels of a people chiefly actuated by sudden and tumultuary gusts of passion.

CHAP. II.

From the DESCENT *of* JULIUS CÆSAR, *to the relinquishing of the Island by the* ROMANS.

THE Britons, in the rude and barbarous state in which we have just described them, seemed to stand in need of more polished instructors; and indeed whatever evils may attend the conquest of heroes, their success has generally produced one good effect, in disseminating the arts of refinement and humanity. It ever happens, when a barbarous nation is conquered by another more advanced in the arts of peace, that it gains in elegance a recompense for what it loses in liberty. The Britons had long remained in this rude but independent state, when Cæsar having overrun Gaul with his victories, and willing still farther to extend his fame, determined upon the conquest of a country that seemed to promise an easy triumph. He was allured neither by the riches nor by the renown of the inhabitants; but, being ambitious rather of splendid than of useful conquests, he was willing to carry the Roman arms into a country, the remote situation of which would add seeming difficulty to the enterprise, and consequently produce an increase of reputation. His pretence was, to punish these islanders for having sent succours to the Gauls while he waged war against that nation, as well as for granting an asylum to such of the enemy as had sought protection from his resentment. The natives, informed of his intention, were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavoured to appease him by submission. He received their ambassadors with great complacency, and having exhorted them to continue stedfast in the same sentiments, in the mean time made preparations for the execution of his design. When the troops destined for the expedition were embarked, he set sail for Britain about midnight, and the next morning arrived on the coast near Dover, where he saw the rocks and cliffs covered with armed men to oppose his landing.

Finding it impracticable to gain the shore where he first intended, from the agitation of the sea and impending mountains, he resolved to choose a landing-place of greater security. [A. C. 55.] The place he chose was about eight miles farther on, (some suppose at Deal,) where an inclining shore and a level country invited his attempts. The poor, naked, ill-armed Britons, we may well suppose, were but an unequal match for the disciplined Romans, who had before conquered Gaul, and afterwards became the conquerors of the world. However, they made a brave opposition against the veteran army; the conflicts between them were fierce, the losses mutual, and the success various. The Britons had chosen Cassibelaunus for their commander in chief; but the petty princes under his command, either desiring his station, or suspecting his fidelity, threw off their allegiance. Some of them fled with

their forces into the internal parts of the kingdom; others submitted to Cæsar: till at length Cassibelaunus himself, weakened by so many desertions, resolved upon making what terms he was able, while he yet had power to keep the field. The conditions offered by Cæsar, and accepted by him, were, that he should send to the continent double the number of hostages at first demanded, and that he should acknowledge subjection to the Romans.

The Romans were pleased with the name of this new and remote conquest, and the senate decreed a supplication of twenty days, in consequence of their general's success. Having, therefore, in this manner rather discovered than subdued the southern parts of the island, Cæsar returned into Gaul with his forces, and left the Britons to enjoy their customs, religion, and laws. But the inhabitants, thus relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations; and only two of their states sent over hostages according to the treaty. Cæsar, it is likely, was not much displeased at the omission, as it furnished him with a pretext of visiting the island once more, and completing a conquest which he had only begun.

Accordingly, the ensuing spring he set sail for Britain with eight hundred ships; and, arriving at the place of his former descent, he landed without opposition. The islanders, being apprised of his invasion, had assembled an army, and marched down to the sea-side to oppose him; but, seeing the number of his forces, and the whole sea, as it were, covered with his shipping, they were struck with consternation, and retired to their places of security. The Romans, however, pursued them to their retreats, until at last common danger induced these poor barbarians to forget their former dissensions, and to unite their whole strength for the mutual defence of their liberty and possessions. Cassibelaunus was chosen to conduct the common cause; and for some time he harassed the Romans in their march, and revived the desponding hopes of his countrymen. But no opposition that undisciplined strength could make was able to repress the vigour and intrepidity of Cæsar. He discomfited the Britons in every action; he advanced into the country, passed the Thames in the face of the enemy, took and burned the capital city of Cassibelaunus, established his ally Mandubratius as sovereign of the Trinobantes; and, having obliged the inhabitants to make new submissions, he again returned with his army into Gaul, having made himself rather the nominal than the real possessor of the island.

Whatever the stipulated tribute might have been, it is more than probable, as there was no authority left to exact it, that it was but indifferently paid. Upon the accession of Augustus, that emperor had formed a design of visiting Britain, but was diverted from it by an unexpected revolt of the Pannonians. Some years after, he resumed his design; but, being met in his way by the British ambassadors, who promised the accustomed tribute, and made the usual submissions, he desisted from his intention. The year following, finding them remiss in their supplies, and untrue to their former professions, he once more prepared for the invasion of the country; but a well-timed embassy again averted his indignation, and the submissions he received seemed to satisfy his resentment: upon his death-bed he appeared sensible of the overgrown extent of the Roman empire, and recommended it to his successors never to enlarge their territories.

Tiberius followed the maxims of Augustus, and, wisely judging the empire already too extensive, made no attempt upon Britain. Some Roman soldiers having been wrecked on the British coast, the inhabitants not only assisted them with the greatest humanity, but sent them in safety back to their general. In consequence of these friendly dispositions, a constant intercourse of good offices subsisted between the two nations; the principal British nobility resorted to Rome, and many received their education there.

From that time the Britons began to improve in all the arts which contribute to the advancement of human nature. The first art which a savage people is generally taught by politer neighbours, is that of war. The Britons thenceforward, though not wholly addicted to the Roman method of fighting, nevertheless adopted several of their improvements, as well in their arms as in their arrangement in the field. Their ferocity to strangers, for which they had been always remarkable, was mitigated; and they began to permit an

intercourse of commerce, even in the internal parts of the country. They still, however, continued to live as herdsmen and hunters; a manifest proof that the country was yet but thinly inhabited. A nation of hunters can never be populous, as their subsistence is necessarily diffused over a large tract of country, while the husbandman converts every part of nature to human use, and flourishes most by the vicinity of those whom he is to support.

The wild extravagances of Caligula, by which he threatened Britain with an invasion, served rather to expose him to ridicule, than the island to danger. The Britons, therefore, for almost a century, enjoyed their liberty unmolested, till at length the Romans, in the reign of Claudius, began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. The expedition for this purpose was conducted in the beginning by Plautius and other commanders, with that success which usually attended the Roman arms.

Claudius himself, finding affairs sufficiently prepared for his reception, [A. D. 43.] made a journey thither, and received the submission of such states as, living by commerce, were willing to purchase tranquillity at the expense of freedom. It is true, that many of the inland provinces preferred their native simplicity to imported elegance, and, rather than bow their necks to the Roman yoke, offered their bosoms to the sword. But the southern coast, with all the adjacent inland country, was seized by the conquerors, who secured the possession by fortifying camps, building fortresses, and planting colonies. The other parts of the country either thought themselves in no danger, or continued patient spectators of the approaching devastation.

Caractacus was the first who seemed willing, by a vigorous effort, to rescue his country, and repel its insulting and rapacious conquerors. The venality and corruption of the Roman prætors and officers, who were appointed to levy the contributions in Britain, served to excite the indignation of the natives, and give spirit to his attempts. This rude soldier, though with inferior forces, continued, for about the space of nine years, to oppose and harass the Romans; so that at length Ostorius Scapula was sent over to command their armies. He was more successful than his predecessors. He advanced the Roman conquest over Britain, pierced the country of the Silures, a warlike nation along the banks of the Severn, and at length came up with Caractacus, [A. D. 51.] who had taken possession of a very advantageous post upon an inaccessible mountain, washed by a deep and rapid stream. The unfortunate British general, when he saw the enemy approaching, drew up his army, composed of different tribes, and, going from rank to rank, exhorted them to strike the last blow for liberty, safety, and life. To these exhortations his soldiers replied with shouts of determined valour. But what could undisciplined bravery avail against the attack of an army skilled in all the arts of war, and inspired by a long train of conquests? The Britons were, after an obstinate resistance, totally routed; and a few days after Caractacus himself was delivered up to the conquerors by Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, with whom he had taken refuge. The capture of this general was received with such joy at Rome, that Claudius commanded that he should be brought from Britain, in order to be exhibited as a spectacle to the Roman people. Accordingly, on the day appointed for that purpose, the emperor, ascending his throne, ordered the captives, and Caractacus among the number, to be brought into his presence. The vassals of the British king, with the spoils taken in war, were first brought forward; these were followed by his family, who, with abject lamentations, were seen to implore for mercy. Last of all came Caractacus, with an undaunted air and a dignified aspect. He appeared no way dejected at the amazing concourse of spectators that were gathered upon this occasion, but, casting his eyes on the splendours that surrounded him, "Alas!" cried he, "how is it possible that a people possessed of such magnificence at home, could envy me an humble cottage in Britain?" When brought into the emperor's presence, he is said to have addressed him in the following manner: "Had my moderation been equal to my birth and fortune, I had arrived in this city not as a captive but as a friend. But my present misfortunes redound as much to your honour as to my disgrace; and the obstinacy of my opposition serves to increase the splendour of your victory. Had I surrendered myself in the beginning of the

magnificence. Mankind, as if by a general consent, rose up to vindicat their natural freedom; almost every nation asserting that independence which they had been long so unjustly deprived. It was in these turbulen times that the emperors found themselves obliged to recruit their legion from the troops that were placed to defend the frontier provinces. When th heart of the empire was contended for, it was not much considered in wha manner the extremities were to be defended. In this manner the more distan parts of the empire were frequently left without a guard; and the weaknes of the government there frequently excited fresh insurrections among th natives. These, with a thousand other calamities, daily grew greater; and as the enemies of the Roman people increased, their own dissensions amon each other seemed to increase in the same proportion.

During these struggles, the British youth were frequently drawn away int Gaul, to give ineffectual succour to the various contenders for the empire who, failing in every attempt, only left the name of tyrants behind them. I the mean time, as the Roman forces decreased in Britain, the Picts and Scot continued still more boldly to infest the northern parts; and crossing the friths which the Romans could not guard, in little wicker boats covered with leather filled the country, wherever they came, with slaughter and consternation When repulsed by superior numbers, as was at first always the case, the retired with the spoil, and watched for the next opportunity of invasion, whe the Romans were drawn into the remoter parts of the island.

These enterprises were often repeated, and as often repressed, but still wit diminishing vigour on the side of the defendants. The southern natives bein accustomed to have recourse to Rome, as well for protection as for laws made supplications to the emperors, and had one legion sent over for thei defence. This relief was, in the beginning, attended with the desired effect the barbarous invaders were driven back to their native deserts and moun tains. They returned, however, when the Roman forces were withdrawn and although they were again repulsed by the assistance of a legion onc more sent from Rome, yet they too well perceived the weakness of the enemy and their own superior force.

At length, in the reign of Valentinian the Younger, the empire of Rom began to tremble for its capital; and its rulers, being fatigued with distan expeditions, informed the wretched Britons, whom their own arts had en feebled, that they were now no longer to expect foreign protection. The accordingly drew away from the island all the Romans, and many of th Britons, who were fit for military services. Thus, taking their last leave o the island, they left the natives to the choice of their own government an kings. They gave them the best instructions the calamitous times woul permit, for exercising their arms, and repairing their ramparts. They helpe the natives to erect anew a wall of stone, built by the emperor Severus acros the island, which they had not at that time artisans skilful enough amon themselves to repair. Having thus prepared for their departure in a friendl manner, the Romans left the island, never more to return, after having bee masters of it during the course of near four centuries.

It may be doubted whether the arts which the Romans planted among th islanders were not rather prejudicial than serviceable to them, as they onl contributed to invite the invader, without furnishing the means of defence If we consider the many public ways and villas of pleasure that were the among them, the many schools instituted for the instruction of youth, th numberless coins, statues, tessellated pavements, and other curiosities, tha were common at that time, we have no doubt that the Britons made a very considerable progress in the arts of peace, although they declined in those o war. But, perhaps, an attempt at once to introduce these advantages wil ever be ineffectual. The arts of peace and refinement must rise by slow degrees in every country; and can never be propagated with the same rapidity by which new governments may be introduced. It will take, perhaps, t course of some centuries before a barbarous people can entirely adopt the manners of their conquerors; so that all the pains bestowed by the Roman in educating the Britons, only served to render them a more desirable objec of invasion, and dressed them up as victims for succeeding slaughter.

PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

magnificence. Mankind, as if by a general consent, rose up to vindicate their natural freedom; almost every nation asserting that independence of which they had been long so unjustly deprived. It was in these turbulent times that the emperors found themselves obliged to recruit their legions from the troops that were placed to defend the frontier provinces. When the heart of the empire was contended for, it was not much considered in what manner the extremities were to be defended. In this manner the more distant parts of the empire were frequently left without a guard; and the weakness of the government there frequently excited fresh insurrections among the natives. These, with a thousand other calamities, daily grew greater; and as the enemies of the Roman people increased, their own dissensions among each other seemed to increase in the same proportion.

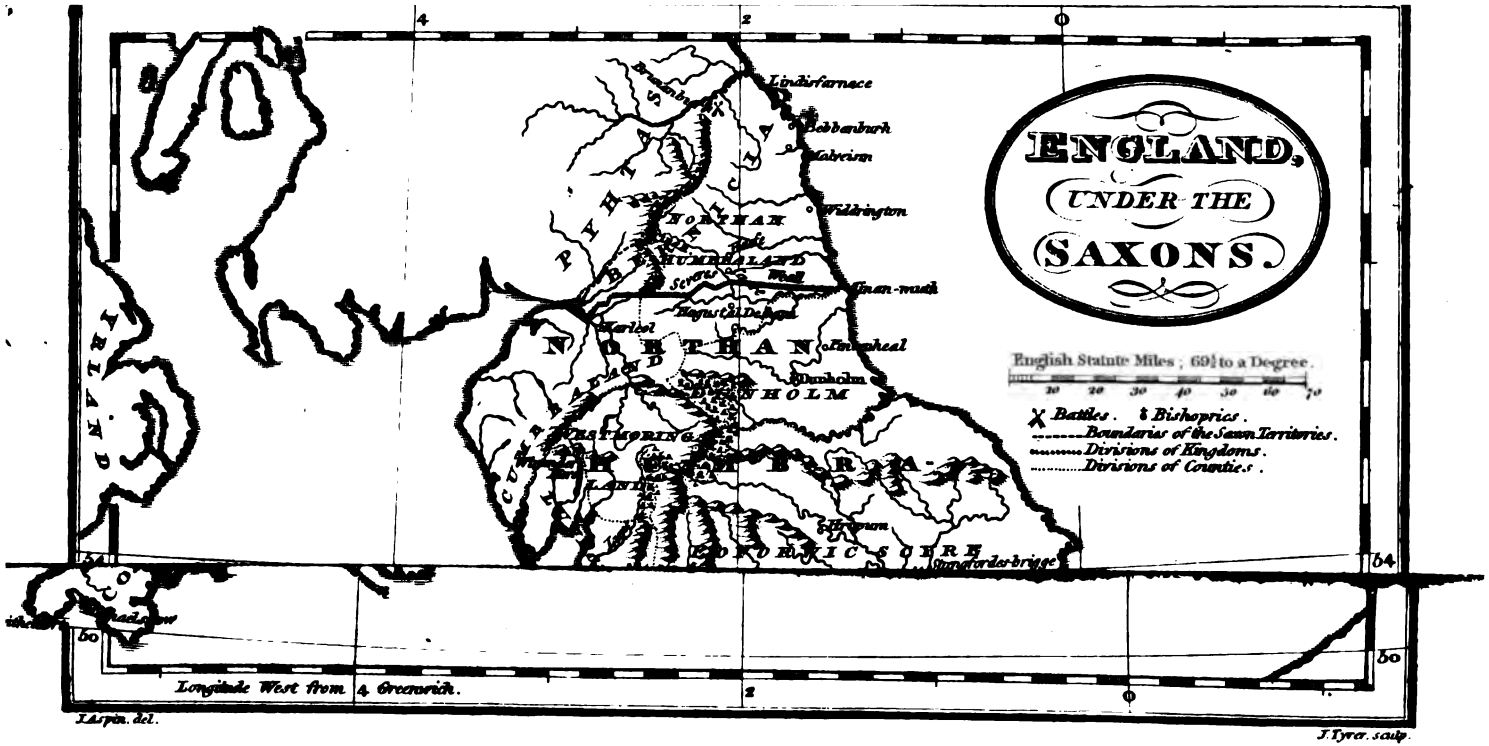
During these struggles, the British youth were frequently drawn away into Gaul, to give ineffectual succour to the various contenders for the empire who, failing in every attempt, only left the name of tyrants behind them. In the mean time, as the Roman forces decreased in Britain, the Picts and Scots continued still more boldly to infest the northern parts; and crossing the friths which the Romans could not guard, in little wicker boats covered with leather filled the country, wherever they came, with slaughter and consternation. When repulsed by superior numbers, as was at first always the case, they retired with the spoil, and watched for the next opportunity of invasion, when the Romans were drawn into the remoter parts of the island.

These enterprises were often repeated, and as often repressed, but still with diminishing vigour on the side of the defendants. The southern natives being accustomed to have recourse to Rome, as well for protection as for laws, made supplications to the emperors, and had one legion sent over for their defence. This relief was, in the beginning, attended with the desired effect; the barbarous invaders were driven back to their native deserts and mountains. They returned, however, when the Roman forces were withdrawn; and although they were again repulsed by the assistance of a legion once more sent from Rome, yet they too well perceived the weakness of the enemy, and their own superior force.

At length, in the reign of Valentinian the Younger, the empire of Rome began to tremble for its capital; and its rulers, being fatigued with distant expeditions, informed the wretched Britons, whom their own arts had enfeebled, that they were now no longer to expect foreign protection. They accordingly drew away from the island all the Romans, and many of the Britons, who were fit for military services. Thus, taking their last leave of the island, they left the natives to the choice of their own government and kings. They gave them the best instructions the calamitous times would permit, for exercising their arms, and repairing their ramparts. They helped the natives to erect anew a wall of stone, built by the emperor Severus across the island, which they had not at that time artisans skilful enough among themselves to repair. Having thus prepared for their departure in a friendly manner, the Romans left the island, never more to return, after having been masters of it during the course of near four centuries.

It may be doubted whether the arts which the Romans planted among the islanders were not rather prejudicial than serviceable to them, as they only contributed to invite the invader, without furnishing the means of defence. If we consider the many public ways and villas of pleasure that were then among them, the many schools instituted for the instruction of youth, the numberless coins, statues, tessellated pavements, and other curiosities, that were common at that time, we have no doubt that the Britons made a very considerable progress in the arts of peace, although they declined in those of war. But, perhaps, an attempt at once to introduce these advantages will ever be ineffectual. The arts of peace and refinement must rise by slow degrees in every country; and can never be propagated with the same rapidity by which new governments may be introduced. It will take, perhaps, a course of some centuries before a barbarous people can entirely adopt the manners of their conquerors; so that all the pains bestowed by the Romans in educating the Britons, only served to render them a more desirable object of invasion, and dressed them up as victims for succeeding slaughter.

PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS


ENGLAND,
UNDER THE
SAXONS.
English Statute Miles ; 69½ to a Degree.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
Battles. Bishoprics.
Boundaries of the Saxon Territories.
Divisions of Kingdoms.
Divisions of Counties.
Lindisfarnace
Bebbanburh
Alcluith
Wilfrington
Tinan-mouth
Carlisl
Dunholm
Stanford-bridge
Longitude West from Greenwich.
Y.Arpin. del.
J.Tyrer. scalp.

CHAP. III.

The BRITONS *and* SAXONS.

THE Britons, being now left to themselves, considered their new liberties as their greatest calamity. [CIRC. 430.] They had been long taught to lean upon others for support; and that being now taken away, they found themselves too feeble to make any opposition. Far from practising the lessons they had received from the Romans, they aggravated their misfortunes with unavailing complaints, which only served to render them still more contemptible. Unaccustomed both to the perils of war and to the cares of civil government, they found themselves incapable of forming or executing any measures for resisting the incursions of their barbarous invaders. Though the Roman soldiers were drawn away, their families and descendants were still spread over the face of the country, and left without a single person of conduct or courage to defend them. To complete the measure of their wretchedness, the few men of any note who remained among them, were infected with the ambition of being foremost in command; and, disregarding the common enemy, were engaged in dissensions among each other.

In the mean time, the Picts and Scots, uniting together, began to look upon Britain as their own, and attacked the northern wall with redoubled forces. This rampart, though formerly built of stone, had been some time before repaired with sods; and, consequently, it was ill fitted to repress the attacks of a persevering enemy. The assailants, therefore, were not at the trouble of procuring military engines, or battering-rams, to overthrow it, but with iron hooks pulled down the inactive defenders from the top, and then undermined the fortification at their leisure. Having thus opened to themselves a passage, they ravaged the whole country with impunity, while the Britons sought precarious shelter in their woods and mountains.

In this exigence, the unhappy Britons had a third time recourse to Rome, hoping to extort, by importunity, that assistance which was denied upon prudential motives. Aëtius, the renowned general of Valentinian, had, about that time, gained considerable advantages over the Goths, and seemed to give fresh hopes of restoring the Roman empire. It was to him they applied for succour, in a strain of the most abject solicitation. [A. D. 446.] "The barbarians," said they, "on the one hand, drive us into the sea; the sea, on the other, drives us back upon the barbarians. We have only the hard choice left us, of perishing by the sword, or being drowned in the deep." Such, however, were the calamities of the Romans themselves, surrounded as they were by myriads of savage nations, that they could yield no assistance to such remote and unserviceable allies.

The Britons, thus neglected, were reduced to despair; while, having left their fields uncultivated, they began to find the miseries of famine added to the horrors of war. It happened, however, that the barbarians themselves began to feel the same inconveniences in a country which they had ravaged; and, being harassed by the irruptions of the Britons, as well as by the want of necessaries, they were obliged to retreat from the southern parts of the kingdom laden with spoil.

The enemy having thus left the country open, the Britons joyfully issued from their mountains and forests, and pursued once more their usual arts of husbandry, which were attended with such abundance in the succeeding season, that they soon forgot all their past miseries. But it had been happy for them, if plenty had not removed one evil to plant another. They began, from a state of famine, to indulge themselves in such riot and luxury, that their bodies were totally enervated, and their minds debauched.

Thus, entirely occupied in the enjoyment of the present interval of peace, they made no provision for resisting the enemy, who were only taking breath to renew their former invasions. Christianity, indeed, had been introduced among them some time before, though at what period is not certainly known: however, to the other calamities of the state, were added also their disputes in theology. The disciples of Pelagius, who was a native of Britain, had

increased in a great degree; and the clergy, who considered his opinions as heretical, were more solicitously employed in resisting them, than in opposing the common enemy. Besides all these calamities, a terrible pestilence visited the southern parts of the island, which thinned its inhabitants, and totally deprived them of all power of resistance.

It was in this deplorable and enfeebled state, that the Britons were informed of fresh preparations for an invasion from their merciless northern neighbours. To oppose their progress, they pitched upon Vortigern as their general and sovereign; a prince, who is said to have raised himself to the supreme command by the murder of his predecessor. This step was only productive of fresh calamities. Vortigern, instead of exerting what strength yet remained in the kingdom, only set himself to look about for foreign assistance; and the Saxons appeared to him at once the most martial, and the most likely to espouse his interests.

The Saxons were one branch of those Gothic nations, which, swarming from the northern hive, came down to give laws, manners, and liberty, to the rest of Europe. A part of this people, under the name of Suevi, had, some time before Cæsar's invasion of Gaul, subdued and possessed an extensive empire in Germany. These, for their strength and valour, were formidable to all the German tribes. They were afterwards divided into several nations, and each became famous for subduing that country which was the object of its invasion. France, Germany, and England, were among the number of their conquests.

There is a period between savage rudeness and excessive refinement, which seems peculiarly adapted for the purpose of war, and which fits mankind for great achievements. In this state of half-refinement, when compared to the Britons, were the Saxons at the time their assistance was thought necessary. They dressed with some degree of elegance, which the generality of the Britons, even though so long under the institutions of the Romans, had not yet learned to practise. Their women used linen garments trimmed and striped with purple. Their hair was bound in wreaths, or fell in curls upon their shoulders; their arms were bare, and their bosoms uncovered;—fashions which, in some measure, seem peculiar to the ladies of England to this day. Their government was generally an elective monarchy, and sometimes a republic. Their commanders were chosen for their merit, and dismissed from duty when their authority was no longer needful. The salaries they were supplied with, seldom exceeded a bare subsistence; and the honours they received, were the only reward of their superior dangers and fatigues. The custom of trying by twelve men is of Saxon original; slavery was unknown among them, and they were taught to prefer death to a shameful existence. We are told by Marcellinus, that a body of them, being taken prisoners, were kept for exhibition on the amphitheatre at Rome, as gladiators, for the entertainment of the people. The morning, however, on which they were expected to perform, they were every one found dead in his cell, all choosing rather a voluntary death, than to be the ignominious instruments of brutal pleasure to their conquerors. The chastity of this people is equally remarkable; and to be without children, was to be without praise. But their chief excellence, and what they most gloried in, was their skill in war. They had, in some measure, learned discipline from the Romans, whom they had often defeated; and had, for a century and half before, made frequent descents upon the coasts of Britain for the sake of plunder. They were, therefore, a very formidable enemy to the Romans when settled there; and an officer was appointed to oppose their inroads, under the title of the "Count of the Saxon shore." Thus, ever restless and bold, they considered war as their trade, and were, in consequence, taught to consider victory as a doubtful advantage, but courage as a certain good. A nation, however, entirely addicted to war, has seldom wanted the imputation of cruelty, as those terrors which are opposed without fear are often inflicted without regret. The Saxons are represented as a very cruel nation; but we must remember, that their enemies have drawn the picture.

It was upon this people that Vortigern turned his eyes for succour against the Picts and Scots, [A. D. 449.] whose cruelties perhaps were still more

flagrant. It certainly was not without the most pressing invitations, that the Saxons deigned to espouse their cause; and we are yet in possession of the form of their request, as left us by Witichindus, a contemporary historian of some credit: "The poor and distressed Britons, almost worn out by hostile invasions, and harassed by continual incursions, are humble supplicants to you, most valiant Saxons, for succour. We are possessed of a wide-extended and a fertile country; this we yield wholly to be at your devotion and command. Beneath the wings of your valour we seek for safety, and shall willingly undergo whatever services you may hereafter bepleased to impose."

It was no disagreeable circumstance to these conquerors, to be thus invited into a country, upon which they had, for ages before, been forming designs. In consequence, therefore, of Vortigern's solemn invitation, they arrived with fifteen hundred men, under the command of Hengist and Horsa, who were brothers, and landed on the Isle of Thanet. There they did not long remain inactive; but, being joined by the British forces, they boldly marched against the Picts and Scots, who had advanced as far as Lincolnshire, and soon gained a complete victory over them.

Hengist and Horsa possessed great credit among their countrymen at home, and had been much celebrated for their valour, and the splendour of their descent. They were believed to be sprung from Woden, who was worshipped as a god among this people, and were said to be no more than the fourth in descent from him. This report, how fabulous soever, did not a little contribute to increase their authority among their associates; and being sensible of the fertility of the country to which they came, and the barrenness of that which they had left behind, they invited over great numbers of their countrymen, to become sharers in their new expedition. It was no difficult matter to persuade the Saxons to embrace an enterprise, which promised at once an opportunity of displaying their valour, and of rewarding their rapacity. Accordingly they sent over a fresh supply of five thousand men, [A. D. 451.] who passed over in seventeen vessels.

It was now, but too late, that the Britons began to entertain apprehensions of their new allies, whose numbers they found augmenting, as their services became less necessary. They had long found their chief protection in passive submission; and they resolved, upon this occasion, to bear every encroachment with patient resignation. But the Saxons, being determined to come to a rupture with them, easily found a pretext, in complaining that their subsidies were ill paid, and their provisions withdrawn. They, therefore, demanded that these grievances should be immediately redressed, otherwise they would do themselves justice; and in the mean time they engaged in a treaty with the Picts, whom they had been called in to repress. The Britons, impelled by the urgency of their calamities, at length took up arms; and having deposed Vortigern, by whose counsel and vices they were thus reduced to an extremity, they put themselves under the command of Vortimer, his son. Many were the battles fought between these enraged nations; their hatred to each other being still more inflamed by the difference of their religion, the Britons being all Christians, and the Saxons still remaining in a state of idolatry. There is little to entertain the reader in the narration of battles, where rather obstinate valour than prudent conduct procured the victory; and, indeed, the accounts given us of them are very opposite, when described by British and Saxon annalists. However, the progress the latter still made in the island, sufficiently proves the advantage to have been on their side; although, in a battle fought at Egleaford, Horsa, the Saxon general, was slain.

But a single victory, or even a repetition of success, could avail but little against an enemy continually reinforced from abroad; for Hengist, now become sole commander, and procuring constant supplies from his native country, carried devastation into the most remote corners of Britain. Chiefly anxious to spread the terror of his arms, he spared neither sex, age, nor condition, but laid the country desolate before him. The priests and bishops found no protection from their sacred calling, but were slaughtered upon their altars. The people were massacred in heaps; and some, choosing life upon the most abject terms, were contented to become slaves to the victors. It was about this time that numbers deserted their native country, and fled over

to Armorica, since called Britany, where they settled in great numbers, among a people of the same manners and language with themselves.

The British historians, in order to account for the easy conquest of their country by the Saxons, assign their treachery, not less than their valour, as a principal cause. They allege, that Vortigern was artfully inveigled into a passion for Rowena, the daughter of Hengist; and, in order to marry her, was induced to settle upon her father the fertile province of Kent, from which the Saxons could never after be removed. It is alleged, also, that upon the death of Vortimer, which happened shortly after the victory obtained at Eglesford, Vortigern his father was reinstated upon the throne. It is added, that this weak monarch, accepting of a festival from Hengist, three hundred of his nobility were treacherously slaughtered, and himself detained as a captive.

Be these facts as they may, it is certain that the affairs of the Britons gradually declined; and they found but a temporary relief in the valour of one or two of their succeeding kings. After the death of Vortimer, Ambrosius, a Briton, though of Roman descent, was invested with the command, and in some measure proved successful in uniting his countrymen against the Saxons. He penetrated with his army into the heart of their possessions; and though he fought them with doubtful advantage, yet he restored the British interest and dominion. Still, however, Hengist kept his ground in the country, and inviting over a new tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, he settled them in Northumberland. As for himself, he kept possession of the kingdom of Kent, (comprehending also Middlesex and Essex,) fixing his royal seat at Canterbury, and leaving his new-acquired dominions to his posterity.

After the death of Hengist, [[A. D. 488.] several other German tribes, allured by the success of their countrymen, came over in great numbers. A body of their countrymen, [A. D. 477.] under the command of Ælla and his three sons, had some time before laid the foundation of the kingdom of the South Saxons, though not without great opposition and bloodshed. This new kingdom included Surrey, Sussex, and the New Forest; and extended to the frontiers of Kent.

Another tribe of Saxons, under the command of Cerdic and his son Kenric, landed in the West, and thence took the name of West Saxons. These met with a very vigorous opposition from the natives; but, being reinforced from Germany, and assisted by their countrymen on the island, they routed the Britons: and, although retarded in their progress by the celebrated king Arthur, they had strength enough to keep possession of the conquests they had already made. Cerdic, therefore, with his son Kenric, established the third Saxon kingdom in the island, [A. D. 519.] namely, that of the West Saxons, including the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the Isle of Wight.

It was in opposing this Saxon invader, that the celebrated prince Arthur acquired his fame. Howsoever unsuccessful all his valour might have been in the end, yet his name makes so great a figure in the fabulous annals of the times, that some notice must be taken of him. This prince is of such obscure original, that some authors suppose him to be the son of king Ambrosius, and others only his nephew; others again affirm that he was a Cornish prince, and son of Gurlois, king of that province. However this be, it is certain he was a commander of great valour; and, could courage alone repair the miserable state of the Britons, his might have been effectual. According to Nennius, and the most authentic historians, he is said to have worsted the Saxons in twelve successive battles. In one of these, namely, that fought at Caer-Baden, in Berks, it is asserted, that he killed no less than four hundred and forty of the enemy with his own hand. But the Saxons were too numerous and powerful to be extirpated by the desultory efforts of single valour; so that a peace only, and not conquest, resulted from his victories. The enemy, therefore, still gained ground; and this prince, in the decline of life, had the mortification, from some domestic troubles of his own, to be a patient spectator of their encroachments. His first wife had been carried off by Meluas, king of

Somersetshire, who detained her a whole year at Glastonbury, until Arthur, discovering the place of her retreat, advanced with an army against the ravisher, and obliged him to give her back, by the mediation of Gildas Albanius. In his second wife, perhaps, he might have been more fortunate, as we have no mention made of her; but it was otherwise with his third consort, who was debauched by his own nephew Modred. This produced a rebellion, in which the king and his traitorous kinsman meeting in battle, they slew each other.

In the mean time, while the Saxons were thus gaining ground in the West, their countrymen were not less active in other parts of the island. Adventurers still continuing to pour over from Germany, [A. D. 573.] one body of them, under the command of Uffa, seized upon the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and gave their commander the title of king of the East Angles, which was the fourth Saxon kingdom founded in Britain.

Another body of these adventurers formed a kingdom under the title of East Saxony, or Essex, comprehending Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. This kingdom, which was dismembered from that of Kent, formed the fifth Saxon principality founded in Britain.

The kingdom of Mercia was the sixth which was established by these fierce invaders, [A. D. 585.] comprehending all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of the two last-named kingdoms.

The seventh and last kingdom which they obtained was that of Northumberland, one of the most powerful and extensive of them all. This was formed from the union of two smaller Saxon kingdoms, the one called Bernicia, containing the present county of Northumberland, and the bishopric of Durham; the subjects of the other, called the Deiri, extending themselves over Lancashire and Yorkshire. These kingdoms were united in the person of Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, by the expulsion of Edwin, his brother-in-law, from the kingdom of the Deiri, and the seizure of his dominions.

In this manner, the natives being overpowered, or entirely expelled, seven kingdoms were established in Britain, which have been since well known by the name of the Saxon Heptarchy.—The unfortunate Britons, having been exhausted by continual wars, and even worn out by their own victories, were reluctantly compelled to forsake the more fertile parts of the country, and to take refuge in the mountainous parts of Wales and Cornwall. All the vestiges of Roman luxury were now almost totally destroyed by the conquerors, who rather aimed at enjoying the comforts of life, than its magnificence. The few natives who were not either massacred or expelled from their habitations, were reduced to the most abject slavery, and employed in cultivating, for their new masters, those grounds which they once claimed as their own.

From this time, British and Roman customs entirely ceased in the island; the language, which had been either Latin or Celtic, was discontinued, and the Saxon or English only was spoken. The land, before divided into colonies or governments, was cantoned into shires, with Saxon appellations to distinguish them. The habits of the people in peace, and arms in war, their titles of honour, their laws, and methods of trial by jury, were continued as originally practised by the Germans, only with such alterations as increasing civilization produced. Conquerors, although they disseminate their own laws and manners, often borrow from the people they subdue. In the present instance they imitated the Britons in their government by despotic and hereditary monarchies, while their exemplary chastity, and their abhorrence of slavery, were quite forgotten.

The Saxons being thus established in all the desirable parts of the island, and having no longer the Britons to contend with, began to quarrel among themselves. A country divided into a number of petty independent principalities, must ever be subject to contention, as jealousy and ambition have more frequent incentives to operate. The wars and revolutions of these little rival states were extremely numerous, and the accounts of them have swelled the historian's page. But these accounts are so confusedly written,

the materials so dry, uninteresting, and filled with such improbable adventures, that a repetition of them can gratify neither the reader's judgment nor curiosity. Instead, therefore, of entering into a detail of tumultuous battles, petty treacheries, and obscure successions, it will be more conformable to the present plan, to give some account of the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons, which happened during this dreary period.

The Christian religion never suffered more persecution, than it underwent in Britain from the barbarity of the Saxon pagans, who burned all the churches, stained the altars with the blood of the clergy, and massacred all those whom they found professing Christianity. This deplorable state of religion in Britain, was first taken into consideration by St. Gregory, who was then pope; and he undertook to send missionaries thither. It is said, that before his elevation to the papal chair, he chanced one day to pass through the slave-market at Rome, and perceiving some children of great beauty, who were set up for sale, he inquired about their country; and finding they were English pagans, he is said to have cried out, in the Latin language, *Non Angli, sed Angeli, forent, si essent Christiani.*—"They would not be English, but Angels, had they been Christians." From that time he was struck with an ardent desire to convert that unenlightened nation, and actually embarked in a ship for Britain; when his pious intentions were frustrated by his being detained at Rome by the populace, who loved him. He did not, however, lay aside his holy resolution; for, having succeeded to the papal chair, he ordered a monk, named Augustine, and others of the same fraternity, to undertake the mission into Britain. It was not without some reluctance that these reverend men undertook so dangerous a task; but some favourable circumstances in Britain seemed providentially to prepare the way for their arrival. Ethelbert, king of Kent, in his father's lifetime, had married Bertha, the only daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, one of the descendants of Clovis, king of Gaul. But before he was admitted to this alliance, he was obliged to stipulate that this princess should enjoy the free exercise of her religion, which was that of Christianity. She was, therefore, attended to Canterbury, the place of her residence, by Luidhard, a Gaulish prelate, who officiated in a church dedicated to St. Martin, which had been built by the Romans, near the walls of Canterbury. The exemplary conduct, and powerful preaching, of this primitive bishop, added to the queen's learning and zeal, made very strong impressions upon the king, as well as the rest of his subjects, in favour of Christianity. The general reception of this holy religion all over the continent, might also contribute to dispose the minds of these idolaters for its admission, and make the attempt less dangerous than Augustine and his associates at first supposed.

This pious monk, upon his first landing in the Isle of Thanet, sent one of his interpreters to the Kentish king, declaring he was come from Rome with offers of eternal salvation. In the mean time, he and his followers lay in the open air, that they might not, according to the belief of the times, by entering a Saxon house, subject themselves to the power of heathen necromancy. The king immediately ordered them to be furnished with all necessaries, and even visited them, though without declaring himself as yet in their favour. Augustine, however, encouraged by this favourable reception, and now seeing a prospect of success, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the gospel, and even endeavoured to call in the aid of miracles to enforce his exhortations. So much assiduity, together with the earnestness of his address, the austerity of his life, and the example of his followers, at last powerfully operated. The king openly espoused the Christian religion, while his example wrought so successfully on his subjects, that numbers of them came voluntarily to be baptized, their missionary loudly declaring against any coercive means towards their conversion. The heathen temples, being purified, were changed to Christian places of worship; and such churches as had been suffered to decay, were repaired. To facilitate the reception of Christianity, the pope enjoined his missionary to remove the pagan idols, but not to throw down the altars, observing, that the people would be allured to frequent those places which they had been taught to

revere. He also permitted him to indulge the people in those feats and cheerful entertainments, which they had been formerly accustomed to celebrate near the places of their idolatrous worship. The people thus exchanged their ancient opinions with readiness, since they found themselves indulged in those innocent relaxations, which are only immoral when carried to an excess. Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, endowed with authority over all the British churches; and his associates, having spread themselves over all the country, completed that conversion which was so happily begun.

The kingdom of the heptarchy which next embraced the Christian faith, was that of Northumberland, at that time more powerful than the rest. Edwin, a wise, brave, and active prince, then king of the country, was married to Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, who had been so lately converted. This princess, emulating the glory of her mother, who had been the instrument of converting her husband and his subjects to Christianity, carried Paulinus, a learned bishop, with her into Northumberland, having previously stipulated for the free exercise of her religion. Edwin, whom his queen unceasingly solicited to embrace Christianity, for a long time hesitated on the proposal, willing to examine its doctrines before he declared in their favour. Accordingly, he held several conferences with Paulinus, disputed with his counsellors, meditated alone, and, after a serious discussion, declared himself a Christian. The high-priest also of the pagan superstition, soon after declaring himself a convert to the arguments of Paulinus, the whole body of the people unanimously followed their example.

The authority of Edwin, who was thus converted, soon after prevailed upon Earpwold, king of the East Angles, to embrace Christianity. This monarch, however, after the death of Edwin, relapsed into his former idolatry, at the persuasion of his wife. But upon his decease, Sigebert, his half-brother, who had been educated in France, restored Christianity, and introduced learning among the Angles.

Mercia, the most powerful kingdom of all the Saxon heptarchy, owed its conversion, like the former, to a woman. The wife of Peada, who was the daughter of Oswy, king of Northumberland, having been bred in the Christian faith, employed her influence with success in converting her husband and his subjects. But it seems the new religion was attended with small influence on the manners of that fierce people, as we find Offa, one of their new-converted kings, in a few reigns after, treacherously destroying Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, at an entertainment to which he had been invited. However, to make atonement for this transgression, we find him paying great court to the clergy, giving the tenth of his goods to the church, and making a pilgrimage to Rome, where his riches procured him the papal absolution. It was upon this occasion, the better to ingratiate himself with the pope, that he engaged to pay him a yearly donation, for the support of an English college at Rome; and, in order to raise the sum, he imposed a tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty-pence a year. This imposition being afterwards generally levied throughout the kingdom, went by the name of Peter-pence, and in succeeding times gave rise to many ecclesiastical abuses.

In the kingdom of Essex, Sebert, who was nephew to Ethelbert, king of Kent, of whose conversion we have already made mention, was also prevailed upon by his uncle to embrace the Christian religion. His sons, however, relapsed into idolatry, and banished Melitus, the Christian bishop, from their territories, because he refused to let them eat the white bread which was distributed at the communion. But Christianity was restored two or three reigns after, by Sigebert the Good; and such was the influence of its doctrines upon Offa, the fourth in succession from him, that he went upon a pilgrimage to Rome, and shut himself up during the rest of his life in a cloister.

We know little of the propagation of Christianity in the kingdom of Sussex; but this being the smallest of all the Saxon heptarchy, it is probable that it was governed in its opinions by some of its more powerful neighbours. It is said, that during the reign of Cissa, one of its kings, which

continued seventy-six years, the kingdom fell into a total dependence upon that of Wessex, and to this it is probable that it owed its conversion.

The kingdom of Wessex, which in the end swallowed up all the rest, deserves our more particular attention. This principality, which, as has been already related, was founded by Cerdic, was, of all the Saxon establishments in Britain, the most active and warlike. The great opposition the invaders of this province originally met from the natives, whom they expelled, not without much bloodshed, served to carry their martial spirit to the highest pitch. Cerdic was succeeded by his son Kenric, and he by Ceaulin, a prince more ambitious and enterprising than either of the former. He had, by waging continual war against the Britons, added a great part of the counties of Devon and Somerset to his dominions; and, not satisfied with conquests over his natural enemies, he attacked the Saxons themselves, till, becoming terrible to all, he provoked a general confederacy against him. This combination took place; so that he was at last expelled from the throne, and died in exile and misery. His two sons succeeded; and, after a succession of two more, Kynegils inherited the crown. This prince embraced Christianity through the persuasion of Oswald, king of Northumberland, his son-in-law. After some succeeding obscure reigns, Ceadwalla mounted the throne, an enterprising, warlike, and successful prince. He subdued entirely the kingdom of Sussex, and annexed it to his own dominions. He made also some attempts upon Kent, but was repulsed with vigour. Ina, his successor, was the most renowned and illustrious of all the kings who reigned in England during the heptarchy. This monarch inherited the military virtues of Ceadwalla, but improved by policy, justice, and prudence. He made war upon the Britons, who yet remained in Somersetshire; and having totally subdued that province, he treated the vanquished with a humanity hitherto unknown to the Saxon conquerors. In less than a year after he mounted the throne of Wessex, he was declared monarch of the Anglo-Saxons: a remarkable proof of the great character he had acquired. He compiled a body of laws, which served as the ground-work of those which were afterwards published by Alfred. He also assembled a general council of the clergy, in which it was determined that all churches, monasteries, and places of religious worship, which had gone to ruin or decay, should be rebuilt or repaired. At length, after a distinguished reign of thirty-eight years, in the decline of life, he made a pilgrimage to Rome; and, on his return home, shut himself up in a cloister, where he died. To him succeeded Ethelard, Cudred, Sigebert, Cenulph, and Britharic; all these claiming the crown, not entirely by hereditary right, nor yet totally rejecting their family pretensions.

It was in the reign of the last-named monarch, that Egbert, great-grandson to a nephew of king Ina, began to grow very popular among the West Saxons, both on account of his family and private merit. But sensible, however, of the danger of popularity, under such a jealous monarch as Britharic, he withdrew secretly into France, to the court of Charlemagne, at that time the most polished prince of Europe. This was a school in which young Egbert failed not to make a rapid proficiency; and he soon acquired such accomplishments, both in arts and arms, as raised him greatly superior to any of his countrymen at home.

Nor was it long before this prince had an opportunity of displaying his natural and acquired talents to advantage; for, Britharic being poisoned by his wife Eadburga, the nobility recalled him from France, in order to ascend the throne of his ancestors.

About that time also, [A. D. 800.] a fortunate concurrence of events seemed to prepare the way for his being sole monarch of the country. In all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, an exact rule of succession was little regarded; while, at the same time, family pretensions were not laid totally aside. Every person of the collateral line had as good a right to assert his claim as those who urged direct descent; so that the reigning monarch was under continual apprehensions from the princes of the blood, whom he was taught to consider as rivals, and whose death alone could ensure him tranquillity. From this fatal cause, together with the passion princes then had of retiring to

monasteries, and the opinion of merit attending the preservation of chastity, even in a married state; from these causes, I say, the royal families had been entirely extinguished in all the kingdoms, except that of Wessex. Thus Egbert was the only surviving descendant of those conquerors who boasted their descent from Woden; and consequently, beside his personal merit, he had hereditary pretensions to the throne of the united kingdoms.

It is indeed probable that he had already planned the union of the heptarchy; but, in order to avert the suspicions of the neighbouring states, he attacked the Britons in Cornwall, and continued to act as mediator among the Saxon princes, whose differences were become almost irreconcileable. His moderation in these good offices, the prudence he manifested in his own government, and his known capacity in the affairs of war and peace, procured him such a degree of reputation, that he was soon considered as chief of the Saxon heptarchy.

But his ambition was not to be satisfied with a mere nominal superiority; he still aimed at breaking down all distinctions, and uniting these petty states into one great and flourishing kingdom. The king of Mercia was the first who furnished him with a pretext for recovering the part of his dominions which had formerly been dismembered by that state. Beornulf, the monarch of that country, who had already almost obtained the sovereignty over the heptarchy, taking advantage of Egbert's absence, who was employed in quelling the Britons, invaded his dominions with a numerous army, composed of the flower of his country. Egbert was not remiss in marching to oppose him with a body of troops less numerous than those of Beornulf, but more brave and resolute. Both armies met at Wilton, and a battle ensuing, the Mercians were defeated with terrible slaughter.

In the mean time, while the victor pursued his conquest into the enemies' country, he despatched his eldest son, Ethelwolf, with an army, into the kingdom of Kent, who soon made himself master of the whole nation, and expelled Baldred, their monarch, to whom his subjects had paid a very unwilling obedience. The East Saxons also, and part of Surrey, dissatisfied with their subjection to the Mercians, readily submitted to Egbert; nor were the East Angles backward in sending ambassadors to crave his protection and assistance against that nation, whose yoke they had for some time endured, and were resolved no longer to bear. The Mercian king, attempting to repress their defection, was defeated and slain: and, two years after, Ludecan, his successor, met with the same fate. Withlaf, one of their coldermen, soon after put himself at their head; but, being driven from province to province by the victorious arms of Egbert, he was, at last, obliged to take shelter in the abbey of Croyland, while Egbert made himself master of the whole kingdom of Mercia. However, in order to accustom that people to his dominion, he permitted Withlaf to govern the kingdom as a vassal and tributary under him; thus at once satisfying his ambition, and flattering the people with an appearance of the former government.

The king of Northumberland was the last that submitted to his authority. This state had been long harassed by civil wars and usurpations: all order had been destroyed among the people, and the kingdom was weakened to such a degree, that it was in no condition to withstand such an invader as Egbert. The inhabitants, therefore, unable to resist his power, and desirous of possessing some established form of government, very cheerfully sent deputies, who submitted to his authority, and expressed their allegiance to him as their sovereign. By this submission, all the kingdoms of the heptarchy were united under his command; but, to give splendour to his authority, a general council of the clergy and laity was summoned at Winchester, where he was solemnly crowned king of England, by which name the united kingdom was thenceforward called.

Thus, about four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain, all their petty settlements were united into one great state; [A. D. 827.] and nothing offered but prospects of peace, security, and increasing refinement. About this period, the arts and sciences, which had been before only known to the Greeks and Romans, were disseminated over Europe, where they were sufficient to raise the people above mere barbarians, but yet lost

all their native splendour in the transplantation. The English, at this time, might be considered as polite, if compared to the naked Britons at the invasion of Cæsar. The houses, furniture, clothes, and all the real luxuries of sense, were almost as great then as they have been since. But the people were incapable of sentimental pleasure. All the learning of the time was confined among the clergy; and little improvement could be expected from their reasonings, since it was one of their tenets to discard the light of reason. An eclipse was even, by their historians, talked of as an omen of threatened calamities; and magic was not only believed, but some actually believed themselves magicians. Even the clergy were not averse to these opinions, as such, in some measure, served to increase their authority. Indeed, the reverence for the clergy was carried so high, that if a person appeared in a sacerdotal habit on the highway, the people flocked round him, and, with all the marks of profound respect, received every word he uttered as an oracle. From this blind attachment, the social, and even the military virtues, began to decline among them. The reverence towards saints and relics served to supplant the adoration of the Supreme Being. Monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than active virtues; and bounty to the church atoned for all the violences done to society. The nobility, whose duty it was to preserve the military spirit from declining, began to prefer the sloth and security of a cloister, to the tumult and glory of war; and those rewards which should have gone to encourage the soldier, were lavished in maintaining the credulous indolence of monastic superstition.

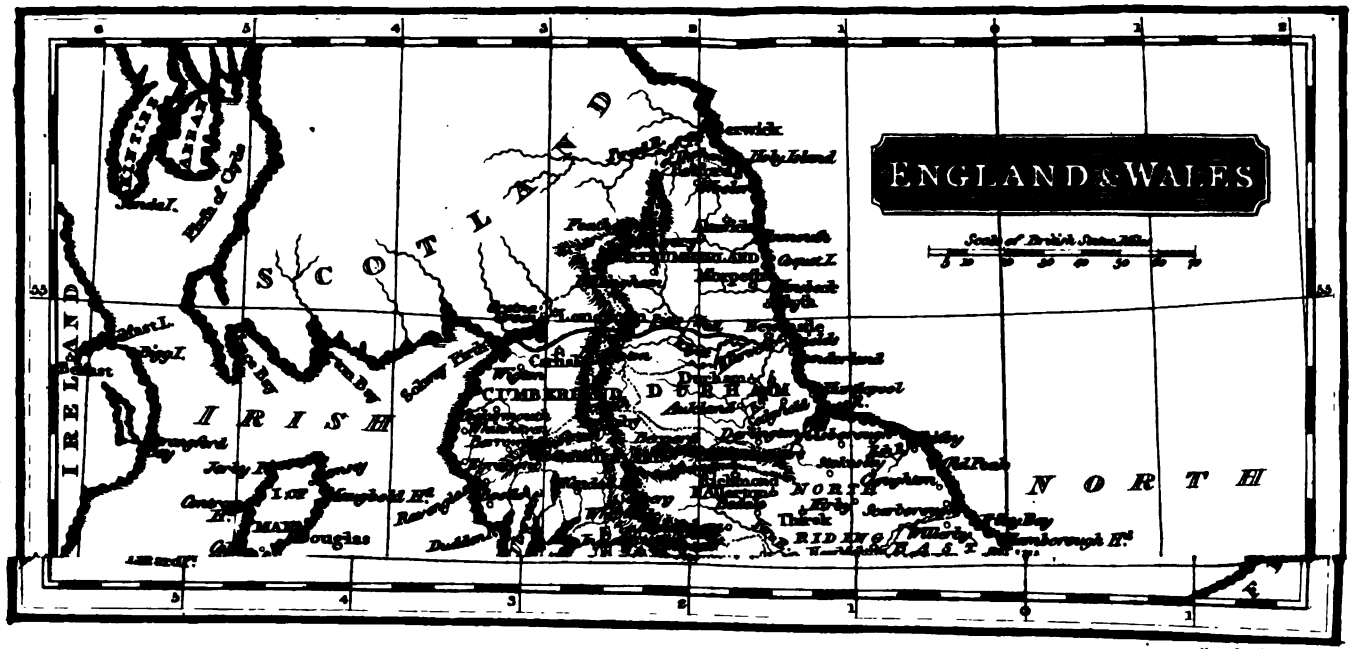
CHAP. IV.

From the ACCESSION *of* EGBERT *to the* NORMAN CONQUEST.
A. D. 827—1066.

IT might have been reasonably expected, that a wise and fortunate prince, at the head of so great a kingdom, and so united and numerous a people as the English then were, should not only have enjoyed the fruits of peace and quiet, but left felicity to succeeding generations. The inhabitants of the several provinces, tired out with mutual dissensions, seemed to have lost all desire of revolting: the race of their ancient kings was extinct, and none now remained but a prince who deserved their allegiance, both by the merit of his services, and the splendour of his birth. Yet such is the instability of human affairs, and the weakness of man's best conjecture, that Egbert was hardly settled on his united throne, when both he and his subjects began to be alarmed at the approach of new and unknown enemies, and the island exposed to fresh invasions.

About this time, a mighty swarm of those nations who had possessed the countries bordering on the Baltic, began, under the names of Danes and Normans, to infest the western coasts of Europe, and to fill all places wherever they came, with slaughter and devastation. These were, in fact, no other than the ancestors of the very people whom they came to despoil, and might be considered as the original stock from which the numerous colonies that infested Britain, had migrated some centuries before. The Normans fell upon the northern coasts of France; the Danes chiefly levelled their fury against England, their first appearance being in 787, when Brithric was king of Wessex. It was then that a small body of them landed on the coasts of that kingdom, with a view of learning the state of the country; and having committed some small depredations, fled to their ships for safety. About seven years after the first attempt, they made a descent upon the kingdom of Northumberland, where they pillaged a monastery; but their fleet being shattered by a storm, they were defeated by the inhabitants, and put to the sword. It was not till about five years after the elevation of Egbert to the sovereignty of England, that their invasions became truly formidable. From that time they continued with unceasing ferocity, until the whole kingdom was reduced to a state of the most distressful bondage.

As the Saxons had utterly neglected their naval power since their first



Published by Henry Fisher, Caxton, London, 1825.

THE N
PUBL
ASTOR, LENOX
FOUNDATIONS

settlement in Britain, the Danes, who succeeded them in the empire of the sea, found no difficulty in landing upon the isle of Sheppey in Kent, which they ravaged, returning to their ships loaden with the spoil. Their next attempt, the year ensuing, was at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, where they landed a body of fifteen thousand men, that made good their ground against the efforts of Egbert; who, after a battle, was obliged to draw off his forces by night. Within two years after, they landed in Cornwall; and being joined by the Britons there, they advanced towards the borders of Devonshire, where they were totally routed by Egbert, in a pitched battle, at Hengsdown-hill, near Kellington. By this victory he secured the kingdom from invasion for some time; but his death seemed to put a period to the success of his countrymen, and to invite the enemy to renew their devastations with impunity.

He was succeeded by Ethelwolf, his son, who had neither the vigour nor the abilities of his father. This prince had been educated in a cloister, and had actually taken orders during the life of his elder brother; but, upon his death, he received a dispensation to quit the monkish habit, and to marry. He was scarcely settled on his throne, when a fleet of Danish ravagers, consisting of thirty-three sail, landed at Southampton; but they were repulsed, though not without great slaughter on both sides. However, no defeat, could repress the obstinacy, nor could any difficulties daunt the courage, of these fierce invaders, who still persevered in their descents, and, year after year, made inroads into the country, marking their way with pillage, slaughter, and desolation. Though often repulsed, they always obtained their end,—of spoiling the country, and carrying off the plunder. It was their method to avoid coming, if possible, to a general engagement; but, scattering themselves over the face of the country, they carried away, indiscriminately, as well the inhabitants themselves, as all their moveable possessions. If the military force of the country was drawn out against them, the invaders either stood their ground, if strong enough to oppose; or retreated to their ships, if incapable of resistance. Thus, by making continual and repeated descents, every part of England was kept in constant alarm, every county fearful of giving assistance to the next, as its own safety was in danger. From this general calamity the priests and monks were no way exempted; they were rather the chief objects on whom these Danish idolaters wreaked their resentment.

In this state of fluctuating success affairs continued for some time, the English often repelling, and as often being repulsed, by their fierce invaders; till at length the Danes resolved upon making a settlement in the country, and, landing on the isle of Thanet, [A. D. 852.] stationed themselves there. In this place they kept their ground, notwithstanding a bloody victory gained over them by Ethelwolf. Thence they soon after removed to the isle of Sheppey, which they considered as more convenient for their tumultuary depredations.

In the mean time, Ethelwolf, the wretched monarch of the country, instead of exerting his strength to repel these invaders, was more solicitous to obey the dictates of monkish superstition. In order to manifest his devotion to the pope, he sent his son Alfred to Rome, to receive confirmation from his holiness; and not satisfied with this testimony of his zeal, undertook a pilgrimage thither in person. He passed a twelvemonth in that city, and gained no small applause for his devotion, which he testified by his great liberality to the church. In his return home he married Judith, daughter to the emperor Charles the Bald; but, on his landing in his own dominions, he was surprised to find his title to the crown disputed.

His second son, Ethelbald, upon the death of his elder brother, perceiving the miserable state to which the kingdom was reduced by the king's ill-timed superstitions, formed a conspiracy to expel him from the throne. The people seemed equally divided between the claims of the father and son; so that a bloody civil war seemed likely to complete the picture of the calamities of the times. A division of the kingdom at length terminated the dispute; the king was content with the eastern part of the monarchy, while his son was appointed to govern the western, which was the most powerful, and the least exposed to danger.

When the two princes had come to this agreement, a council was summoned of the states of the kingdom; and besides a ratification of this grant, a tithe of all the produce of the land was settled upon the clergy.

Ethelwolf lived only two years after this agreement; [A. D. 857,] leaving, by will, the kingdom shared between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert: the west being consigned to the former, the east to the latter. The reign of Ethelbald was of no long continuance; however, in so short a space, he crowded a number of vices sufficient to render his name odious to posterity. He married Judith, his step-mother, and was not without great difficulty prevailed upon to divorce her. The reign of his brother was of longer duration; and, as we are told, was in every respect more meritorious. Nevertheless, the kingdom was still infested by the Danes, who committed great outrages.

This prince was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, [A. D. 866.] a brave king, but whose valour was insufficient to repress the Danish incursions. In these exploits he was always assisted by his younger brother Alfred, afterwards surnamed the Great, who sacrificed all private resentment to the public good, having been deprived by the king of a large patrimony. It was during this prince's reign, that the Danes, penetrating into Mercia, took up their winter-quarters at Nottingham; whence they were not dislodged without difficulty. Their next station was at Reading, whence they infested the country with their excursions. The king, attended by his brother, marched at the head of the West Saxons against them: there, after many reciprocations of success, the king died of a wound which he received in battle, and left to Alfred the inheritance of a kingdom that was now reduced to the brink of ruin.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the state of the country when Alfred came to the throne. [A. D. 871.] The Danes had already subdued Northumberland and East Anglia, and had penetrated into the very heart of Wessex. The Mercians were united against him; the dependence upon the other provinces of the empire was but precarious; the lands lay uncultivated, through fears of continual incursions; and all the churches and monasteries were burned to the ground. In this situation of affairs, nothing appeared but objects of terror, and every hope was lost in despair. The wisdom and virtues of one man were found sufficient to bring back happiness, security, and order; and all the calamities of the times found redress from Alfred.

This prince seemed born not only to defend his bleeding country, but even to adorn humanity. He had given very early instances of those great virtues which afterwards signalized his reign; and was anointed by pope Leo as future king, when he was sent by his father for his education to Rome. On his return, he became every day more the object of his father's fond affections; and that, perhaps, was the reason why his education was at first neglected. He had attained the age of twelve before he was made acquainted with the lowest elements of literature; but hearing some Saxon poems read, which recounted the praise of heroes, his whole mind was roused, not only to obtain a similitude of glory, but also to be able to transmit that glory to posterity. Encouraged by the queen his mother, and assisted by a penetrating genius, he soon learned to read these compositions, and proceeded from them to a knowledge of Latin authors, who directed his taste, and rectified his ambition.

He was scarce come to the crown when he was obliged to oppose the Danes, who had seised Wilton, and were exercising their usual ravages on the countries around. He marched against them with the few troops he could assemble on a sudden, and a desperate battle was fought, to the disadvantage of the English. But it was not in the power of misfortune to abate the king's diligence, though it repressed his power to do good. He was, in a little time, enabled to hazard another engagement; so that the enemy, dreading his courage and activity, proposed terms of peace, which he did not think proper to refuse. They, by this treaty, agreed to relinquish the kingdom; but, instead of complying with their engagements, they only removed from one place to another, burning and destroying wherever they came.

Alfred, thus opposed to an enemy whom no stationary force could resist, no treaty could bind, found himself unable to repel the efforts of those

ravagers, who from all quarters invaded him. New swarms of the enemy arrived every year upon the coast, and fresh invasions were still projected. It was in vain that Alfred pursued them, straitened their quarters, and compelled them to treaties: they broke every league; and, continuing their attacks with unabated perseverance, at length totally dispirited his army, and induced his superstitious soldiers to believe themselves abandoned by Heaven, since it thus permitted the outrages of the fierce idolaters with impunity. Some of them therefore left their country, and retired into Wales, or fled to the continent. Others submitted to the conquerors, and purchased their lives by their freedom. In this universal defection, Alfred vainly attempted to remind them of the duty they owed to their country and their king; but, finding his remonstrances ineffectual, he gave way to the wretched necessity of the times. Accordingly, relinquishing the ensigns of his dignity, and dismissing his servants, he dressed himself in the habit of a peasant, and lived for some time in the house of a herdsman, who had been intrusted with the care of his cattle. In this manner, though abandoned by the world, and fearing an enemy in every quarter, still he resolved to continue in his country, to catch the slightest occasions for bringing it relief. In his solitary retreat, which was in the county of Somerset, at the confluence of the rivers Parret and Thone, he amused himself with music, and supported his humble lot with the hopes of better fortune. It is said, that one day being commanded by the herdsman's wife, who was ignorant of his quality, to take care of some cakes which were baking by the fire, he happened to let them burn, for which she severely upbraided him for neglect.

Previously to his retirement, Alfred had concerted measures for assembling a few trusty friends, whenever an opportunity should offer of annoying the enemy, who were now in possession of all the country. This chosen band, still faithful to their monarch, took shelter in the forests and marshes of Somerset, and thence made occasional irruptions upon straggling parties of the enemy. Their success, in this rapacious and dreary method of living, encouraged many more to join their society, till at length, sufficiently augmented, they repaired to their monarch, who had by that time been reduced by famine to extremities.

Mean while, Ubba, the chief of the Danish commanders, carried terror over the whole land, and now ravaged the country of Wales without opposition. The only place where he found resistance was, in his return, from the castle of Kenwith, into which the earl of Devonshire had retired with a small body of troops. This gallant soldier, finding himself unable to sustain a siege, and knowing the danger of surrendering to a perfidious enemy, resolved, by one desperate effort, to sally out, and force his way through the besiegers, sword in hand. The proposal was embraced by all his followers, while the Danes, secure in their numbers, and in their contempt of the enemy, were not only routed with great slaughter, but Ubba, their general, was slain.

This victory once more restored courage to the dispirited Saxons; and Alfred, taking advantage of their favourable disposition, prepared to animate them to a vigorous exertion of their superiority. He soon, therefore, apprised them of the place of his retreat, and instructed them to be ready, with all their strength, at a minute's warning. But no one was found who would undertake to give intelligence of the force and posture of the enemy. Not knowing, therefore, a person in whom to confide, he undertook this dangerous task himself. In the simple dress of a shepherd, with a harp in his hands, he entered the Danish camp, tried all his arts to please, and was so much admired, that he was brought into the presence of Guthrum, the Danish prince, with whom he remained some days. There he remarked the supine security of the Danes, their contempt of the English, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their dissolute wasting of such ill-gotten booty. Having made his observations, he returned to his retreat, and detaching proper emissaries among his subjects, appointed them to meet him in arms in the forest of Selwood,—a summons which they gladly obeyed.

It was against the most unguarded quarter of the enemy that Alfred made his most violent attack, while the Danes, surprised to behold an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, made but a faint resist-

ance, notwithstanding the superiority of their number. They were routed with great slaughter: and though such as escaped fled for refuge into a fortified camp in the neighbourhood, yet, being unprovided for a siege, in less than a fortnight they were compelled to surrender at discretion. [A. D. 879.] By the conqueror's permission, those who did not choose to embrace Christianity embarked for Flanders, under the command of one of their generals, called Hastings. Guthrum, their prince, became a convert, with thirty of his nobles, and the king himself answered for him at the font.

Of the Danes who had enlisted with Hastings, a part returned, contrary to agreement, once more to ravage that country where they had been so mercifully spared, and, landing on the coasts of Kent, advanced towards Rochester, in hopes of surprising that city. They were soon, however, deterred from proceeding, by hearing that Alfred was upon his march to oppose them. That such depredations might be prevented for the future, this monarch equipped a strong fleet, with which he attacked and destroyed sixteen of their vessels in the port of Harwich. There was now but the port of London open to the invaders; and as that city was weakly garrisoned, he soon reduced it to capitulation. Having augmented its fortifications, and embellished it with a number of new edifices, he delivered it in charge to his son-in-law, Ethelred, and thus secured the whole country from foreign danger.

Alfred had now attained the meridian of glory; he possessed a greater extent of territory than had ever been enjoyed by any of his predecessors; the kings of Wales did him homage for their possessions, the Northumbrians received a king of his appointment, and no enemy appeared to give him the least apprehension, or excite an alarm. In this state of prosperity and profound tranquillity, Alfred was diligently employed in cultivating the arts of peace, and in repairing the damages which the kingdom had sustained by war. After rebuilding the cities which had been destroyed by the Danes, he established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He took care that all his subjects should be armed and registered; he assigned to them a regular rotation of duty; some were employed to cultivate the land, while others were appointed to repel any sudden invasion from the enemy. He took care to provide a naval force that was more than a match for the invaders, and trained his subjects as well in the practice of sailing as of naval engagements. A fleet of a hundred and twenty ships of war was thus stationed along the coasts; and, being well supplied with all things necessary, both for subsistence and war, it impressed the incursive enemy with awe. Not but that there succeeded some very formidable descents, which the king found it difficult to repress. Hastings, the Danish chieftain, in particular, appeared off the coast of Kent, [A. D. 893.] with a fleet of three hundred and thirty sail; and although his forces were vigorously opposed and repulsed by the vigilance of Alfred, yet he found means to secure himself in the possession of Bamflete, near the isle of Canvey, in the county of Essex. But he was not long settled there, when his garrison was overpowered by a body of the citizens of London, with great slaughter, and his wife and two sons made captives. These experienced the king's clemency; he restored them to Hastings, on condition that he should depart from the kingdom. Nor were the East Anglian Danes, or the insurgents of Northumberland, much more successful. These broke into rebellion; and yielding to their favourite habits of depredation, embarked on board two hundred and forty vessels, and appeared before Exeter. There, however, they met a very bloody reception from Alfred; and were so discouraged, that they put to sea again without attempting any other enterprise. A third body of piratical Danes were even more unsuccessful than either of the former. Great numbers of them, after the departure of Hastings, seized and fortified Shobury, at the mouth of the Thames; and having left a garrison there, marched along the banks of the river till they came to Bodington, in the county of Gloucester, where, being reinforced by a body of Welshmen, they threw up entrenchments, and prepared for defence. There they were surrounded by the king's forces, and reduced to the utmost extremity. After having eaten their horses, and many of them perishing with hunger, they made a desperate sally, in which numbers were cut to pieces. Those who escaped, being pursued by the vigilance of Alfred, were

finally dispersed or totally destroyed. Nor did he treat the Northumbrian freebooters with less severity. Falling upon them while they were exercising their ravages in the West, he took twenty of their ships; and having tried all the prisoners at Winchester, he hanged them as pirates, the common enemies of mankind.

Having by this vigilance and well-timed severity given peace and total security to his subjects, his next care was to polish the country by arts, as he had protected it by arms. He is said to have drawn up a body of laws; but those which remain to this day under his name, seem to be only the laws already practised in the country by his Saxon ancestors, and to which, probably, he gave his sanction. The trial by juries, mulcts and fines for offences, by some ascribed to him, are of much more ancient date. The care of Alfred for the encouragement of learning did not a little tend to improve the morals, and restrain the barbarous habits, of the people. When he came to the throne, he found the English sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism, proceeding from the continued disorders of the government, and from the ravages of the Danes. He himself complains, that, on his accession, he knew not one person south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret the Latin service. To remedy this deficiency, he invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he founded, or at least re-established, the university of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges. He gave, in his own example, the strongest incentives to study. He usually divided his time into three equal portions; one was given to sleep, and the refection of his body, diet, and exercise; another to the despatch of business; and the third, to study and devotion. He made a considerable progress in the different studies of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, architecture, and geometry. He was an excellent historian, understood music, and was acknowledged to be the best Saxon poet of the age. He left many works behind him, several of which remain to this day. He translated the Pastoral of Gregory I., Boetius *de Consolatione*, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History, into the Saxon language. Sensible that his illiterate subjects were not much susceptible of speculative instruction, he endeavoured to convey his morality by parables and stories, and is said to have translated from the Greek the Fables of Æsop. Nor did he even neglect the more mechanical arts of life. Before his time, the generality of the people chiefly made use of timber in building. Alfred raised his palaces of brick, and the nobility by degrees began to imitate his example. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds; and no inventors or improvers of any ingenious art were suffered to go unrewarded. Even the elegancies of life were brought to him from the Mediterranean; and his subjects, by seeing these productions of the peaceful arts, were taught to respect the virtues of justice and industry, by which alone they could be procured. It was after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years, thus spent in the advancement of his subjects' happiness, that he died in the vigour of his age, and the full enjoyment of his faculties, an example to princes, and an ornament to human nature. [A. D. 901.] To give a character of this prince, would only be to sum up those qualities which constitute perfection. Even virtues seemingly opposite were happily blended in his disposition; persevering, yet flexible; moderate, yet enterprising; just, yet merciful; stern in command, yet gentle in conversation. Nature also, as if desirous that such amiable qualities of mind should be set off to the greatest advantage, had bestowed on him all bodily accomplishments, vigour, dignity, and an engaging, open countenance. In short, historians have taken such a delight in describing the hero, that they have totally omitted the mention of his smaller errors, which doubtless he must have had in consequence of his humanity.

Alfred had, by his wife Ethelswitha, the daughter of a Mercian earl, three sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Edmund, died without issue, during his father's lifetime. His third son, Ethelward, inherited his father's passion for letters, and lived a private life. His second son, Edward, succeeded him on the throne.

Edward was scarce settled on the throne, when his pretensions were disputed by Ethelward, his cousin-german, who raised a large party among the

Northumbrians to espouse his cause. At first his aims seemed to be favoured by fortune; but he was soon after killed in battle, and his death thus freed Edward from a very dangerous competitor. Nevertheless, the death of their leader was not sufficient to intimidate his turbulent adherents. During the whole of this prince's reign, there were few intervals free from the attempts and insurrections of the Northumbrian rebels. Many were the battles he fought, and the victories he won; so that though he might be deemed unequal to his father in the arts of peace, he did not fall short of him in the military virtues. He built several castles, and fortified different cities. He reduced Turketul, a Danish invader, and obliged him to retire with his followers. He subdued the East Angles, and acquired dominion over the Northumbrians themselves. He was assisted in these conquests by his sister Ethelfleda, the widow of Ethelred, earl of Mercia, who, after her husband's death, retained the government of that province. Thus, after Edward had reduced the whole kingdom to his obedience, and began his endeavours to promote the happiness of his people, he was prevented by death from the completion of his designs.

To him succeeded Athelstan, his natural son, [A. D. 926.] the illegitimacy of his birth not being then deemed a sufficient obstacle to his inheriting the crown. To this prince, as to the former, there was some opposition made in the beginning. Alfred, a nobleman of his kindred, is said to have entered into a conspiracy against him, in favour of the legitimate sons of the deceased king, who were yet too young to be capable of governing themselves. Whatever his attempts might have been, he denied the charge, and offered to clear himself of it by oath before the pope. The proposal was accepted; and it is asserted, that he had scarce sworn himself innocent, when he fell into convulsions, and died three days after. This monarch received also some disturbance from the Northumbrian Danes, whom he compelled to surrender; and resenting the conduct of Constantine, king of Scotland, who had given them assistance, he ravaged that country with impunity, till at length he was appeased by the humble submissions of that monarch. These submissions, however, being extorted, were insincere. Soon after Athelstan had evacuated that kingdom, Constantine entered into a confederacy with a body of Danish pirates, and some Welsh princes who were jealous of Athelstan's growing greatness. A bloody battle was fought at Brunsburg, in Northumberland, in which the English monarch was again victorious. After this success, Athelstan enjoyed his crown in tranquillity; and he is regarded as one of the ablest and most active of the Saxon kings. During his reign the Bible was translated into the Saxon language; and some alliances also were formed by him with the princes of the continent. He died at Gloucester, after a reign of sixteen years; and was succeeded by his brother Edmund. [A.D. 941.]

Edmund, like the rest of his predecessors, met with disturbance from the Northumbrians on his accession to the throne; but his activity soon defeated their attempts. The great end, therefore, which he aimed at, during his reign, was to curb the licentiousness of this people, who offered to embrace Christianity as an atonement for their offences. Among other schemes for the benefit of the people, he was the first monarch who, by law, instituted capital punishments in England. Remarking that fines and pecuniary mulcts were too gentle methods of treating robbers, who were, in general, men who had nothing to lose, he enacted, that in gangs of robbers, when taken, the eldest of them should be condemned to the gallows. This was reckoned a very severe law at the time it was enacted; for, among our early ancestors, all the penal laws were mild and merciful. The resentment this monarch bore to men of that desperate way of living, was the cause of his death. His virtues, abilities, wealth, and temperance, promised him a long and happy reign; when, on a certain day, as he was solemnizing a festival in Gloucestershire, he remarked that Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had sentenced to banishment, had yet the boldness to enter the hall where he was dining, and to sit at the table among the royal attendants. Enraged at this insolence, he commanded him to leave the room; but, on his refusing to obey, the king, whose temper was naturally choleric, flew against him, and caught him by the hair. The ruffian, giving way to rage also on his side, drew a dagger, and lifting up his arm, with a furious blow stabbed the monarch to the heart, who

fell down on the bosom of his murderer. The death of the assassin, who was instantly cut in pieces, was but a small compensation for the loss of a king, loved by his subjects, and deserving their esteem.

The late king's sons were too young to succeed him in the direction of so difficult a government as that of England: his brother Edred was therefore appointed to succeed; and, like his predecessors, this monarch found himself at the head of a rebellious and refractory people. The Northumbrian Danes, as usual, made several attempts to shake off the English yoke; so that the king was at last obliged to place garrisons in their most considerable towns, and to appoint an English governor over them, who might suppress their insurrections on the first appearance. About this time, the monks, from being contented to govern in ecclesiastical matters, began to assume the direction in civil affairs; and, by artfully managing the superstitions and the fears of the people, erected an authority that was not shaken off by several succeeding centuries. Edred had blindly delivered over his conscience to the guidance of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, who was afterwards canonized; and this man, under the appearance of sanctity, concealed the most boundless ambition. The monks had hitherto been a kind of secular priests, who, though they lived in communities, were neither separated from the rest of the world, nor useless to it. They were often married; they were assiduously employed in the education of youth, and subject to the commands of temporal superiors. The celibacy of the clergy, as being a measure that would contribute to their independence, and to the establishment of the papal power in Europe, was warmly recommended by the see of Rome to ecclesiastics in general, but to the monks in particular. An opportunity of carrying this measure in England arose from the superstitious character of Edred, and the furious zeal of Dunstan. Both lent it all the assistance in their power; and the order of Benedictine monks was established under the direction of Dunstan. Edred implicitly submitted to his directions, both in church and state; and the kingdom was in a fair way of being turned into a papal province by this zealous ecclesiastic, when he was checked in the midst of his career by the death of the king, who died of a quinsy, in the tenth year of his reign.

Edwy, his nephew, who ascended the throne, [A. D. 955.] his own sons being yet unfit to govern, was a prince of great personal accomplishments and martial disposition. But he was now come to the government of a kingdom in which he had an enemy to contend with, against whom all military virtues could be of little service. Dunstan, who had governed during the former reign, was resolved to remit nothing of his authority in this; and Edwy, immediately upon his accession, found himself involved in a quarrel with the monks, whose rage neither his accomplishments nor his virtues could mitigate. He seems to have been elected by the secular priests in opposition to the monks; so that their whole body, and Dunstan at their head, pursued him with implacable animosity while living, and even endeavoured to brand his character to posterity.

This Dunstan, who makes a greater figure in these times than even kings themselves, was born of noble parents in the West; but, being defamed as a man of licentious manners in his youth, he betook himself to the austerities of a monastic life, either to atone for his faults, or vindicate his reputation. He secluded himself entirely from the world, in a cell so small, that he could neither stand erect, nor lie along in it. It was in this retreat of constant mortification that his zeal grew furious, and his fancy teemed with visions of the most extravagant nature. His supposed illuminations were frequent; his temptations strong, but he always resisted with bravery. The devil, it was said, one day paid him a visit in the shape of a fine young woman; but Dunstan, knowing the deceit, and provoked at his importunity, seized him by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers as he put his head into the cell; and he held him there till the malignant spirit made the whole neighbourhood resound with his bellowings. Nothing was too absurd for the monks to propagate in favour of their sect. Crucifixes, altars, and even horses, were heard to harangue in their defence against the secular clergy. These miracles, backed by their stronger assertions, prevailed with the people.

Dunstan was considered as the peculiar favourite of the Almighty, and appeared at court with an authority greater than that of kings; since theirs was conferred by men, but his allowed by Heaven itself. Being possessed of so much power, it may be easily supposed that Edwy could make but a feeble resistance; and that his first fault was likely to be attended with the most dangerous consequences. The monk found or made one on the very day of his coronation. There was a lady of the royal blood, named Elgiva, whose beauty had made a strong impression on this young monarch's heart. He had even ventured to marry her, contrary to the advice of his counsellors, as she was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. On the day of his coronation, while his nobility were giving a loose to the more noisy pleasures of wine and festivity in the great hall, Edwy retired to his wife's apartment, where, in company with her mother, he enjoyed the more pleasing satisfaction of her conversation. Dunstan no sooner perceived his absence, than, conjecturing the reason, he rushed fiercely into the apartment, and upbraiding him with all the bitterness of ecclesiastical rancour, dragged him forth in the most outrageous manner. Dunstan, it seems, was not without his enemies; for the king was advised to punish this insult, by ordering him to account for the money with which he had been intrusted during the last reign. This account the haughty monk refused to give in; wherefore he was deprived of all the ecclesiastical and civil emoluments of which he had been in possession, and banished from the kingdom. His exile only served to increase the reputation of his sanctity among the people; and Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, was so far transported with the spirit of the party, that he pronounced a divorce between Edwy and Elgiva. Ecclesiastical censures were then attended with the most formidable effects. The king could no longer resist the indignation of the church, but consented to surrender his beautiful wife to its fury. Accordingly, Odo sent into the palace a party of soldiers, who seized the queen, and, by his orders, branded her on the face with a hot iron. Not contented with this cruel vengeance, they carried her by force into Ireland, and there commanded her to remain in perpetual exile. This injunction, however, was too distressing for that faithful woman to comply with; for, being cured of her wound, and having obliterated the marks which had been made to deface her beauty, she ventured to return to the king, whom she still regarded as her husband. But misfortune still continued to pursue her. She was taken prisoner by a party whom the archbishop had appointed to observe her conduct, and was put to death in the most cruel manner. The sinews of her legs being cut, and her body mangled, she was thus left to expire in dreadful agony. In the mean time, a secret revolt against Edwy became almost general; and, that it might not be doubted at whose instigation this revolt was undertaken, Dunstan returned to England, and put himself at the head of the party. The malcontents at last proceeded to open rebellion; and having placed Edgar, the king's younger brother, a boy of thirteen years of age, at their head, they soon put him in possession of all the northern parts of the kingdom. Edwy's power, and the number of his adherents, every day declining, he was at last obliged to consent to a partition of the kingdom; but his death, which happened two years after, freed his enemies from all further inquietude, and gave Edgar peaceable possession of the government.

Edgar, being placed on the throne by the influence of the monks, [A. D. 959.] affected to be entirely guided by their directions in all his succeeding transactions. There has ever been some popular cry, some darling prejudice amongst the English; and he who has taken the advantage of it, has always found it of excellent assistance in his government. The sanctity of the monks was the cry at that time; and Edgar, chiming in with the people, at once promoted their happiness and his own glory. Few English monarchs have reigned with more fortune or more splendour than he. He not only quieted all domestic insurrections, but repressed all foreign invasions; and his power was so well established, and so widely extended, that he is said to have been rowed in his barge by eight tributary kings upon the river Dee. The monks whom he promoted are loud in his praise; yet the example of his continence was in no way corresponding with that chastity and forbearance on which they

chiefly founded their superior pretensions to sanctity. It is, indeed, somewhat extraordinary, that one should have been extolled for his virtues by the monks, whose irregularities were so peculiarly opposite to the tenets they enforced. His first transgression of this kind, was the breaking into a convent, carrying off Editha, a nun, by force, and even committing violence on her person. For this act of sacrilege and barbarity, no other penance was enjoined than that he should abstain from wearing his crown for seven years. As for the lady herself, he was permitted to continue his intercourse with her without scandal. There was another mistress of Edgar's, named Elfleda the Fair, with whom he formed a connexion by a kind of accident; for being at the house of one of his nobles, and fixing his affectons on the nobleman's daughter, he privately requested that the young lady should pass that very night with him. The lady's mother, knowing his power, and the impetuosity of his temper, prevailed upon her daughter seemingly to comply with his request; but, in the mean time, substituted a beautiful domestic in the young lady's place. In the morning, when the king perceived the deceit, instead of being displeased at the stratagem, he expressed pleasure in the adventure; and transferring his love to Elfleda, as the damsel was called, she became his favourite mistress, and maintained an ascendency over him till his marriage with Elfrida. The story of this lady is too remarkable to be passed over in silence.

Edgar had long heard of the beauty of a young lady, whose name was Elfrida, daughter to the earl of Devonshire: but unwilling to credit common fame in this particular, he sent Athelwold, his favourite friend, to see, and inform him if Elfrida was indeed that incomparable woman report had described her. Athelwold, arriving at the earl's castle, had no sooner cast his eyes upon that nobleman's daughter, than he became desperately enamoured of her himself. Such was the violence of his passion, that forgetting his master's intentions, he solicited only his own interests, and demanded for himself the beautiful Elfrida from her father in marriage. The favourite of a king was not likely to find a refusal; the earl gave his consent, and their nuptials were performed in private. Upon his return to court, which was shortly after, he assured the king that her riches alone, and her high quality, had been the causes of her admiration; and he appeared amazed how the world could talk so much, and so unjustly, of her charms. The king was satisfied, and no longer felt any curiosity, while Athelwold secretly triumphed in his address. When he had, by this deceit, weaned the king from his purpose, he took an opportunity, after some time, of turning the conversation on Elfrida, representing, that though the fortune of a daughter of the earl of Devonshire would be a trifle to a king, yet it would be an immense acquisition to a needy subject. He, therefore, humbly entreated permission to pay his addresses to her, as she was the richest heiress in the kingdom. A request so seemingly reasonable was readily complied with: Athelwold returned to his wife, and their nuptials were solemnized in public. His greatest care, however, was employed in keeping her from court; and he took every precaution to prevent her appearing before a king so susceptible of love, whilst he was so capable of inspiring that passion. But it was impossible to keep his treachery long concealed. Favourites are never without private enemies, who watch every opportunity of rising upon their ruin. Edgar was soon informed of the whole transaction; but dissembling his resentment, he took occasion to visit that part of the country where this miracle of beauty was detained, accompanied by Athelwold, who reluctantly attended him thither. Upon coming near the lady's habitation, he told him that he had a curiosity to see his wife, of whom he had formerly heard so much, and desired to be introduced as his acquaintance. Athelwold, thunderstruck at the proposal, did all in his power, but in vain, to dissuade him. All he could obtain, was permission to go before, on pretence of preparing for the king's reception. On his arrival, he fell at his wife's feet, confessing what he had done to be possessed of her charms, and conjuring her to conceal, as much as possible, her beauty from the king, who was but too susceptible of its power. Elfrida, little obliged to him for a passion that had deprived her of a crown, promised compliance; but, prompted either by vanity or revenge, adorned her person

with the most exquisite art, and called up all her beauty on the occasion. The event answered her expectations: the king no sooner saw than he loved her, and instantly resolved to obtain her. The better to effect his intentions, he concealed his passion from the husband, and took leave with a seeming indifference: but his revenge was not the less certain and fatal. Athelwold was some time after sent into Northumberland, upon pretence of urgent affairs, and was found murdered in a wood by the way. Some say he was stabbed by the king's own hand; some, that he only commanded the assassination: however this be, Elfrida was invited soon after to court, by the king's own order, and their nuptials were performed with the usual solemnity.

Such was the criminal passion of a monarch whom the monks have thought proper to represent as the most perfect of mankind. His reign was successful, because it was founded upon a compliance with the prejudices of the people; but it produced very sensible evils, and these fell upon his successor. He died after a reign of sixteen years, in the thirty-second year of his age, being succeeded by his son Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of earl Ordmer.

Edward, surnamed the Martyr, was made king by the interest of the monks, [A. D. 975.] and lived but four years after his accession. In his reign there is nothing remarkable, if we except his tragical and memorable end. Though this young monarch had been from the beginning opposed by Elfrida, his step-mother, who seems to have united the greatest deformity of mind with the highest graces of person, yet he ever shewed her marks of the strongest regard, and even expressed, on all occasions, the most tender affection for her son, his brother. Hunting one day near Corfe-castle, were Elfrida resided, he thought it his duty to pay her a visit, although he was not attended by any of his retinue. There desiring some liquor to be brought him, as he was thirsty, while he was yet holding the cup to his head, one of Elfrida's domestics, instructed for that purpose, stabbed him in the back. The king, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse; but fainting with the loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, and his foot sticking in the stirrup, he was dragged along by his horse till he was killed. Being tracked by the blood, his body was found, and privately interred at Wareham by his servants.

Ethelred the Second, the son of Edgar and Elfrida, succeeded; [A. D. 979.] a weak and irresolute monarch, incapable of governing the kingdom, or providing for its safety. After a train of dissensions, follies, and vices, which seem to have marked some of the former reigns, it is not surprising that the country was weakened, or that the people, taught to rely entirely on preternatural assistance, were rendered incapable of defending themselves. During this period, therefore, their old and terrible enemies, the Danes, who seem not to have been loaded with the same accumulation of vice and folly, were daily gaining ground. The weakness and the inexperience of Ethelred appeared to give a favourable opportunity for renewing their depredations; and accordingly they landed on several parts of the coasts, spreading their usual terror and devastation. The English, ill-provided to oppose such an enemy, made but a feeble resistance; endeavouring, by treachery and submission, to avert the storm they had not spirit to oppose.

The northern invaders, now well acquainted with the defenceless condition of England, made a powerful descent, under the command of Sweyn king of Denmark, and Olave king of Norway, who, sailing up the Humber, committed on all sides their destructive ravages. The English opposed them with a formidable army, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The Danes, encouraged by this success, marched boldly into the heart of the kingdom, filling all places with the marks of horrid cruelty. Ethelred had, upon a former invasion of these pirates, bought them off with money: and he now resolved to put the same expedient in practice once more. He sent ambassadors, therefore, to the two kings, and offered them subsistence and tribute, provided they would restrain their ravages, and depart the kingdom. It has often been remarked, that buying off an invasion only serves to strengthen the enemy, and to invite a repetition of hostilities. Such it happened upon this occasion: [A. D. 994.] Sweyn and Olave agreed to the terms, and peaceably took up their quarters at Southampton, where the sum of sixteen thousand

pounds was paid them. Olave returned to his native country, and never infested England more; but Sweyn was less scrupulous, and the composition with him gave but a short interval to the miseries of the English.

The English now found their situation truly deplorable. The weakness of the king, the divisions of the nobility, the treachery of some, and the cowardice of others, frustrated all their endeavours for mutual defence. The Danes, ever informed of their situation, and ready to take advantage of it, appeared, a short time after the late infamous composition, upon the English shore, and, rising in their demands in proportion to the people's incapacity to oppose, now demanded twenty-four thousand pounds more. This sum they also received; [A. D. 1002.] and this only served to stimulate their desire of fresh exactions. But they soon had a material cause of resentment given them, by which the infraction of the stipulated treaty became necessary. The Danes, as hath been already observed, had made several settlements, for many years before, in different parts of the kingdom. There, without mixing with the natives, they still maintained a peaceable correspondence and connexion among them. Their military superiority was generally acknowledged by all; and the kings of England had been accustomed to keep in pay bodies of Danish troops, whom they quartered in different parts of the country. These mercenaries had attained to such a height of luxury, according to the old English writers, that they combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, and, by these arts, then esteemed effeminate, had rendered themselves so agreeable to the fair sex, that they debauched the wives and daughters of the English, and had dishonoured many families. To those insults, was added the treachery of their conduct upon every threatened invasion, as they still shewed their attachment to their own countrymen, against those among whom they were permitted to reside. These were motives sufficient, in that barbarous age, for a general massacre; and Ethelred, by a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel resolution of putting them all to the sword. This plot was carried on with such secrecy, that it was executed in one day, and all the Danes in England were destroyed without mercy. But this massacre, so perfidious in the contriving, and so cruel in the execution, instead of ending the long miseries of the people, only prepared the way for greater calamities.

While the English were congratulating each other upon their late deliverance from an inveterate enemy, Sweyn king of Denmark, who had been informed of their treacherous cruelties, appeared off the western coasts with a large fleet, meditating slaughter, and furious with revenge. The English vainly attempted to summon their forces together; treachery and cowardice still operated to dispirit their troops, or to dissipate them. To these miseries a dreadful famine was added, partly from the bad seasons, and partly from the decay of agriculture. For a while they supposed, that the Danish devastations would be retarded by the payment of thirty thousand pounds, which the invaders agreed to accept; but this, as in the former cases, afforded but a temporary relief. For a while they placed some hopes in a powerful navy, which they found means to equip; but this was soon divided and dispersed, without doing them any service. Nothing therefore now remained, but their suffering the just indignation of the conqueror, and undergoing all the evils that war, inflamed by revenge, could inflict. During this period, a general consternation, together with a mutual diffidence and dissension, prevailed. Cessations from these calamities were purchased, one after another, by immense sums; but as they afforded only a short alleviation of the common distress, no other resource remained at last than that of submitting to the Danish monarch, of swearing allegiance to him, and giving hostages as pledges of sincerity. [A. D. 1013.] Ethelred was obliged to fly into Normandy, and the whole country thus came under the power of Sweyn, his victorious rival.

The death of Sweyn, which happened about six weeks after, seemed to offer a favourable opportunity of restoring Ethelred to the throne, and his subjects to their liberties. Accordingly, he seized it with avidity: but his misconduct was incurable; and his indolence, credulity, and cowardice, obstructed all success. At length, after having seen the greatest part of the kingdom

seized by the insulting enemy, after refusing to head his troops to oppose them, he retired to London, where he ended an inglorious reign of thirty-seven years by a natural death, leaving behind him two sons, the elder of whom, Edmund, succeeded to his crown and his misfortunes.

Edmund, his son and successor, [A. D. 1016,] received the surname of Ironside, from his hardy opposition to the enemy; but this opposition seemed as ineffectual to restore the happiness of his country, as it was to continue him in the possession of the throne. He was opposed by one of the most powerful and vigilant monarchs then in Europe; for Canute, afterwards surnamed the Great, succeeded Sweyn as king of Denmark, and also as general of the Danish forces in England. The contest between these two monarchs was therefore managed with great obstinacy and perseverance; the first battle that was fought appeared indecisive; a second followed, in which the Danes were victorious: but Edmund still having interest enough to bring a third army into the field, the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed by these convulsions, obliged their kings to come to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. Canute reserved to himself the northern parts of the kingdom; the southern parts were left to Edmund: but this prince being murdered about a month after the treaty by his two chamberlains, at Oxford, Canute was left in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom.

Canute, though he had gratified his ambition in obtaining possession of the English crown, yet was obliged at first to make some mortifying concessions; and, in order to gain the affections of the nobility, he endeavoured to gratify their avarice. But as his power grew stronger, and his title more secure, he then resumed those grants which he had made, and even put many of the English nobles to death, sensible that those who had betrayed their native sovereign, would never be true to him. Nor was he less severe in his exactions upon the subordinate ranks of the people, levying at one time seventy-two thousand pounds upon the country, and eleven thousand more upon the city of London only.

Having thus strengthened his new power by effectually weakening all who had wealth or authority to withstand him, he next began to shew the merciful side of his character. Nor does it seem without just grounds, that he is represented by some historians as one of the first characters in those barbarous ages. The invectives which are thrown out against him by the English writers, seem merely the effect of national resentment or prejudice, unsupported by truth. His first step to reconcile the English to his yoke, was, by sending back to Denmark as many of his followers as he could safely spare. He made no distinction between the English and Danes in the administration of justice, but restored the Saxon customs in a general assembly of the kingdom. The two nations thus uniting with each other, were glad to breathe for a while from the tumult and slaughter in which they had involved each other; and to confirm their amity, the king himself married Emma, the sister of Richard, duke of Normandy, who had ever warmly espoused the interests of the English.

Canute, having thus settled his power in England beyond the danger of a revolution, made a voyage to Denmark, as his native dominions were attacked by the king of Sweden. In this expedition, Godwin, an English earl, was particularly distinguished for his valour, and acquired that fame which laid a foundation for the immense power he acquired during the succeeding reigns. In another voyage he made to Denmark, he attacked Norway; and expelling Olave from his kingdom, annexed it to his own empire. Thus, being at once king of England, Denmark, and Norway, he was considered as the most warlike and potent prince in Europe; while the security of his power inclined his temper, which was naturally cruel, to mercy.

As his reign was begun in blood, he was, towards the end of it, willing to atone for his former fierceness, by acts of penance and devotion. He built churches, endowed monasteries, and appointed revenues for the celebration of mass. He even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he remained a considerable time; and besides obtaining from the pope some privileges for the English school erected there, he engaged all the princes through whose dominions he passed, to desist from those heavy impositions which they were

accustomed to exact from the English pilgrims. The piety of the latter part of his life, and the resolute valour of the former, were topics that filled the mouths of his courtiers with flattery and praise. They even affected to think his power uncontrollable, and that all things would be obedient to his command. Canute, sensible of their adulation, is said to have taken the following method to reprove them. He ordered his chair to be set on the sea-shore while the tide was coming in, and commanded the sea to retire. "Thou art under my dominion," cried he: "the land upon which I sit is mine; I charge thee, therefore, not to approach, nor dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign." He feigned to sit some time in expectation of submission, till the waves began to surround him; then turning to his courtiers, he observed, that the titles of lord and master belonged only to Him whom both earth and seas were ready to obey. Thus feared and respected, he lived many years, honoured with the surname of Great for his power, but deserving it still more for his virtues. He died at Shaftesbury, in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving behind three sons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardicanute. Sweyn was crowned king of Norway; Hardicanute was put in possession of Denmark; and Harold succeeded his father on the English throne.

Harold, surnamed Harefoot, from his swiftness in running, upon his first coming to the crown, [A. D. 1035.] met with no small opposition from his younger brother, Hardicanute. But by the intervention of the nobles, a compromise was made between them; by which it was agreed, that Harold should have London, and all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the southern parts should be ceded to Hardicanute; and until that prince should appear in person, Emma, his mother, should govern in his stead. But this agreement was of short duration; for queen Emma having brought over from Normandy Edward and Alfred, descendants of the ancient Saxon kings, Alfred was invited, with the warmest professions of friendship, by Harold, to London, and treacherously set upon, by his orders, on the way. Six hundred of his train were murdered in the most cruel manner; he himself was taken prisoner, and his eyes being put out, he was conducted to the monastery of Ely, where he died soon after. Edward and Emma, apprised of his fate, fled to the continent; and Harold, without resistance, took possession of the whole kingdom. He lived to enjoy the fruits of his treachery but four years; and dying very little regretted by his subjects, he left the succession open to his brother.

Hardicanute's title was readily acknowledged, both by the Danes and the English; and upon his arrival from the continent, [A. D. 1039.] he was received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. The ceremony of his coronation was scarcely performed, when he gave the first specimen of the badness of his disposition, in his impotent insults upon the body of his brother, which he ordered to be dug up, beheaded, and thrown into the Thames. When it was found some time after by a fisherman, and buried, he ordered it to be again dug up, and to be thrown into the Thames a second time. His malice, however, has in the end ineffectual; for it was again found, and buried with the greatest secrecy. Hardicanute's next act of rigorous sovereignty, was the imposition of a grievous tax for the payment of his navy; which was the more intolerable, as the nation was threatened with a famine. In these acts of severity, Godwin, duke of Wessex, who had been a vile instrument of treachery and oppression during the former reign, was assistant now. However, his base complianoes did not entirely screen him from the resentment of Emma, who had the strongest reasons to believe that he was instrumental in the death of prince Alfred, her son. At her instigation, therefore, Alfric, archbishop of York, accused him of being an accomplice, and demanded justice accordingly. Godwin found means to evade the danger, by appealing to the king's avarice, and not to the justice of his cause. He presented him with a magnificent galley, curiously carved and gilded, rowed by fourscore men, each of whom wore a golden bracelet, weighing sixteen ounces. The king, softened by this present, permitted him to purge himself by oath; and Godwin very readily swore that he had no hand in the death of Alfred. This king's violence and unjust government were but of short duration. He died two years after his accession, in consequence of excess at the marriage of a

Danish lord, which was celebrated at Lambeth. His death, far from being regretted by the English, became the subject of their derision, his anniversary being distinguished by the name of Hock Holiday.

Edward, surnamed the Confessor, from his piety, had many rivals, whose claims to the crown were rather more just than his own. [A. D. 1041.] The direct descendants of the last Saxon monarch were still in being, though at the remote distance of the kingdom of Hungary. Sweyn, the eldest son of Hardicanute, was still alive, but at that time engaged in wars in Norway. It required, therefore, the utmost diligence in Edward to secure his claims, before either of these could come over to dispute his title. His own authority, though great in the kingdom, was not sufficient to expedite his affairs with the desired despatch; he was therefore obliged to have recourse to Godwin, whose power was then very extensive, to second his pretensions. This nobleman, though long an enemy to his family, finding, upon the present occasion, that their interests were united, laid aside all former animosity, and concurred in fixing him upon the throne.

The English, who had long groaned under a foreign yoke, now set no bounds to their joy, at finding the line of their ancient monarchs restored; and at first the warmth of their rapture was attended with some violence against the Danes: but the new king, by the mildness of his character, soon composed these differences, and the distinction between the two nations gradually disappeared. Thus, after a struggle of above two hundred years, all things seemed to remain in the same state in which those conflicts began. These invasions from the Danes produced no new change of laws, customs, language, or religion; nor did any other traces of their establishments seem to remain, except the castles they built, and the families that still bear their names. No farther mention, therefore, is made of two distinct nations; for the Normans coming in soon after, served to unite them into a closer union.

The first acts of this monarch's reign bore the appearance of severity; for he resumed all grants that had been made by the crown in former reigns; and he ordered his mother Emma, who was ever intriguing against him, to be shut up in a monastery. As he had been bred in the Norman court, he shewed, in every instance, a predilection for the customs, laws, and even the natives of that country; and, among the rest of his faults, though he had married Editha, the daughter of Godwin, yet, either from mistaken piety or fixed aversion, during his whole reign he abstained from her bed.

However these actions might be regarded by many of the king's subjects, (for they were all of a doubtful kind,) certain it is that Godwin, who was long grown much too powerful for a subject, made them the pretext of his opposition. He began by complaining of the influence of the Normans in the government; and his animosities soon broke out into action. Eustace, count of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister, arrived in England upon a visit to the king, and was received with great honour and affection. Upon his return to Dover, having sent a servant before him to bespeak lodgings in that city, a fray happened between this domestic and the townsmen, in which he lost his life. The count and his attendants attempting to take revenge, the inhabitants took arms; and both sides engaging with great fury, the count was obliged to find safety by flight, having lost about twenty of his men, and slain as many of the people. The count, exasperated at this insult, returned to the court at Gloucester, and demanded justice of the king, who very warmly espoused his quarrel. He instantly gave orders to Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to go immediately to the place, and to punish the inhabitants for their crime. This was a conjuncture highly favourable to the schemes of this aspiring chief; and, thinking that now was the time to ingratiate himself with the people, he absolutely refused to obey the king's command. Sensible, however, that obedience would soon be extorted, unless he could defend his insolence, he prepared for his defence, or rather for an attack upon Edward. Accordingly, under a pretence of repressing some disorders on the Welsh frontier, he secretly assembled a great army, and attempted to surprise the king, who continued, without the smallest suspicion, at Gloucester. Nevertheless, being soon informed of Godwin's treachery, his first step was privately to summon all the assistance he could, and, in the mean while, to pro-

treat the time by a pretended negociation. As soon as he found himself in a capacity to take the field, he changed his tone; and Godwin, finding himself unable to oppose his superior force, or to keep his army together, permitted it to disperse, and took shelter with Baldwin, earl of Flanders. His estates, which were numerous, together with those of his sons, were confiscated; and the greatness of his family seemed, for a time, to be totally overthrown.

But this nobleman's power was too strong to be shaken by so slight a blast; for, being assisted with a fleet by the earl of Flanders, he landed on the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by his son Harold, with a squadron which that nobleman had collected in Ireland. From thence, being reinforced by great numbers of his former dependents and followers, he sailed up the Thames, and, appearing before London, threw all things into confusion. In this exigence, the king alone seemed resolute; but his nobility, many of whom were secretly inclined to Godwin, brought on a negociation, in which it was stipulated, that the king should dismiss all his foreign servants, the primate being among the number; and that Godwin should give hostages for his own future good behaviour. Godwin's death, which followed soon after, [A. D. 1053.] prevented him from reaping the fruits of an agreement, by which the king's authority was almost reduced to nothing.

This nobleman was succeeded in his governments and offices by his son Harold, who, in his ambition, was equal to his father, but in his virtues and abilities far his superior. By a modest and gentle demeanour, he acquired the good-will of Edward, or at least softened those impressions of hatred which he had long borne the whole family. He artfully insinuated himself into the affections of the people by his liberality and apparent candour, while every day he increased his power by seeming modestly to decline it. By these arts he not only supplanted Algar, duke of Mercia, whom the king raised up to rival his power, but he got his brother Tosti made duke of Northumberland upon the death of Siward, who had long governed that province with great glory.

Harold's insinuating manners, his power, and virtues, extended and increased his popularity to such a degree, that he began to be talked of as the most proper person to succeed to the crown. But nothing could be more ungrateful to Edward than such a desire, as he abhorred a successor from the family of Godwin. Aroused, therefore, by these rumours, he sent for his nephew Edward from Hungary, who was, in fact, the direct descendant from the ancient Saxon kings. Prince Edward soon arrived, [A. D. 1057.] but was scarcely safe landed when he died, leaving his pretensions to Edgar Atheling, his son, who was too young, weak, and inactive, to avail himself of his title. The king was now, therefore, thrown into new difficulties. He saw the youth and inexperience of Edgar, and dreaded the immoderate ambition of Harold. He could not, without reluctance, think of increasing the grandeur of a family which had risen on the ruins of royal authority, and had been stained with the blood of his own brother. In this uncertainty, he is said to have cast his eyes on William, duke of Normandy, as a person fit to succeed him; but of the truth of this circumstance we must, at this distance of time, be contented to remain in uncertainty.

In the mean time, Harold did not remit in his obedience to the king, or his assiduities to the people; still increasing in his power, and preparing his way for his advancement, on the first vacancy, to the throne. In these aims, fortune herself seemed to assist him; and two incidents, which happened about this time, contributed to fix that popularity of which he had been so long eagerly in pursuit. The Welsh renewing their hostilities under prince Griffith, were repelled by him, and rendered tributary to the crown of England. The other incident was no less honourable: his brother Tosti, who had been appointed to the government of Northumberland, having grievously oppressed the people, was expelled in an insurrection, and Harold was ordered by the king to reinstate him in his power, and punish the insurgents. While yet at the head of an army, preparing to take signal vengeance for the injury done to his brother, he was met by a deputation of the people who had been so cruelly governed. They assured him that they had no intention to rebel, but had taken up arms merely to protect themselves from the cruelty of

a rapacious governor. They enumerated the grievances they had sustained from his tyranny, brought the strongest proofs of his guilt, and appealed to Harold's equity for redress. This nobleman, convinced of Tosti's brutality, sacrificed his affection to his duty; and not only procured their pardon from the king, but confirmed the governor whom the Northumbrians had chosen in his command. From that time Harold became the idol of the people; and, indeed, his virtues deserved their love, had they not been excited by ambition.

Harold, thus secure of the affections of the English, no longer strove to conceal his aims, but openly aspired at the succession. He every where insinuated, that as the heir-apparent to the crown was utterly unequal to the task of government, both from age and natural imbecility, there was no one so proper as a man of mature experience and tried integrity: he alleged, that a man born in England was only fit to govern Englishmen; and that none but an able general could defend them against so many foreign enemies as they were every day threatened with. The people readily saw to what these speeches tended; and instead of discountenancing his pretensions, assisted them with their wishes and applause. Edward, broken with age and infirmities, his mind entirely engrossed by the visions of superstition, and warmly attached to none, saw the danger to which the government was exposed, but took feeble and irresolute steps to secure the succession. While he continued thus uncertain, he was surprised by sickness, which brought him to his end on the fifth of January, [A. D. 1066.] in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

This prince, who was reverenced by the monks, under the titles of Saint and Confessor, had but weak pretensions to either, being indolent, irresolute, and credulous. The tranquillity of his reign was owing rather to the weakness of his foreign enemies, than his own domestic strength. But, though he seemed to have few active virtues, yet he certainly had no vices of an atrocious kind: and the want of the passions, rather than their restraint, was then, as it has been long since, the best title to canonization. He was the first who, from his supposed sanctity, touched for the king's evil.

Harold, whose intrigues and virtues seemed to give a right to his pretensions, ascended the throne without any opposition. The citizens of London, who were ever fond of an elective monarchy, seconded his claims; the clergy adopted his cause; and the body of the people, whose friend he had been, sincerely loved him. Nor were the first acts of his reign unworthy of the general prejudice in his favour. He took the most effectual measures for an impartial administration of justice; ordered the laws to be revised and reformed; and those disturbers of the public peace to be punished, who had thriven under the lenity of the last reign.

But neither his valour, his justice, nor his popularity, were able to secure him from the misfortunes attendant upon an ill-grounded title. The first symptoms of his danger came from his own brother Tosti, who had taken refuge in Flanders, and went among the princes of the continent, endeavouring to engage them in a league against Harold, whom he represented as a tyrant and usurper. Not content with this, being furnished with some ships by the earl of Flanders, he made a descent upon the Isle of Wight, which he laid under contribution, and pillaged along the coast, until he was encountered and routed by Morcar, who had been appointed to the government from which he was expelled.

But he was not without succour; for Harfagar, king of Norway, who had been brought over by his remonstrances, arrived with a fleet of two hundred sail at the mouth of the river Humber, where he was joined by the shattered remains of Tosti's forces. It was in vain that the earls of Mercia and Northumberland attempted to stop their progress with a body of new-raised undisciplined troops: they were quickly routed, and York fell a prey to the enemy. Meanwhile, Harold, being informed of this misfortune, hastened with an army to the protection of his people, and expressed the utmost ardour to shew himself worthy of their favour. He had given so many proofs of an equitable and prudent administration, that the people flocked from all quarters to join his standard; and as soon as he reached the enemy at Stanford, he found himself in a condition of giving them battle. The action was very

bloody; but the victory was decisive on the side of Harold, and ended in the total rout of the Norwegians, Harfagar their king, and Tosti, being slain. Those who escaped, owed their safety to the personal prowess of a brave Norwegian, who is said to have defended a bridge over the Derwent for three hours, against the whole English army; during which time he slew forty of their best men with his battle-axe: but he was at length slain by an arrow. Harold, pursuing his victory, made himself master of a Norwegian fleet that lay in the river Ouse: and had the generosity to give prince Olave, the son of Harfagar, his liberty, and allowed him to depart with twenty vessels. There had never before been in England an engagement between two such numerous armies, each being composed of no less than threescore thousand men. The news of this victory diffused inexpressible joy over the whole kingdom; they gloried in a monarch, who now shewed himself able to defend them from insult, and avenge them of their invaders: but they had not long time for triumph, when intelligence was brought of a fresh invasion, more formidable than had ever been formed against England before. This was under the conduct of William, duke of Normandy, who landed at Hastings, [Sept. 29, 1066.] with a army of disciplined veterans, and laid claim to the English crown.

William, who was afterwards called the Conqueror, was the natural son of Robert, duke of Normandy. His mother's name was Arlette, a beautiful maid of Falaise, whom Robert fell in love with, as she stood gazing at the door whilst he passed through the town. William, who was the offspring of this amour, owed a part of his greatness to his birth, but still more to his own personal merit. His body was vigorous, his mind capacious and noble, and his courage not to be repressed by apparent danger. His father Robert growing old, and, as was common with princes then, superstitious also, resolved upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, contrary to the advice and opinion of all his nobility. As his heart was fixed upon the expedition, instead of attending to their remonstrances, he shewed them his son William, whom, though illegitimate, he tenderly loved, and recommended to their care, exacting an oath from them of homage and fealty. He then put him, as he was yet but ten years of age, under the tutelage of the French king; and soon after going into Asia, whence he never returned, left young William rather the inheritor of his wishes than the crown. In fact, William, from the beginning, found himself exposed to many dangers, and much opposition, from his youth and inexperience, from the reproach of his birth, from a suspected guardian, a disputed title, and a distracted state. The regency, appointed by Robert, were under great difficulties in supporting the government against this complication of dangers: and the young prince, when he came of age, found himself reduced to a very low condition. But the great qualities which he soon displayed in the field and the cabinet gave encouragement to his friends, and struck a terror into his enemies. He on all sides opposed his rebellious subjects, and repressed foreign invaders, while his valour and conduct prevailed in every action. The tranquillity which he had thus established in his dominions induced him to extend his views; and some overtures, made him by Edward the Confessor in the latter part of his reign, who was wavering in the choice of a successor, inflamed his ambition with a desire of succeeding to the English throne. Whether Edward really appointed him to succeed, as William all along pretended, is, at this distance of time, uncertain; but it is beyond a doubt, that Harold, happening to pay a visit to the Norman coast, was induced by this prince to acknowledge his claims, and to give a promise of seconding them. This promise, however, Harold did not think proper to perform, when it stood in the way of his own ambition; and afterwards, when William objected to the breach, he excused himself, by alleging that it was extorted from him at a time when he had no power to refuse. On whatever side justice might lie, the pretext on William's part was, that he was appointed heir to the crown of England, by Edward the Confessor, upon a visit he had paid that monarch during his lifetime. In consequence of these pretensions, he was not remiss, after the death of Edward, to lay in his claims; but Harold would admit none of them, resolved to defend by his valour, what his intrigues had won. William, finding that arms alone

were to be the final deciders of this dispute, prepared to assert his right with vigour. His subjects, as they had long been distinguished for valour among the European-nations, had at this time attained to the highest pitch of military glory. His court was the centre of politeness; and all who wished for fame in arms, or were naturally fond of adventure, flocked to put themselves under his conduct. The fame of his intended invasion of England was diffused over the whole continent; multitudes came to offer him their services in this expedition; so that he was embarrassed rather in the choice of whom he should take, than in levying his forces. The pope himself was not behind the rest in favouring his pretensions; but either influenced by the apparent justice of his claims, or by the hopes of extending the authority of the church, he immediately pronounced Harold an usurper. He denounced excommunication against him and all his adherents, and sent the duke a consecrated banner, to inspire him with confidence. With such favourable incentives, William soon found himself at the head of a chosen army of sixty thousand men, all equipped in the most warlike and splendid manner. The discipline of the men, the vigour of the horses, the lustre of the arms and accoutrements, were objects that had been scarcely seen in Europe for some ages before. It was in the beginning of summer that he embarked this powerful body on board a fleet of three hundred sail; and after some small opposition from the weather, landed at Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex, with resolute tranquillity. William himself, as he came on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but instead of being discomposed at the accident, he had the presence of mind to cry out, that he thus took possession of the country. Different from all the ravagers to which England had been formerly accustomed, this brave prince made no show of invading a foreign country, but rather encamping in his own. Here he continued in a quiet and peaceable manner for about a fortnight, either willing to refresh his troops, or desirous of knowing the reception which his pretensions to the crown would meet with among the people. After having refreshed his men at this place, and sent back his fleet to Normandy, to leave no retreat for cowardice, he advanced along the sea-side to Hastings, where he published a manifesto, declaring the motives that had induced him to undertake this enterprise.

He was soon roused from his inactivity by the approach of Harold, who seemed resolved to defend his right to the crown, and retain that sovereignty which he had received from the people, who only had a right to bestow it. He was now returning, flushed with conquest, from the defeat of the Norwegians, with all the forces he had employed in that expedition, and all he could invite or collect in the country through which he passed. His army was composed of active and valiant troops, in high spirits, strongly attached to their king, and eager to engage. On the other hand, the army of William consisted of the flower of the continent, and had been long inured to danger. The men of Bretagne, Boulogne, Flanders, Poictou, Maine, Orleans, France, and Normandy, were voluntarily united under his command. England never before, nor ever since, saw two such armies drawn up to dispute its crown. The day before the battle, William sent an offer to Harold to decide the quarrel between them by single combat, and thus to spare the blood of thousands; but Harold refused, and said he would leave it to the God of armies to determine. Both armies, therefore, that night pitched in sight of each other, expecting the dawning of the next day with impatience. The English passed the night in songs and feasting; the Normans in devotion and prayer.

The next morning, at seven, as soon as day appeared, both armies were drawn up in array against each other. Harold appeared in the centre of his forces, leading his army on foot, that his men might be more encouraged by seeing their king exposed to an equality of danger. William fought on horseback, leading on his army, that moved at once, singing the song of Roland, one of the famous chiefs of their country. The Normans began the fight with their cross-bows, which, at first, galled and surprised the English; and, as their ranks were close, their arrows did great execution. But soon they came to closer fight, and the English, with their bills, hewed down their adversaries with great slaughter. Confusion was spreading among the ranks,

when William, who found himself on the brink of destruction, hastened, with a select band, to the relief of his forces. His presence restored the suspense of battle; he was seen in every place endeavouring to pierce the ranks of the enemy, and had three horses slain under him. At length, perceiving that the English line continued impenetrable, he pretended to give ground; which, as he expected, drew the enemy from their ranks; and he was instantly ready to take advantage of their disorder. Upon a signal given, the Normans readily returned to the charge with greater fury than before, broke the English troops, and pursued them to a rising ground. It was in this extremity that Harold was seen flying from rank to rank, rallying and inspiring his troops with vigour; and though he had toiled all day, till near night-fall, in front of his Kentish men, he still seemed unabated in force or courage, keeping his men to the post of honour. Once more, therefore, the victory seemed to turn against the Normans, and they fell in great numbers; so that the fierceness and obstinacy of this memorable battle were often renewed by the courage of the leaders, whenever that of the soldiers began to slacken. Fortune, at length, determined a victory that valour was unable to decide. Harold, making a furious onset at the head of his troops against the Norman heavy-armed infantry, was shot in the brain by an arrow; and his two valiant brothers, fighting by his side, shared the same fate. He fell with his sword in his hand, amidst heaps of slain; and, after the battle, the royal corpse could hardly be distinguished among the dead. From the moment of his death, all courage seemed to forsake the English; they gave ground on every side, and were pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans. Thus, after a battle, which was fought from morning till sun-set, the invaders proved successful, and the English crown became the reward of victory. [Oct. 14, 1066.] There fell near fifteen thousand of the Normans, while the loss on the side of the vanquished was yet more considerable, beside that of the king and his two brothers. The next day, the dead body of Harold was brought to William, and generously restored, without ransom, to his mother.

This was the end of the Saxon government in England, which had continued for more than six hundred years. Before the time of Alfred, the kings of this race seemed totally immersed in ignorance, and, after him, taken up with combating the superstition of the monks, or blindly obeying its dictates.

As for the crown, during this period, it was neither wholly elective nor totally hereditary, but disposed of either by the will of the former possessor, or obtained by the eminent intrigues or services of some person nearly allied to the royal family. As for the laws and customs of this race, they brought in many long in practice among their German ancestors; but they adopted also many more which they found among the Britons, or which the Romans left behind them after their abdication. They assumed, in imitation of those nations, the name of kings; and some of them took the Greek appellation of Basileus, a title unknown to the countries from which they came. Their noblemen also assumed names of Roman authority, being termed dukes or *duces*; while the lower classes of people were bought and sold with the farms they cultivated; a horrid custom, first introduced by the Greeks and Romans, and afterwards adopted by the countries they conquered. Their canon laws also, which often controlled the civil authority, had primarily their origin in Rome; and the priests and monks, who drew them up, had generally their education there. We must not, therefore, ascribe the laws and customs which then prevailed over England, entirely to Saxon original, as many of them were derived from the Britons and Romans. But, now the Saxon monarchy was no more, all customs and laws, of whatever original, were cast down into one common mass, and cemented by those of Norman institution. The whole face of obligation was altered, and the new masters instituted new modes of obedience. The laws were improved; but the taste of the people for polite learning, arts, and philosophy, for more than four hundred years after, was still to continue the same. It appears surprising enough, in such a variety of events, such innovation in military discipline, and such changes in government, that true politeness, and what is called a taste in the arts, never came to be cultivated. Perhaps the reason may be, that, while the authority of the church continued so great, the people were

afraid of any knowledge but that derived to them through their clergy; and, being secluded from the ordinary conversation of mankind, they were but indifferent judges of human nature. A monk of the tenth century, and a monk of the eighteenth century, are equally refined, and equally fit to advance those studies that give us an acquaintance with ourselves, or that tend to display the mazes of the human heart.

CHAP. V.

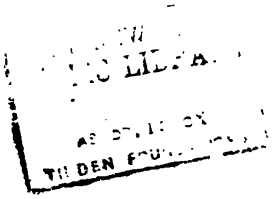
WILLIAM *the* CONQUEROR.—A. D. 1066 to 1087.

NOTHING could exceed the consternation of the English upon the loss of the battle of Hastings; their king slain, the flower of their nobility cut off, and their whole army dispersed or destroyed, struck them with despair. Very little seemed now remaining but a tame submission to the victor; and William, sensible of their terror, was careful not to lose the fruits of victory by delay. Accordingly, after the pursuit of the flying enemy, and a short refreshment of his own army, he set forward on the completion of his design; and, sitting down before Dover, took it after a slight resistance, and fortified it with fresh redoubts. After a short delay at this place, he advanced by quick marches towards London, where his approach served to spread new confusion. The inhabitants for some time hesitated between their terrors and their loyalty; but, casting their eyes on every side, they saw no person of valour or authority sufficient to support them in their independence. Edgar Atheling, the right heir to the crown, was a weak and feeble prince, without courage or ambition; all their other leaders were either destroyed, or too remote to lend them assistance. The clergy, who had a large share in the deliberations, declared openly for a prince whose pretensions were acknowledged, and whose arms were blessed, by the holy see. Nothing remained but to submit to the necessity of the times, and to acknowledge those claims which it was not in their power to oppose. As soon, therefore, as William passed the Thames at Wallingford, Stigand, the primate, made submissions to him in the name of the clergy; and before he came within sight of the city, the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himself, who just before had been created king, came into his camp, and declared an intention of yielding to his authority. William was glad of being thus peaceably put in possession of a throne, which several of his predecessors had not gained without repeated victories. He readily accepted the crown upon the terms that were offered him; which were, that he should govern according to the established customs of the country. William, though he had it in his power to dictate his own conditions, rather than receive any, chose to have his election considered rather as a gift from his subjects, than a measure extorted by him. He knew himself to be a conqueror, but was willing to be thought a legal king.

In order to give his invasion all the sanction possible, he was crowned at Westminster by the archbishop of York, and took the oath usual in the times of the Saxon and Danish kings; which was, to protect and defend the church, to observe the laws of the realm, and to govern the people with impartiality. Having thus given all possible satisfaction to the English, his next care was to reward the many brave adventurers who had followed his fortunes. He first divided the lands of the English barons who opposed him, among the Norman barons who had assisted his enterprise; and such as he could neither supply with money nor lands, he appointed to the vacant offices of the state. But, as there were still numbers unprovided for, he quartered them on the rich abbeys of the kingdom, until better means offered for their advancement. This, which gave no small umbrage to the clergy, was but little resented by the people, who were willing to see their own burdens lightened, by having a part of them laid upon shoulders that were at that time much better able to bear them.

But what gave them great umbrage was, to see him place all real power in the hands of his own countrymen, and still to give them possession of the sword, to which he owed all his authority. He disarmed the city of London, and other places which appeared most warlike and populous, and quartered


WILLIAM II
WILLIAM I
HENRY II


TILDEN

Norman soldiers in all those places where he most dreaded an insurrection. Having thus secured the government, and, by a mixture of vigour and lenity, brought the English to an entire submission, he resolved to return to the continent, there to enjoy the triumph and congratulation of his ancient subjects. Having no reason to apprehend any disturbance in his absence among the English, whose affection he had taken such pains to conciliate, he left the regency with his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osborne. To secure himself yet farther, he resolved to carry along with him all the English noblemen from whose power or inclination he could apprehend a revolt: and, pretending to take great pleasure in their conversation, he set sail with his honourable captives for Normandy, where he was received by his natural subjects with a mixture of admiration and joy. He resided for some time at the abbey of Feschamp, where he was visited by an ambassador from the king of France, sent to congratulate him on his success. William, naturally fond of splendour, received this embassy with great state and magnificence; while his English courtiers, willing to ingratiate themselves with their new sovereign, endeavoured to outshine each other, and made a display of riches, which struck foreigners with astonishment. It was probably this foolish ostentation that excited the pride of the Normans to treat men with contempt who were apparently so much above them.

In the mean time, the absence of the Conqueror produced, in England, the most fatal effects. His officers being no longer controlled by his justice, thought this a fit opportunity for extortion; while the English, no longer awed by his presence, thought it the happiest occasion for vindicating their freedom. The two governors he had left behind took all opportunities of oppressing the people: either desiring to provoke them to rebellion, in order to profit by confiscations, or, in case they submitted tamely to their impositions, to grow rich without slaughter. The inhabitants of Kent, who were more immediately exposed to these outrages, having repeated their complaints and remonstrances to no purpose, at length had recourse to Eustace, count of Boulogne, who assisted them in an attack upon the garrison of Dover. But the Normans were upon their guard, and having repulsed the assailants with some slaughter, took the nephew of count Eustace prisoner. This miscarriage did not deter Edric the Forester from repelling the depredations of the Normans, and, in his turn, from wasting their possessions. But though these open hostilities were not very considerable, the disaffection among the English was general, and the people began too late to perceive that strength will ever give laws to justice. A secret conspiracy was therefore formed for destroying all the Normans, as the Danes had been formerly cut off; and this was prosecuted with so much animosity, that the vassals of the earl Coxo put him to death, because he refused to head them against the invaders.

William, being informed of these commotions, hastened over to England, and arrived time enough to prevent the execution of this bloody enterprise. The conspirators had already taken the resolution, and fixed the day, for the intended massacre, which was to be on Ash-Wednesday, during the time of divine service, when all the Normans would be unarmed, as penitents, according to the discipline of the times. But his presence quickly disconcerted all their schemes. Such of them as had been more open in their mutiny, betrayed their guilt by flight; and this served to confirm the proofs of an accusation against those who remained.

From that time forward the king began to lose all confidence in his English subjects, and to regard them as inveterate and irreconcileable enemies. He had already raised such a number of fortresses in the kingdom, that he no longer dreaded the tumultuous or transient efforts of a discontented multitude; he determined to treat them as a conquered nation, to indulge his own avarice, and that of his followers, by numerous confiscations, and to secure his power by humbling all who were able to make any resistance. The first signal of his arbitrary power was manifested in renewing the odious tax of Danegeld, which had been abolished by Edward the Confessor. This measure produced remonstrances, complaints, and even insurrections, in different parts of the kingdom; but William, conscious of his power, marched against such as were most formidable, and soon compelled them to implore

mercy. In this manner the inhabitants of Exeter and Cornwall excited his resentment, and experienced his lenity.

But these insurrections were slight, compared to that in the North, which seemed to threaten the most important consequences. [A. D. 1068.] This was excited by the intrigues of Edwin and Morcar, the two most powerful noblemen of the English race, who, joined by Blethyn prince of North Wales, Malcolm king of Scotland, and Sweyn king of Denmark, resolved to make one great effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. But the vigour and celerity of William destroyed their projects before they were ripe for execution; for, as he advanced towards them at the head of a powerful army, by forced marches, the two earls were so intimidated, that instead of opposing, they had recourse to his clemency, by submission. He did not think proper to reject their advances, but pardoned them without hesitation. A peace which he made with Malcolm, king of Scotland, shortly after, seemed to deprive them of all hopes of future assistance from without the kingdom.

But, whatever the successes of William might have been, the inhabitants, whether English or Normans, were at that time in a most dreadful situation. All the miseries that insolence on one hand, and hatred on the other; that tyranny and treason, suspicion and assassination, could bring upon a people; were there united. The Normans were seen to commit continual insults upon the English; and these vainly sought redress from their partial masters. Legal punishment being denied, they sought for private vengeance; and a day seldom passed but the bodies of assassinated Normans were found in the woods and highways, without any possibility of bringing the perpetrators to justice. Thus, at length, the conquerors themselves began again to wish for the tranquillity and security of their native country; and several of them, though intrusted with great commands, desired to be dismissed from the service. In order to prevent these desertions, which William highly resented, he was obliged to allure others to stay, by the largeness of his bounties. These brought on fresh exactions, and new insurrections were the natural consequences.

The inhabitants of Northumberland, impatient of their yoke, attacked the Norman garrison in Durham, and, taking advantage of the governor's negligence, put him, with seven hundred of his men, to the sword. The Norman governor of York shared the same fate; and the insurgents, being reinforced by the Danes, and some leaders from Scotland, attacked the castle, which was defended by a garrison of three thousand men. Mallet, its governor, that he might the better provide for its defence, set fire to some houses which lay contiguous; but the fire spreading, the whole city was quickly in flames. This proved the cause of his destruction; for the enraged inhabitants, joining in the assault, entered the citadel sword in hand, and cut off the whole garrison, without mercy. This transient gleam of success seemed to spread a general spirit of insurrection. The counties of Somerset, Dorset, Cornwall, and Devon, united in the common cause, and determined to make one great effort for the recovery of their former freedom.

William, undaunted amidst this scene of confusion, assembled his forces, and led them towards the North, conscious that his presence alone would be sufficient to repress these rude efforts of unadvised indignation. Accordingly, wherever he appeared, the insurgents either submitted or retired. The Danes were content to return, without committing any further hostilities, into Denmark. Waltheoff, who long defended York castle, submitted to the victor's clemency, and was taken into favour. Edric, another nobleman, who commanded the Northumbrians, made his submission to the Conqueror, and obtained pardon; while the rest dispersed themselves, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the whole kingdom. Edgar Atheling, who had been drawn among the rest into this insurrection, sought a retreat in Scotland from the pursuit of his enemies. There he continued, till, by proper solicitation, he was again taken into favour by the king. From that time he remained in England in a private station, content with opulence and security; perhaps as happy, though not so splendid, as if he had succeeded in the career of his ambition.

William, being now acknowledged master of a people that more than once

shewed reluctance to his government, resolved to throw off all appearance of lenity, and to incapacitate them from future insurrections. His first step was, to order the county of Northumberland to be laid waste, the houses to be burnt, the instruments of husbandry to be destroyed, and the inhabitants to seek new habitations. By this order, it is said, that above one hundred thousand persons perished either by the sword or famine; and the country is supposed, even at this day, to bear the marks of its ancient depopulation. He next proceeded to confiscate all the estates of the English gentry, and to grant them liberally to his Norman followers. Thus all the ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary, and the English found themselves entirely excluded from every road that led either to honour or preferment. They had the cruel mortification to find, that all his power only tended to their depression; and that the scheme of their subjection was attended with every circumstance of insult and indignity.

He was not yet, however, sufficiently arbitrary to change all the laws then in being, for those of his own country. He only made several innovations, and ordered the law-pleas in the several courts to be made in the Norman language. Yet, with all his endeavours to make the French the popular language, the English still gained ground; and what deserves remark, it had adopted much more of the French idiom for two or three reigns before, than during the whole line of the Norman kings succeeding.

The feudal law had before been introduced into England by the Saxons; but this monarch reformed it according to the model of that practised in his native dominions. He divided all the lands of England, except the royal demesne, into baronies, and conferred those, upon certain military conditions, on the most considerable of his followers. These had a power of sharing their grants to inferior tenants, who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty that he paid the sovereign. To the first class of these baronies the English were not admitted; and the few who were permitted still to retain their landed property, were content to be received in the second. The barons exercised all kinds of jurisdiction within their own manors, and held courts in which they administered justice to their own vassals. This law extended not only to the laity, but also to the bishops and clergy. They had usurped a power, during the Saxon succession, of being governed within themselves; but William restrained them to the exercise of their ecclesiastical power only, and submitted them to a similitude of duties with the rest of their fellow-subjects. This they at first regarded as a grievous imposition; but the king's authority was established by a power that neither the clergy nor the pope could intimidate. But, to keep the clergy as much as possible in his interests, he appointed none but his own countrymen to the most considerable church-dignities; and even displaced Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, upon some frivolous pretences. His real motive was, that such a dignity was too exalted for a native to possess.

While he was thus employed in humbling the clergy, he was no less solicitous to repress many of those superstitious practices to which they had given countenance. He endeavoured to abolish trials by *ordeal* and *camp-fight*. The ordeal trial, which had been originally of pagan institution, and was still held in veneration by the Saxon Christians, was either by fire or water. It was used in criminal cases, where the suspicions were strong, but the proofs not evident. In that of fire, the person accused was brought into an open plain, and several red-hot ploughshares were placed at equal intervals before him; over these he was to walk blindfold; and, if he escaped unhurt, he was acquitted of the charge. In the trial by water, the person accused was thrown, bound hand and foot, into the water: if he sunk, he was declared innocent; if he swam, he was executed, as being thus miraculously convicted. The trial by camp-fight was performed by single combat, in lists appointed for that purpose, between the accuser and the accused. He who, in such a case, came off victorious, was deemed innocent; and he who was conquered, if he survived his antagonist's resentment in the field, was sure to suffer as a malefactor some time after. Both these trials William abolished, as unchristian and unjust; and he reduced all causes to the judgment of twelve men, of a rank nearly equal to that of the prisoner. This

method of trial by jury was common to the Saxons, as well as the Normans, long before; but it was now confirmed by him with all the sanction of undisputed authority.

While William was thus employed, in rewarding his associates, punishing the refractory, and giving laws for the benefit of all, he was threatened with an insurrection in his dominions on the continent, which he thought his presence necessary to suppress. [A. D. 1073.] Unwilling, however, to draw off his Norman forces from England, he carried over a considerable army, composed almost entirely of English; and by those brave troops he soon reduced the revolters to submission. Thus we see a whimsical vicissitude of fortune: the inhabitants of Normandy brought over for the conquest of the English, and the English sent back to conquer the Normans. However, William had not time to enjoy his success unmolested; for accounts were quickly brought him from England, that a new conspiracy was formed, more dreadful, in being supported by the joint efforts of the Normans and the English. The adventurers who had followed the fortunes of William into England, had been bred in authority and independence at home, and were ill able to endure the absolute authority which this monarch had for some time assumed. The discontents were therefore become very general among these haughty nobles; and some wanted only the opportunity of his absence to break out into open rebellion. Among the number was Roger, earl of Hereford, son and heir to Fitz-Osborne, who had been the king's principal favourite. This nobleman had, either by way of compliment to the king, or in compliance with some obligation of the feudal law, solicited William's consent to permit the marriage of his sister with Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk; but he was flatly refused. Nevertheless, he proceeded to solemnize the nuptials with great magnificence, assembling all his friends, and those of Guader, upon the occasion. As the parents of the new-married couple were well acquainted with the character of William, whose resentment they had every reason to dread, they took the opportunity, while the company was heated with wine, to introduce that as a subject of conversation. They inveighed against the severity of his government; they observed, that, by means of his excessive impositions, he had taken with one hand what he had given with the other; they affected to commiserate the English, whom he had reduced to beggary; and aggravated the defects in his disposition, which they represented as haughty and unforgiving. The guests were ready enough at any time to concur in their complaints; but now, warmed by the jollity of the entertainment, they put no bounds to their zeal. They unanimously entered into a conspiracy to shake off his yoke; and earl Waltheoff himself, whom we have already seen pardoned upon a former insurrection, was among the foremost on this occasion. But it was not without the greatest anxiety that he reflected, in his cooler intervals, upon an engagement made in the ardour of intoxication, big with the most fatal consequences both to himself and his country. In this state of perturbation he had recourse to his wife, the niece of the king, and unbosomed himself to her, as he had the most firm reliance on her fidelity. But he was deceived; for she was in love with another, and only wanted an opportunity of getting rid of her husband at any rate. She, therefore, instantly found means to communicate the whole affair to the king, taking care to represent her husband's conduct in the most disadvantageous point of view. In the mean time, Waltheoff himself gave way to his internal remorse, and confessed the whole conspiracy to Lanfranc, who exhorted him, by all means, to reveal it to the king; which he was at last persuaded to do: but it was not till the whole affair had been divulged by his faithless consort. William coolly thanked him for his fidelity; but the former account of his perfidy sunk deep into the king's mind, and he secretly resolved to punish it.

During this interval, the conspirators being informed that Waltheoff was gone over to Normandy, justly concluded that their designs were betrayed, and flew to arms before their schemes were ripe for execution. The earl of Hereford was checked by Walter de Lacy, a great baron in the king's interest. The earl of Norfolk was defeated by Odo the king's brother; and the prisoners who were taken had each the right foot cut off, in order to deter others from a similitude of treason. The earl himself retired to Denmark;

so that William, upon his arrival in England, found that nothing remained for him to do but to punish the criminals; which was performed with unusual severity. Many of the rebels were hanged, some had their eyes put out, and others their hands cut off. The unfortunate Waltheoff, who had imprudently entered into the conspiracy, but attempted to atone for his fault by an early confession, found no mercy. He was rich, and he was an Englishman; two faults that served to aggravate his guilt: he was accordingly tried, condemned, and executed. His infamous wife did not long enjoy the fruits of her perfidy; but falling some time after under the king's displeasure, was abandoned by the world, and passed the rest of her life in contempt, remorse, and misery. Some assert that this nobleman fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of Odo, not of William; but, however that may be, it is certain that Waltheoff, and Fitz-Aubert, a noble Norman, who was also beheaded on this occasion, were the only persons of note that were executed during the reign of William the Conqueror. Having thus re-established the peace of his government, and extinguished the last embers of rebellion with blood, William returned once more to the continent, in order to pursue Guader, who, escaping from England, had taken refuge with the count of Bretagne. Finding him, however, too powerfully protected by that prince, instead of prosecuting his vengeance, he wisely came to a treaty with the count, in which Guader was included.

William having thus secured the peace of his dominions, now expected rest from his labours; and finding none either willing or powerful enough to oppose him, he hoped that the end of his reign would be marked with prosperity and peace. But such is the blindness of human hope, that he found enemies where he least expected them, and such too as served to imbitter all the latter part of his life. His last troubles were excited by his own children, from the opposing of whom he could expect to reap neither glory nor gain. He had four sons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry, besides several daughters. Robert, his eldest son, surnamed Curthose, from the shortness of his legs, was a prince who inherited all the bravery of his family and nation, but was rather bold than prudent, rather enterprising than politic. Earnest after fame, and even impatient that his father should stand in the way, he aspired to that independence to which his temper, as well as some circumstances in his situation, conspired to invite him. He had formerly been promised by his father the government of Maine, a province of France, which had submitted to William, and was also declared successor to the dukedom of Normandy. However, when he came to demand an execution of these engagements, he received an absolute denial; the king shrewdly observing, that it was not his custom to throw off his clothes till he went to bed. Robert openly declared his resentment, and was often heard to express his jealousy of his two surviving brothers, William and Henry; for Richard was killed in hunting, by a stag. These, by greater assiduity, had wrought upon the credulity and affections of the king, and consequently were the most obnoxious to Robert. A mind, therefore, so well prepared for resentment, soon found or made a cause for an open rupture. The princes were one day in sport together, and, in the idle petulance of play, took it into their heads to throw water upon their elder brother as he passed through the court on leaving their apartment. Robert, all alive to suspicion, quickly turned this idle frolic into a studied indignity; and having these jealousies inflamed by one of his favourites, he drew his sword, and ran up stairs with an intent to take revenge. The whole castle was quickly filled with tumult, and it was not without some difficulty that the king himself was able to appease it. But he could not allay the animosity, which, from that moment, ever after prevailed in his family. Robert, attended by several of his confederates, withdrew to Rouen that very night, hoping to surprise the castle; but his design was defeated by the governor.

The flame being thus kindled, the popular character of the prince, and a sympathy of manners, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Bretagne, to espouse his quarrel; [A. D. 1077.] even his mother, it is said, supported him by secret remittances, and aided him in this obstinate resistance by private encouragement. This unnatural contest

continued for several years to inflame the Norman state; and William was at last obliged to have recourse to England for supporting his authority against his son. Accordingly, drawing an army of Englishmen together, he led them over into Normandy; where he soon compelled Robert and his adherents to quit the field, and he was quickly reinstated in all his dominions. [A. D. 1079.] As for Robert, being no longer able to resist his father, he was obliged to take shelter in the castle of Gerberoy, which the king of France had provided for him, where he was shortly after besieged by his father. As the garrison was strong, and conscious of guilt, it made a most gallant defence; and many were the skirmishes and duels that were fought under its walls. In one of these, accident brought the king and his son together; but, being both concealed by their helmets, they attacked each other with mutual fury. A fierce and dreadful combat ensued between them, till at last the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw him from his horse. The next blow would, in all probability, have put an end to the king's life, had he not cried out for assistance. Robert then immediately recollected his father's voice; and at once stung with a consciousness of his crime, he leaped from his horse, and raised the fallen monarch from the ground. He then prostrated himself in his presence, and craved pardon for his offences, promising for the future a strict adherence to his duty. The resentment harboured by the king was not so easily appeased; perhaps his indignation at being overcome, added to his anger: instead, therefore, of pardoning his son, he gave him his malediction, and departed for his own camp on Robert's horse, which the prince had assisted him to mount. However, the conduct of the son served, after some recollection, to appease the father. As soon as William had returned to Rouen, he became reconciled to Robert, and carried him with him into England, where he was successfully employed in retaliating an invasion of Malcolm king of Scotland.

William, being thus freed from foreign and domestic enemies, began to have sufficient leisure for a more attentive application to the duties of peace. [A. D. 1081.] For this purpose the Domesday Book was compiled by his order, which contains a general survey of all the lands in the kingdom; their extent in each district; their proprietors, tenures, value, the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in some counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and people of all denominations, who lived upon them. This detail enabled him to regulate the taxations in such a manner, that all the inhabitants were compelled to bear their duties in proportion to their abilities.

He was no less careful of the methods of saving money than of accumulation. He reserved a very ample revenue for the crown; and in the general distribution of land among his followers, he kept possession of no less than fourteen hundred manors in different parts of the country. Such was his income, that it is justly said to have exceeded that of any English prince either before or since his time. No king of England was ever so opulent; none so able to support the splendour and magnificence of a court; none had so many places of trust and profit to bestow; and none, consequently, had his commands attended with such implicit obedience.

There was one pleasure to which William, as well as all the Normans and ancient Saxons, was addicted, which was hunting. To indulge this in its utmost extent, he depopulated the county of Hants for thirty miles, turning out the inhabitants, destroying all the villages, and making the wretched outcasts no compensation for such an injury. In the time of the Saxon kings, all noblemen without distinction had a right to hunt in the royal forests; but William appropriated all these, and published very severe laws to prohibit his subjects from encroaching on this part of his prerogative. The killing of a deer, a boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes, at a time when the killing of a man might be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or composition.

As the king's wealth and power were so great, it may be easily supposed that the riches of his ministers were in proportion. Those of his uterine brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, were so great, that he resolved to purchase the papacy. For this purpose, taking the opportunity of William's absence, he

equipped a vessel at the Isle of Wight, on board of which he sent immense treasures, and prepared for his embarkation; but he was unfortunately detained by contrary winds. In the mean time, William, having had intimation of his design, resolved to prevent the exportation of so much wealth from his dominions. Accordingly, returning from Normandy, where he was then employed, he came into England at the very instant his brother was stepping on board, and immediately ordered him to be made a prisoner. His attendants, however, respecting the immunities of the church, scrupled to execute his commands; so that the king himself was obliged with his own hands to seize him. Odo, disconcerted at so unexpected an intervention, appealed to the pope; who, he alleged, was the only person upon earth to try a bishop. To this the king replied, that he did not seize him as Bishop of Bayeux, but as the earl of Kent; and in that capacity he expected, and would have, an account of his administration. He was, therefore, sent prisoner into Normandy; and notwithstanding all the remonstrances and threats of Gregory, he was detained in custody during the remainder of William's reign.

William had scarcely put an end to this transaction, when he felt a very severe blow in the death of Matilda, his queen; and, as misfortunes generally come together, he received information of a general insurrection in Maine, the nobility of which had been always averse from the Norman government. Upon his arrival on the continent, he found that the insurgents had been secretly assisted and excited by the king of France, whose policy consisted in thus lessening the Norman power, by creating dissensions among the nobles of its different provinces. William's displeasure was not a little increased by the account he received of some railleries which that monarch had thrown out against him. It seems that William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness; and Philip was heard to say, that he only lay-in of a big-belly. This so provoked the English monarch, that he sent him word he should soon be up, and would, at his churching, present such a number of tapers as would set the kingdom of France in a flame.

In order to perform this promise, he levied a strong army, and, entering the Isle of France, destroyed and burnt all the villages and houses without opposition. [A. D. 1087.] He took the town of Mante, which he reduced to ashes. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident, which shortly after put an end to William's life. His horse chancing to place his fore-feet on some hot ashes, plunged so violently, that the rider was thrown forward, and bruised upon the pommel of the saddle to such a degree, that he suffered a relapse, and was obliged to return to Rouen. Finding his illness increase, and being sensible of the approach of death, he began to turn his eyes to a future state, from which the pursuit of ambition had long averted them. He was now struck with remorse for all his cruelties and depredations: he endeavoured to atone for his former offences by large presents to churches and monasteries, and by giving liberty to many prisoners, whom he had unjustly detained. He was even prevailed on, though not without reluctance, to consent, with his dying breath, to the deliverance of his brother Odo, against whom he was extremely incensed. He then bequeathed Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert, whom he never loved; to Henry he left five thousand pounds and his mother's jointure, without the smallest territory; and though he would not pretend to establish the succession of the crown of England, to which he now began to perceive that he had no title, he expressed his wish that it might devolve to his favourite son William, whom he immediately despatched with letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, desiring his assistance. Having thus regulated his temporal affairs, he was conveyed in a litter to a little village near Rouen, where he might settle the concerns of his soul without noise or interruption. It was there that he died, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned fifty-three years in Normandy, and almost twenty-one in England. His body was interred in the church at Caen, which he himself had founded: but his interment was attended with a remarkable circumstance. As the body was carrying to the grave, the prelates and priests attending with the most awful silence, a man, who stood upon an eminence, was heard to cry out

with a loud voice, and to forbid the interment of the body in a spot that had been unjustly seized by the Conqueror. "That very place," cried the man, "is the area of my father's house; and I now summon the departed soul before the divine tribunal to do me justice, and to atone for so great an oppression." The bishops and attendants were struck with the man's intrepid conduct; they inquired into the truth of his charge, and, finding it just, agreed to satisfy him for the damages he had sustained.

William was a prince of great courage and capacity; ambitious, politic, cruel, vindictive, and rapacious. He was fond of glory, and parsimonious merely for the purposes of ostentation. Though sudden and impetuous in his enterprises, he was cool, deliberate, and indefatigable in times of danger. He is said, by the Norman writers, to have been above eight feet high, his body strong-built and well proportioned, and his strength such that none of his courtiers could draw his bow. He talked little; he was seldom affable to any, except to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury; with him he was ever meek and gentle—with all others, stern and austere. Though he rendered himself formidable to all, and odious to many, yet he had policy sufficient to transmit his power to posterity; and the throne is still occupied by his descendants.

CHAP. VI.

William Rufus.—A. D. 1087 to 1100.

William, surnamed Rufus from the colour of his hair, had no sooner received the late king's letter to Lanfranc in his favour, than he hastened to take measures for securing himself on the throne. Arriving, therefore, before the news of William's death had yet reached England, his first care was to take possession of the treasure left by the king at Winchester, which amounted to the sum of sixty thousand pounds. He then addressed the primate, who had always considered him with an eye of peculiar affection, and who now, finding the justness of his claim, instantly proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation. At the same time, Robert, who had been appointed successor to Normandy, took peaceable possession of that government; where his person was loved, and his accession long desired.

In the beginning of the reign of William Rufus, the English began to think they had hitherto mistaken this prince's character, who had always appeared to them rude and brutal. He at first seemed to pay the utmost regard to the counsels of Lanfranc the primate, which were mild and gentle, and constantly calculated for the benefit of the nation. Nevertheless, the Norman barons, who knew him better, perceived that he kept his disposition under an unnatural restraint, and that he only waited an opportunity for throwing off the mask when his power should be established. They were, from the beginning, displeased at the division of the empire by the late king; they eagerly desired an union as before, and looked upon Robert as the proper owner of the whole. The natural disposition also of this prince was as pleasing to them, as that of William, his brother, was odious. Robert was open, generous, and humane; he carried his facility to an excess, as he could scarcely find strength of mind to give any of his adherents the mortification of a refusal. But this was a quality no way disagreeable to those who expected to build their ambition on the easy pliancy of his temper. A powerful conspiracy was therefore carried on against William; and Odo, the late king's brother, undertook to conduct it to maturity.

William, sensible of the danger that threatened him on all sides, endeavoured to gain the affections of the native English, whom he prevailed upon, by promises of future good treatment and preference in the distribution of his favours, to espouse his interests. He was soon in the field; and, at the head of a numerous army, shewed himself in readiness to oppose all who should dispute his pretensions. In the mean time, Odo had written to Robert an account of the conspiracy in his favour, urging him to use despatch, and exciting him by the greatness of the danger, and the splendour of the reward. Robert gave the most positive assurances of speedy assistance;

but his indolence was not to be excited by distant expectations. Instead of employing his money in levies to support his friends in England, he squandered it away in idle expenses and unmerited benefits, so that he procrastinated his departure till the opportunity was lost; while William exerted himself with incredible activity to dissipate the confederacy before he could arrive. Nor was this difficult to effect: the conspirators had, in consequence of Robert's assurances, taken possession of some fortresses; but the appearance of the king soon reduced them to implore for mercy. He granted them their lives, but confiscated all their estates, and banished them from the kingdom.

William, thus freed from all danger of insurrection, and fixed in the peaceable possession of the kingdom, shewed the first instance of his perverse disposition, in his ingratitude to the English, who had secured him on the throne.

The death of Lanfranc, which followed shortly after, took off all restraint from his inclinations; and his mind now appeared in its natural deformity, tyrannical and unjust. He ordered a new survey to be taken of all the lands and property of the kingdom; and wherever he found them undervalued in the Domesday Book, he raised the proportion of taxes accordingly. Even the privileges of the church, which were held very sacred in those times of ignorance, were but a feeble rampart against his usurpations: he seized the vacant bishoprics, and openly put to sale such abbeys as he thought proper. But, not contented with exerting his tyranny over his own dominions, he was resolved to extend his authority over those of his brother. In consequence of this resolution, he appeared in Normandy at the head of a numerous army; [A. D. 1091.] but the nobility, on both sides, strongly connected by interest and alliances, brought on an accommodation. Among other articles of this treaty, it was agreed, that if either of the brothers should die without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions. It was in vain that Henry, the other brother, remonstrated against this act of injustice; it was in vain that he took arms, and even defended a little fortress on the coast of Normandy, for some time, against their united assaults. He was at last obliged to surrender; and being despoiled of even the small patrimony that was left him, he wandered about for some years with a few attendants, and was often reduced to great poverty.

It was in besieging this fortress that a circumstance or two have been related, which serve to mark the character of the two brothers. As William was taking the air one day on horseback, at some distance from the camp, he perceived two horsemen riding out from the castle, who soon came up and attacked him. In the very first encounter, the king's horse being killed, overturned, and lay upon him in such a manner that he could not disengage himself. His antagonist, while he remained in this situation, lifted up his arm to despatch him; when William exclaimed, in a menacing tone, "Hold, villain! I am the king of England." The two soldiers were immediately seized with veneration and awe; and helping him up, accommodated him with one of their horses. William was not ungrateful for this service; he mounted the horse, and ordering the soldier to follow, took him into his service. Soon after, Robert had an occasion to shew still greater marks of generosity; for, hearing that the garrison was in great distress for want of water, he not only ordered that Henry should be permitted to supply himself, but also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Rufus did not at all approve of this ill-timed generosity; but Robert answered his remonstrances by saying, "Shall we suffer our brother to die with thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?"

The intestine and petty discords that ensued upon this accommodation between Robert and Rufus, seem scarcely worthy of the attention of history. They indeed produced more real calamities to the people than splendid invasions and bloody battles; as the depredations of petty tyrants are ever more severely felt by the poor than the magnanimous projects of ambition. A rupture ensued between Rufus and Malcolm king of Scotland, in which the latter was ultimately surprised and slain by a party from Alnwick castle.

A new breach was made some time after between the brothers, [A. D. 1093.] in which Rufus found means to encroach still farther upon Robert's posses-

sions. An incursion from the Welsh filled the country of England with alarm; [A. D. 1094.] but they were quickly repelled, and obliged to find refuge in their native mountains. A conspiracy of the Norman barons in England threatened serious consequences; but their schemes were prevented and frustrated. Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, who was at the head of this plot, was thrown into prison, where he died, after thirty years' confinement. The count of Eu, another conspirator, denying the charge, fought with his accuser in presence of the court at Windsor, and, being worsted in the combat, was condemned to be castrated, and to have his eyes put out. Every conspiracy, thus detected, served to enrich the king, who took care to apply to his own use those treasures that had been amassed for the purpose of dethroning him.

But the memory of these transient broils and unsuccessful treasons was now totally eclipsed by one of the most noted enterprises that ever adorned the annals of nations, or excited the attention of mankind; I mean the crusades, which were now first projected. Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, was a man of great zeal, courage, and piety. He had made a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and beheld, with indignation, the cruel manner in which the Christians were treated by the infidels, who were in possession of that place. Unable to suppress his resentment, upon his return he entertained the bold design of freeing the whole country from the Mahometan yoke, and of restoring to the Christians the land where their religion was first propagated. He proposed his views to Urban II. at that time pope, who permitted rather than assisted this bold enthusiast in his aims. Peter, therefore, warmed with a zeal that knew no bounds, began to preach the crusade, and to excite the princes of Christendom to the recovery of the Holy Land. Bareheaded and barefooted, he travelled from court to court, preaching as he went, and inflaming the zeal of every rank of people. The fame of this design being thus diffused, prelates, nobles, and princes, concurred in seconding it; and, at a council held at Clermont, where the pope himself exhorted to the undertaking, the whole assembly cried out with one voice, as if by inspiration, *It is the will of God! It is the will of God!* From that time nothing was seen but an universal migration of the western nations into the East: men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost alacrity, and bore the sign of the cross upon their right shoulder, as a mark of their devotion to the cause. In the midst of this universal ardour that was diffused over Europe, men were not entirely forgetful of their temporal interest; for some, hoping a more magnificent settlement in the soft regions of Asia, sold their European property for whatever they could obtain, contented with receiving any thing for what they were predetermined to relinquish. Among the princes who felt and acknowledged this general spirit of enterprise, was Robert, duke of Normandy. The crusade was entirely adapted to his inclinations and his circumstances; he was brave, reckless, covetous of glory, harassed by insurrections, and, what was more than all, naturally fond of change. In order to supply money to defray the necessary charges of so expensive an undertaking, he offered to mortgage his dukedom of Normandy to his brother Rufus for a stipulated sum of money. This sum, which was no greater than ten thousand marks, was readily promised by Rufus, whose ambition was upon the watch to seize every advantage. He was no ways solicitous about raising the money, as he knew the riches of his clergy. From them, therefore, he forced the whole,—heedless of their murmurs, and aggravating his injustice by the pious pretences he made use of to cover his extortions: thus equipping his brother for his romantic expedition to the Holy Land, he more wisely, and more safely, took peaceable possession of his dukedom at home.

In this manner was Normandy once more united to England; and from this union, afterwards, arose those numerous wars with France which for whole centuries continued to depopulate both nations, without conducing in the end to increase the power of either. However, Rufus was not a little pleased with this acquisition: he made a voyage to his new dominion, and took possession of it for five years, according to agreement with his brother. [A. D. 1096.] He also demanded of the king of France a part of the territory of

Vexin, which he pretended was an appurtenance to his duchy, and even attempted to enforce his claims by arms. But though the cession of Maine and Normandy greatly increased the king's territories, they added little to his real power, as his new subjects were composed of men of independent spirits, more ready to dispute than obey his commands. Many were the revolts and insurrections which he was obliged to quell in person; and no sooner was one conspiracy suppressed than another rose to give him fresh disquietude.

In the midst of these foreign troubles, he found himself involved in a disagreeable quarrel with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate of a haughty disposition, and extremely tenacious of the rights of the clergy. There was at that time a schism in the church, between Urban and Clement, who both pretended to the papacy; and Anselm, who had already acknowledged Urban, was determined, without the king's consent, to introduce his authority into England. William, who, imitating his father's example, had prohibited his subjects from recognising any pope whom he had not previously approved, was enraged at Anselm's pretensions. A synod was summoned at Rockingham, for deposing the prelate; but, instead of obeying the king, the members of it declared, that none but the pope could inflict a censure on their primate. To this was soon after added a fresh offence. Anselm being required to furnish his quota of soldiers for an intended expedition against the Welsh, reluctantly complied; but he sent them so ill equipped, that Rufus threatened him with a prosecution. As the resentments on both sides were increased, their mutual demands were raised in proportion, till at length their anger proceeded to recrimination; and Anselm, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, desired permission to retire to Rome. This request the king very readily complied with; but, in order to mortify the prelate yet more, he sent an officer to search his baggage after he was on board, and to seize all his money, on pretence of a law which forbade the exportation of silver. Not content with this, he ordered all his temporalities to be confiscated, and actually kept possession of them for the remaining part of his life.

This open infringement of what were then considered as rights of the church, served to exasperate the pope, as well as all the ecclesiastics of his own dominions, against him. Urban even menaced him with the sentence of excommunication; but he was too earnestly engaged in the crusade to attend to any other business. Rufus, therefore, little regarded those censures, which he found were ineffectual: he had very little religion at best; and the amazing infatuation of the times inspired him with no very high ideas of the wisdom of its professors. It is reported of him, that he once accepted fifty marks of a Jew, whose son had been converted to Christianity, and who engaged him by that present to assist in bringing back the youth to Judaism. William employed both menaces and persuasion to that purpose; but, finding his efforts ineffectual, he sent for the father, and informing him that the new convert was obstinate in his faith, he returned him half the money, and kept the rest for his pains. At another time, he is said to have sent for some learned Christian theologians, and some Jewish rabbis, and bade them fairly dispute the points of their religion before him. He was perfectly indifferent, he said, which should prevail; he had his ears open to both, and he would embrace that doctrine, which, upon comparison, should be found supported by the most solid arguments.

In this manner Rufus proceeded, careless of approbation or censure, and only intent upon extending his dominions, either by purchase or conquest. The earl of Poictou and Guienne, inflamed with a desire of going upon the crusade, had gathered an immense multitude for that expedition, but wanted money to forward his preparations. He had recourse, therefore, to Rufus, and offered to mortgage all his dominions, without much considering what would become of his unhappy subjects that he thus disposed of. The king accepted this offer with his usual avidity, and had prepared a fleet and an army, in order to take possession of the rich provinces thus consigned to his trust. But an accident put an end to all his ambitious projects, and served to rid the world of a mercenary tyrant. His favourite amusement was hunt-

ing, almost the only relaxation of princes in those rude times, when the other arts of peace were but little cultivated. The New Forest was generally the scene of his sport; and there he usually spent those hours which were not employed in business of a more serious nature. One day, as he was mounting his horse, in order to take his customary amusement, he is said to have been stopped by a monk, who warned him, from some dreams he had the night before, to abstain from that day's diversion. Rufus, smiling at his superstition, ordered him to be paid for his zeal, but desired him to have more favourable dreams for the future. Thus setting forward, he began the chase, attended by Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, famous for archery, who always accompanied him in these excursions. Towards sunset, they found themselves separated from the rest of their retinue; and the king dismounted, either through fatigue, or in expectation of a fresh horse. Just at that instant a stag bounded out before him; and Rufus, drawing his bow, wounded the animal, yet not so mortally but that it fled, while he followed in hopes of seeing it fall. As the setting sun beamed in his face, he held up his hands before his eyes, and stood in that posture, when Tyrrel, who had been engaged in the same pursuit, let fly an arrow, which, glancing from a tree, struck the king to the heart. He dropped dead instantaneously; while the innocent author of his death, terrified at the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade that was then setting out for Jerusalem. William's body being found by some countrymen passing through the forest, was laid across a horse, and carried to Winchester, where it was next day interred in the cathedral, without ceremony, or any marks of respect. Few lamented his fate, and none of the courtiers attended his funeral.

It requires no great art to draw the character of a prince whose vices were scarcely compensated by one virtue. Rufus was a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungenerous relation; a rapacious, and yet a prodigal prince. However, there remain to this day some monuments of his public spirit; the Tower, Westminster-hall, and London-bridge, were all built by him, and are evidences that the treasures of government were not all expended in vain. William Rufus was slain in the thirteenth year of his reign, and about the fortieth of his age. As he was never married, he left no legitimate issue: the succession, therefore, of course devolved upon Robert, his elder brother; but he was then too distant to assert his pretensions.

CHAP. VII.

HENRY I. *surnamed* BEAU-CLERC.—A. D. 1100 to 1135.

THERE were now two competitors for the crown,—Robert, who had engaged in the holy war, and Henry, the youngest brother, who continued at home. Had Robert been in Normandy when William died, there is no doubt, from the popularity of his character, and from the treaty formerly concluded between the two brothers, that he would have been elected without opposition. This valiant and generous prince, having led his followers into Palestine, and there distinguished himself by his courage, his affable disposition, and unbounded generosity, after the taking of Jerusalem, began to think of returning home, and of enjoying in tranquillity that glory which he had acquired in the field against the infidels. But, instead of taking the most direct road to England, he passed through Italy, where he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of count Conversano, a lady of celebrated beauty; and, marrying her, he lavished away, in her company, those hours which should have been employed in the recovery of his kingdom.

In the mean time, Henry, who had been hunting in the New Forest when his brother was slain, took the earliest advantage of the occasion, and, hastening to Winchester, resolved to secure the royal treasure, which he knew to be the best assistant in seconding his aims. William de Breteuil, who had the care of the treasury, informed of the king's death, opposed himself boldly to Henry's pretensions. He ventured to assure Henry, that the

money in his custody, as well as the crown, belonged to his elder brother, and that he was resolved to continue firm in his just allegiance. The dispute was on the point of producing bloodshed, when several of Henry's partisans arriving, compelled Breteuil to surrender the treasure, with a part of which they, in all probability, hoped to be rewarded for their service. Being possessed of this, without losing time, he next hastened to London, where he procured himself to be proclaimed king, and instantly proceeded to the exercise of the royal dignity. The barons, as well as the people, acquiesced in a claim which they were unprepared to resist, and yielded obedience from the fears of immediate danger.

Whenever there is a disputed throne, the people generally become umpires, and thus regain a part of those natural rights of which they might have been deprived. Henry easily foresaw, that to secure his usurped title, his subjects were to be indulged, and that his power could only find security in their affections. His first care, therefore, was to make several concessions in their favour. He granted them a charter, establishing the churches in possession of all their immunities; abolishing those excessive fines which used to be exacted from heirs; granting to his barons and military tenants, the power of bequeathing their money by will; remitting all debts due to the crown; offering a pardon for all former offences, and promising to confirm and observe all the laws of Edward the Confessor. These concessions pleased the clergy and the people; while the king, who meant only to observe them while his power was in dispute, boasted of the lenity of his government.

Still farther to ingratiate himself with the people, Henry expelled from court all the ministers of his brother's debauchery and arbitrary power; he stripped Ralph Flambard, who had been his brother's principal favourite, and consequently obnoxious to the people, of his dignity, and had him confined in the Tower. But what gave him the greatest share of popularity was his recalling Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been banished during the last reign, to his former dignity and his favour. One thing only remained to confirm his claims without danger of a rival. The English still remembered their Saxon monarchs with gratitude, and beheld them excluded from the throne with regret. There still remained some of the descendants of that favourite line, and among others, Matilda, the niece of Edgar Atheling; which lady, having declined all pretensions to royalty, was bred up in a convent, and had actually taken the veil. Upon her Henry first fixed his eyes as a proper consort, by whose means the long breach between the Saxon and Norman interests would be finally united. It only remained to get over the scruple of her being a nun: but this, a council, devoted to his interests, readily admitted; and Matilda being pronounced free to marry, the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity.

It was at this favourable juncture that Robert returned from abroad, and, after taking possession of his native dominions, laid his claim to the crown of England. But he was now, as in his former attempts, too late for success. However, as he was a man of undaunted resolution, he seemed resolved to dispute his pretensions to the last; and the great fame he had acquired in the East did not a little serve to forward his endeavours. He was also excited to these resolutions by Flambard, who had escaped from the Tower, together with several others, as well of the Norman as the English nobility. Even the seamen were affected with the general popularity of his name, and revolted to him with the greatest part of a fleet that had been equipped to oppose his passage. Henry, who outwardly pretended to slight all these preparations, yet had penetration enough to perceive that his subjects fluctuated in their inclinations between him and his brother. In this emergency he had recourse to the bigotry of the people, to oppose their sentiments of justice. He paid diligent court to Anselm, whose sanctity and wisdom he pretended to revere; and this prelate, in return, employed all his credit in securing him on the throne. He scrupled not to assure the nobles of the king's sincerity in his professions of justice; and even rode through the ranks of the army, recommending to the soldiery the defence of their king, and promising to see their valour rewarded. Thus the people were retained in their allegiance to the usurper, and the army marched cheerfully forward to meet

A.D. 1101.] Robert and his forces, which were landed in safety at Portsmouth. When the two armies came in sight, they both seemed equally unwilling to hazard a battle; and their leaders, who saw that much more would be lost than gained by such a conflict, made proposals for an accommodation. This, after the removal of a few obstacles, was agreed to; and it was stipulated that Robert, upon the receipt of a certain sum, should resign his pretensions to England; and that if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions. This treaty being ratified, the armies on each side were disbanded; and Robert, having lived two months in the utmost harmony with his brother, returned in peace to his own dominions.

But it was not in the power of formal treaties to bind up the resentment of a monarch who knew himself injured, and found it in his power to take revenge. Henry soon shewed his resolution to punish all the heads of the party which had lately opposed him; and this he did, under different pretexts, and by repeated prosecutions. The earl of Shrewsbury, Arnulf de Montgomery, and Roger earl of Lancaster, were banished from the kingdom, with the confiscation of their estates. Robert de Pontefract, Robert Mallet, William de Warrenne, and the earl of Cornwall, were treated with equal severity; so that Robert, finding his friends thus oppressed, came over to England to A. D. 1103.] intercede in their behalf. Henry received him very coolly, and assembled a council, to deliberate in what manner he should be treated; so that Robert, finding his own liberty to be in danger, was glad to ask permission to return: which, however, was not granted him till he consented to give up his pension.

But the consequences of Robert's indiscretion were not confined to his own safety alone: as he was totally averse to business, and only studious of the more splendid amusements or employments of life, his affairs every day began to wear a worse appearance. His servants pillaged him without compunction, and he is described as lying whole days in his bed for want of clothes, of which they had robbed him. His subjects were treated still more deplorably; for, being under the command of petty and rapacious tyrants, who plundered them without mercy, the whole country was become a scene of violence and depredation. It was in this miserable exigence, that the Normans at length had recourse to Henry, from whose wise administration of his own dominions they expected a similitude of prosperity, should he take A. D. 1104.] the reins of theirs. Henry very readily promised to redress their grievances, as he knew it would be the direct method to second his own ambition. The year ensuing, therefore, he landed in Normandy with a strong army, took some of the principal towns, and shewed, by the rapidity of his progress, that he meditated the entire conquest of the country.

Robert, who had already mortgaged or given away the greatest part of his demesne, spent his time in the most indolent amusements, and looked upon the progress of Henry with an eye of perfect indifference. But being at last roused from his lethargy, and finding his affairs in a desperate situation, he took the strange resolution of appealing in person to Henry's natural affections, which this brave but imprudent man estimated by the emotions of his own heart. Henry received him not only with coolness, but contempt; and soon taught him, that no virtues will gain that man esteem, who has forfeited his pretensions to prudence. Robert, thus treated with indignity, quitted his brother in a transport of rage, expressing an ardent purpose of revenge; to which Henry paid no sort of regard.

Robert was resolved, however, to shew himself formidable, even in the A. D. 1106.] most distressed state of his circumstances. Possessed with high ideas of chivalry, which his expedition to the Holy Land served to heighten, he was willing to retrieve his affairs by valour, which he had lost by indolence. Being supported by the earl of Mortagne and Robert de Belesme, Henry's inveterate enemies, he raised an army, and approached his brother's camp, with a view of finishing, by a decisive battle, the quarrel between them. While the two armies were yet in sight of each other, some of the clergy employed their mediation to bring on a treaty; but as Henry insisted upon Robert's renouncing the government of his dominions entirely, and one half of the revenue, all accommodation was rejected with disdain, and both

sides prepared for battle. Robert was now entered on that scene of action in which he chiefly gloried, and in which he was always known to excel. He animated his little army by his example, and led them to the encounter with that spirit which had formerly made the infidels tremble. There was no withstanding his first shock; that quarter of the English army where he made the impression, gave way, and he was nearly on the point of gaining a complete victory. But it was different on that quarter where Belesme commanded; he was put to flight by one of the king's generals, who also advancing himself with a fresh body of horse to sustain his centre, his whole army rallied; while Robert's forces, exhausted and broken, gave ground on every side, in spite of all his efforts and acts of personal valour. But though he now saw his army defeated, and numbers falling round him, yet he refused to find safety by flight, or turn his back upon an enemy that he still disdained. He was taken prisoner, with near ten thousand of his men, and all the considerable barons who had adhered to his misfortunes. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy, while Henry returned in triumph to England, leading with him his captive brother, who, after a life of bravery, generosity, and truth, now found himself not only deprived of his patrimony and his friends, but also of his freedom. Henry, unmindful of his brother's former magnanimity with regard to him, detained him a prisoner during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years; and he died in the castle of Cardiff, in Glamorganshire. It is even said by some, that he was deprived of his sight by a red-hot copper basin applied to his eyes; while his brother attempted to stifle the reproaches of his conscience by founding the abbey of Reading, which was then considered as a sufficient atonement for every degree of barbarity.

The first step Henry took, after his return to England, was to reform some abuses which had crept in among his courtiers; for, as they were allowed by the feudal law to live upon the king's tenants whenever he travelled, they, under colour of this, committed all manner of ravages with impunity. To remedy this disorder, he published an edict, punishing with the loss of sight all such as should, under pretext of royal authority, commit any depredation in the places through which they passed. Some disputes also concerning ecclesiastical affairs, which were supported by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, were compromised and adjusted. Henry was contented to resign his right of granting ecclesiastical investitures, but was allowed to receive homage from his bishops for all their temporal properties and privileges. The marriage of priests also was prohibited, and laymen were not allowed to marry within the seventh degree of affinity. The laity were also prohibited from wearing long hair—a mode of dress to which the clergy shewed the utmost aversion.

These regulations served to give employment to Henry in his peaceful intervals; but the apprehensions which he had from the dissatisfaction of his Norman subjects, and his fears for the succession, gave him too much business to permit any long intervals of relaxation. His principal concern was to prevent his nephew, William, the son of Robert, from succeeding to the crown, in prejudice of William, his own son, for whom he was solicitous to secure it. His nephew was but six years of age when he committed him to the care of Helie de St. Saen; and this nobleman discharged his trust in his education with a degree of fidelity uncommon at the barbarous period we are describing. Finding that Henry was desirous of recovering possession of his pupil's person, he withdrew, and carried him to the court of Fulk, count of Anjou, who gave him protection. This noble youth, wandering from court to court, evaded all the arts of his powerful uncle, who was not remiss in trying every method of seizing him, either by treaty or intimidation. In this struggle, Lewis, the king of France, took the young adventurer's part, and endeavoured to interest the pope in his quarrel. Failing in this, he endeavoured to gain, by force of arms, what his negociations could not obtain. A war ensued between him and Henry, in which many slight battles were fought, but attended with no decisive consequences. In one of these, which was fought at Noyon, a city that Lewis had an intention [A. D. 1119. to surprise, the valour both of the nephew and the uncle were not a little

conspicuous. This young man, who inherited all his father's bravery, charged the van of the English army with such impetuosity, that it fell back upon the main body, commanded by the king in person, whose utmost efforts were unequal to the attack. Still, however, exerting all his endeavours to stem the torrent of the enemy that was pouring down upon him, a Norman knight, whose name was William Crispin, discharged at his head two such furious strokes of a sabre, that his helmet was cut through, and his head severely wounded. At the sight of his own blood, which rushed down his visage, he was animated to a double exertion of his strength, and retorted the blow with such force, that his antagonist was brought to the ground, and taken prisoner. This decided the victory in favour of the English, who pursued the French with great slaughter; and it also served to bring on an accommodation soon after, in which the interests of his nephew were entirely neglected. From this period, till the time of that brave youth's death, which happened about eight years after, he appears to have been employed in ineffectual struggles to gain those dominions to which he had the most just and hereditary claims, but wanted power to back his pretensions.

Fortune now seemed to smile upon Henry, and promise a long succession A. D. 1120.] of felicity. He was in peaceable possession of two powerful states, and had a son who was acknowledged undisputed heir, arrived at his eighteenth year, whom he loved most tenderly. His daughter Matilda was also married to the emperor Henry V. of Germany, and she had been sent to that court, while yet but eight years old, for her education. All his prospects, however, were at once clouded by unforeseen misfortunes and accidents, which tinctured his remaining years with misery. The king, from the facility with which he usurped the crown, dreading that his family might be supplanted with the same ease, took care to have his son recognized as his successor by the states of England, and carried him over to Normandy to receive the homage of the barons of that duchy. After performing this requisite ceremony, Henry, returning triumphantly to England, brought with him a numerous retinue of the chief nobility, who seemed to share in his successes. In one of the vessels of the fleet, his son, and several young noblemen, the companions of his pleasures, went together, to render the passage more agreeable. The king set sail from Barfleur, and was soon carried by a fair wind out of sight of land. The prince was detained by some accident; and his sailors, as well as the captain Fitz-Stephen, having spent the interval in drinking, became so disordered, that they ran the ship upon a rock, and immediately it was dashed to pieces. The prince was put into the boat, and might have escaped, had he not been called back by the cries of Maude, his natural sister. He was at first conveyed out of danger himself, but could not leave a person so dear to perish without an effort to save her. He, therefore, prevailed upon the sailors to row back and take her in. The approach of the boat giving several others, who had been left upon the wreck, the hopes of saving their lives, numbers leaped in, and the whole went to the bottom. Above a hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. A butcher of Rouen was the only person on board who escaped; he clung to the mast, and was taken up the next morning by some fishermen. Fitz-Stephen, the captain, while the butcher was thus buffeting the waves for his life, swam up to him, and inquired if the prince was yet living; when being told that he had perished, "Then I will not outlive him," said the captain, and immediately sunk to the bottom. The shrieks of these unfortunate people were heard from the shore, and the noise even reached the king's ship; but the cause was then unknown. Henry entertained hopes for three days that his son had put into some distant port of England; but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought him, he fainted away, and was never seen to smile from that moment to the day of his death.

The rest of this prince's life seems a mere blank: his restless desires having now nothing left worth toiling for, he appeared more fond of repose than ambition. His daughter Matilda, however, becoming a widow by the death of the emperor, he married her a second time to Geoffrey Plantagenet, eldest son of the count of Anjou, and endeavoured to ensure her accession, by

obliging his barons to recognize her as the heir of his dominions. Some time after, that princess was delivered of a son, who received the name of Henry; and the king, farther to ensure her succession, caused all the nobility of England and Normandy to renew their oaths of allegiance. The barons of these times were ready enough to swear whatever the monarch commanded; but, it seems, they observed it no longer than while they were compelled to obey. Henry did not long survive these endeavours to secure the succession in his family. He was seized with a sudden illness at St. Denis, a little town in Normandy, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a dish he was particularly fond of. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, [Dec. 1. 1153. and the thirty-sixth of his reign, leaving, by will, his daughter Matilda heiress of all his dominions.

If we consider Henry's character impartially, we shall find more to admire than to love in it. It cannot be doubted that he was a wise and valiant prince, and yet our hearts revolt against his success, and follow the unfortunate Robert even to his captivity. Henry's person was manly, his countenance engaging, his eye clear, serene, and penetrating. By his great progress in literature he acquired the name of Beau-clerc, or the Scholar; and such was the force of his eloquence, that, after a conference with him, the pope is said to have given him the preference over all the other princes of Europe. He was much addicted to women, and left behind him a numerous spurious offspring. Hunting also was one of his favourite amusements: and he is accused of augmenting the forests which had been appropriated during the former reigns for that diversion. His justice also seemed to approach to cruelty: stealing was first made capital in his reign; and false coining was punished with death and mutilation. He first granted the city of London a charter and privileges; and from this first concession we may date the origin of English liberty, such as we find it at this day.

CHAP. VIII.

STEPHEN.—A. D. 1135 to 1154.

As every expedient was used during the life of the late king to fix the succession in his family, he, among others, thought that the aggrandizing his nearest relations would not be an impolitic step. He only dreaded the designs of Robert and his adherents, no way mistrusting any attempts from another quarter. With these views he was very liberal in heaping favours upon the children of his sister Adela, who had been married to the count of Blois. He thought they would be the strongest safeguard to protect him from the aspiring attempts of his brother, or his posterity; and he resolved to load them with favours, as being too far removed from the crown to entertain any hopes of succeeding in their designs to obtain it: in pursuance of this plan, he had, some years before his death, invited Stephen and Henry, the two youngest of his sister's sons, into England, and received them with great honour and esteem. Thinking that he could never do too much to secure their affections, he married Stephen to the daughter and heiress of Eustace, count of Boulogne, who brought him an immense fortune. He conferred on him the great estates forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and by the earl of Montagne in Normandy. Nor was Stephen's brother, Henry, without his share in the king's liberalities. He was created abbot of Glastonbury, and bishop of Winchester; so that the two brothers were thus become by far the most powerful subjects in the kingdom.

Such great riches, so much power, and the consciousness of abilities, were the first incentives to Stephen's ambition. Placed at no great distance from the throne by birth, and perceiving the success of his uncle's usurpation, he resolved to run the same career, and strike for the crown. For this purpose, even during the king's lifetime, he used all his arts to procure popularity, and to cultivate the affections of the English nobility. By his bravery, activity, and vigour, he acquired the esteem of the barons; by his generosity, and familiar address, he obtained the love of the people. No sooner, therefore, was the king known to be dead, than Stephen, conscious of his own

power and influence, resolved to secure to himself the possession of what he had so long desired. He hastened from Normandy, where he then was, and setting sail for England, landed at Dover. But there the citizens, apprised of his intent, shut their gates against him. Thence he went to Canterbury, where he was treated with the like disrespect; but passing on, he arrived at London, where he was immediately saluted king by all the lower ranks of the people. Being thus secure of the populace, his next step was to gain over the clergy; and for that purpose, his brother, the bishop of Winchester, exerted all his influence among them with great success. The archbishop of Canterbury, as he had taken the oaths of allegiance to Matilda, seemed for a while to stand out; but Hugh Bigod (steward of the household) averring upon oath, that the late king had expressed his intentions to make Stephen his heir, the archbishop anointed him without farther scruple. Thus was Stephen made king, by one of those speedy revolutions which ever mark the barbarity of a state in which they are customary. The people acquiesced in his claims, from his popularity; the clergy allowed them, being influenced by the intrigues of his brother; and the nobility acknowledged a king, from the weakness of whose title they might derive power to themselves.

The first acts of an usurper are always popular. Stephen, in order to secure his tottering throne, passed a charter, granting several privileges to the different orders of the state: to the nobility, a permission to hunt in the royal forests; to the clergy, a speedy filling of all vacant benefices; and to the people, a restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor. To fix himself still more securely, he took possession of the royal treasures at Winchester, and had his title ratified by the pope with a part of the money.

A crown thus gained by usurpation, was to be kept only by repeated concessions. The nobility and the clergy, in proportion as they were indulged in one demand, only prepared to find out others. The barons, in return for their submission, required the right of fortifying their castles, and putting themselves in a posture of defence; nor could the king refuse his consent to such exorbitant demands, as their opposition might be fatal. The clergy imitated the same pernicious example; and, in a short time, all England was filled with these independent fortresses, which the noblemen garrisoned with their own vassals, or with mercenary bravoes hired from the continent: nothing could exceed the misery to which the kingdom must have been reduced at that terrible period of aristocracy. Unbounded rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of those troops; the private animosities of the nobility were productive of wars in every quarter; the erection of one castle proved the immediate cause of building many more; and the whole country presented a scene of petty tyranny and hostile prepa-
A. D. 1138.] ration. It was in vain that a victory gained by the king over the Scots at Northallerton promised to allay the murmurs of the people; their miseries were risen to too great a height for such brilliant successes to remove. The prince, having usurped the crown without a title, was obliged to tolerate in others that injustice by which he had himself risen to the throne.

Not only real but imaginary grievances were added, to raise the discontents of the people, and fill the country with complaints against the government. The clergy, whose power had been firmly established on the ruins of the regal authority, began, in imitation of the lay-barons, to build castles, and entertain garrisons, sensible that their sacred pretensions would be more implicitly obeyed, when their temporal power was sufficient to enforce them. Stephen, who now too late perceived the mischiefs attending these multiplied citadels, resolved to begin with destroying those of the clergy, whose profession seemed to be averse from the duties of war. Taking, therefore, the pretence of a fray, which had arisen between the retinue of the bishop of Salisbury and that of the earl of Bretagne, he seised that prelate, and obliged both him and the bishop of Lincoln to deliver up their castles, which they had lately erected. This the whole body of the clergy considered as a breach of that charter which he had granted upon his accession; they loudly murmured against this infraction; and even his brother the bishop resolved to vindicate the privileges of the church, which he pretended were openly violated. A

synod was assembled, in which the disgraced prelates openly inveighed against the king. But he, instead of answering the charge in person, sent one of his barons to plead his cause, and intimidate his accusers.

It was in this critical situation of Stephen's affairs, that accounts were brought him of Matilda's landing in England, with a resolution to dispossess him, and regain the crown. Matilda, upon the death of the late king, being then in Normandy, found herself totally unable to oppose the rapid progress of her rival. She was not less unfortunate in her continental connexions than in those at home. The Norman barons, unwilling to have the union with England dissolved, almost unanimously declared for Stephen, and put him in possession of their government; while Geoffrey himself, Matilda's husband, was content to resign his pretensions, and to receive a pension from the English king. He had not, however, long acquiesced in this compromise, when he was incited to a renewal of his wife's claims by Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, a nobleman who had from the beginning opposed the accession of Stephen, and only waited an opportunity of beginning an insurrection. This haughty baron, having at length settled with his friends the project of an opposition, retired to the continent, to the court of Matilda, and sent the king a defiance, solemnly renouncing his allegiance. It was not long before he was in a capacity effectually to second his declarations; for, sensible of the power of his party in England, he landed, together with Matilda, whose claims he professed to support, upon the coast of Sussex.

The whole of Matilda's retinue, upon this occasion, amounted to no more than a hundred and forty knights, who immediately took possession of Arundel castle; but the nature of her claims soon increased the number of her partisans, and her forces every day seemed to gain ground upon those of her antagonist. Meantime, Stephen, being assured of her arrival, flew to besiege Arundel, where she had taken refuge, and where she was pro- [A. D. 1139. tected by the queen dowager, who secretly favoured her pretensions. This fortress was too feeble to promise a long defence; and it would have been soon taken, had it not been represented to the king, that as it was a castle belonging to the queen dowager, it would be an infringement of the respect which was her due, to attempt taking it by force. There was a spirit of generosity mixed with the rudeness of the times, that unaccountably prevailed in many transactions. Stephen permitted Matilda to come forth in safety, and had her conveyed with security to Bristol, another fortress equally strong with that from which he had permitted her to retire. It would be tedious to relate the various skirmishes on either side, in pursuance of their respective pretensions; it will suffice to say, that Matilda's forces increased every day, while her antagonist seemed every hour to become more unpopular. The troops Stephen led, were, in general, foreign mercenaries, commanded by tumultuous barons, more accustomed to pillage than to conquer. But, in this fluctuation of success, the kingdom was exposed to ruin, whichever side pretended to victory. The castles of the nobility were become receptacles for licensed robbers, who gave their rapine the name of attachment to party. The land was left untilled, the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned, and a terrible famine, the result of general disorder, oppressed at once the spoiled and the spoilers.

After the misery of numberless indecisive conflicts, added to the rest of the country's calamities, a complete victory, gained by the forces of Matilda, promised to terminate their disputes. Stephen had marched with his forces to relieve the city of Lincoln; the earl of Gloucester led a body of troops to second the efforts of the besiegers. These two armies engaged [A. D. 1141. within sight of the city, and a dreadful conflict ensued. After a violent shock, the two wings of Stephen's army, which were composed of horse, were put to flight; and the infantry, soon following the example, deserted their king. All the race of the Norman conqueror were brave. Stephen was for some time left without attendants, and fought on foot in the midst of his enemies, assaulted by multitudes, and resisting all their efforts with astonishing intrepidity. Being hemmed in on every side, he made way for some time with his battle-axe; but that breaking, he drew his sword, and dealt his blows round the circle in which he was enclosed. At length, after performing

more than could be naturally expected from a single arm, his sword flying in pieces, he was obliged to surrender himself prisoner. He was conducted to Gloucester; and though at first treated with respect, he was soon after, on some suspicions, thrown into prison, and laid in irons.

Stephen and his party now seemed totally disabled. Matilda was possessed not only of superior power, but also the juster title. She was considered as incontestable sovereign, and the barons came in daily from all quarters to do her homage. The bishop of Winchester himself, who had espoused her cause against his brother, admitted her claims; he led her in procession into his cathedral, and blessed her with the greatest solemnity; the archbishop of Canterbury also swore allegiance; and shortly after, an ecclesiastical council, at which none of the laity assisted, except deputies from the city of London, confirmed her pretensions; and she was crowned at Winchester with all imaginable solemnity.

A crown thus every way secured, seemed liable to be shaken by no accidents; yet such is the vanity of human security, and such was the great increase of power among the barons, who were in effect masters of those they nominally elected as governors, that Matilda remained but a short time in possession of the throne. This princess, beside the disadvantages of her sex, which weakened her influence over a martial people, was resolved upon repressing the growing power of the nobles, who had left only the shadow of authority to their sovereign. But having neither temper nor policy sufficient to carry her views into execution, she disgusted by her pride those to whom she was obliged for her power. The first petition she refused was the releasement of Stephen; she rejected the remonstrance of the Londoners, who entreated her to mitigate the severe laws of the Norman princes, and revive those of Edward the Confessor. She affected to treat the nobility with a degree of disdain to which they had long been unaccustomed; while the fickle nation once more began to pity their deposed king, and to repent the steps they had taken in her favour. The bishop of Winchester, who probably was never her sincere partisan, was not remiss in fomenting these discontents; and, when he found the people ripe for a tumult, detached a party of his friends and vassals to block up the city of London, where the queen then resided. At the same time measures were taken to instigate the Londoners to a revolt, and to seize her person. Matilda, having timely notice of this conspiracy, fled to Winchester, whither the bishop, still her secret enemy, followed her, watching an opportunity to ruin her cause. His party was soon sufficiently strong to bid the queen open defiance, and to besiege her in the very place where she first received his benediction. There she continued for some time; but the town being pressed by famine, she was constrained to retreat, while her brother, the earl of Gloucester, endeavouring to follow, was taken prisoner, and exchanged for Stephen, who still continued a captive. Thus a sudden revolution once more took place; Matilda was deposed, and obliged to seek safety in Oxford. Stephen was again recognized as king, and taken from his dungeon to be placed on the throne.

The civil war now broke out afresh, with all its train of devastations. Many were the battles fought, and various the stratagems of those who conducted the affairs of either party. Matilda escaped from Oxford, at a time when the fields were covered with snow, by being dressed all in white, with four knights, her attendants, habited in the same manner. Stephen was upon another occasion surprised by the earl of Gloucester at Wilton, and put to flight. Another time the empress was obliged to quit the kingdom; and A. D. 1147.] the death of the earl of Gloucester soon after, who was the soul of her party, gave a dreadful blow to her interests.

Yet the affairs of Stephen continued to fluctuate. Though this monarch had the good fortune to see his rival fly to the continent, and leave him in full possession of the kingdom; though his brother was possessed of the highest authority among the clergy; he was still insecure. Finding that the castles built by the noblemen of his own party encouraged a spirit of independence, and were little less dangerous than those which remained in the hands of the enemy, he endeavoured to gain these; and this attempt united many of his own adherents against him. This discontent was increased by

the opposition of the clergy, who, from having been on his side, began to declare loudly in favour of his opponents. The pope laid his whole party under an interdict, for his having refused to send deputies, to be named by himself, to the general council at Rheims. By this sentence, which was now first practised in England, divine service was prohibited, and all the offices of religion ceased, except baptism and extreme unction. This state of Stephen's affairs looked so unpromising, that a revolution was once more expected; when his submission to the see of Rome for a while suspended the threatened blow.

Stephen had hitherto been opposed only by men who seconded the pretensions of another, and who consequently wanted that popularity which those have who fight their own cause. But he was now to enter the lists with a new opposer, who was every day coming to maturity, and growing more formidable. This was Henry, the son of Matilda, who had completed his sixteenth year, and gave the greatest hopes of being one day a valiant leader and a consummate politician. It was usual in those days for [A. D. 1149. young noblemen to receive the honour of knighthood before they were permitted to carry arms; and Henry proposed to receive his admission from his great uncle, David, king of Scotland. With this view, and in hopes of once more inspiring his mother's party, he landed in England with a great retinue of knights and soldiers, accompanied by many noblemen, as well English as foreigners. The ceremony was performed by the Scottish king at Carlisle, amidst a multitude of people assembled on this occasion, who all, pleased with the vigour, the address, and still more perhaps with the youth of the prince, secretly began to wish for a revolution in his favour. Soon after his return to Normandy, he was, by his mother's consent, invested with that duchy, which had some time before revolted to her. He was also, upon the death of his father Geoffrey Plantagenet, secured in the possession of his dominions: and, to add still more to his increasing power, he married Eleanor, the daughter and heiress of the duke of Guienne and Poictou; and took possession of those extensive territories.

With this great accession of power, young Henry now resolved to reclaim his hereditary kingdom, and to dispute Stephen's usurped pretensions. For this purpose, being previously assured of the dispositions of the majority of the people in his favour, he invaded England, where he was [A. D. 1153. immediately joined by almost all the barons of the kingdom. Though it was the middle of winter, he advanced to besiege Malmsbury, and took the town, after having worsted a body of the enemy that attempted to oppose his march. Soon after, Reading, and above thirty other fortresses, submitted without resistance.

In the mean time, Stephen, alarmed at the power and popularity of his young rival, tried every method to anticipate the purpose of his invasion, by depriving him of a succession which he so earnestly sought. He had convoked a council in London, where he proposed his own son Eustace, who was but a weak prince, as his associate in government, as well as his successor. He had even expressed a desire of immediately proceeding to the coronation; but was mortified to find that the archbishop of Canterbury refused to perform the ceremony. It was then no time to prosecute his resentment, when his rival was making hasty strides to the throne; wherefore, finding that Henry was advancing with a rapid progress, he marched with all possible diligence to oppose him, while he was besieging Wallingford; and coming in sight, he rested his army to prepare for battle. In this situation the two armies remained for some time, within a quarter of a mile of each other, a decisive action being every day expected. While they continued thus in anxious expectation, a treaty was set on foot, by the interposition of William earl of Arundel, for terminating the dispute without blood. The death of Stephen's son, which happened during the course of the treaty, facilitated its conclusion. It was therefore agreed by all parties, that Stephen should reign during life, and that justice should be administered in his name; that, on his death, Henry should succeed to the kingdom; and William, Stephen's son, should inherit Boulogne and his patrimonial estate. After all the barons had sworn to this treaty, which filled the kingdom with joy, Henry

evacuated England, and Stephen returned to the peaceable enjoyment of his throne. His reign, however, was closed about a year after the treaty. He Oct. 25, 1154.] died at Canterbury, and was interred in the abbey of Feversham.

The fortune of many princes gives them, with posterity, the reputation of wisdom and virtue. Stephen wanted success in all his schemes but that of ascending the throne; and consequently his virtues and abilities now remain doubtful. If we estimate them by the happiness of his subjects, they will appear in a very despicable light; for England was never more miserable than during his reign; but if we consider them as they appear in his private conduct, few monarchs can boast more. Active, generous, and brave, his sole aim was to destroy a vile aristocracy that oppressed the people; but the abilities of no man, however politic or intrepid, were then sufficient to resist an evil that was too firmly supported by power. The faults, therefore, of this monarch's reign are entirely to be imputed to the ungovernable spirit of the people; but his virtues were his own.

CHAP. IX.

HENRY II.—A. D. 1154 to 1189.

WE have hitherto seen the barons and clergy becoming powerful, in proportion to the weakness of the monarch's title to the crown, and enriching themselves with the spoils of enfeebled majesty. Henry Plantagenet had now every right, from hereditary succession, from universal assent, from power, and personal merit, to make sure of the throne, and to keep its prerogatives unimpaired. He was employed in besieging a castle of one of his mutinous barons upon the continent, when intelligence was brought him of Stephen's death; but, sensible of the security of his claims in England, he would not relinquish his enterprise till he had reduced the place. He then set out on his journey, and was received in England with the acclamations of the people, who, harassed with supporting opposite pretensions, were now rejoiced to see all parties united.

The first act of Henry's government gave the people a happy omen of his future administration. Conscious of his strength, he began to correct those abuses, and to resume those privileges, which had been extorted from the weakness or the credulity of his predecessors. He immediately dismissed all those mercenary soldiers who had committed infinite disorders in the nation. He ordered all the castles which had been erected since the death of Henry the First, and were become receptacles of rapine, to be demolished, except a few which he retained in his own hands for the protection of the kingdom. The adulterated coin was cried down, and new money struck of the right value and standard. He resumed many of those benefactions which had been made to churches and monasteries in the former reigns. He gave charters to several towns, by which the citizens claimed their freedom and privileges, independent of any superior but himself. These charters were the groundwork of English liberty. The struggles which had before this time been, whether the king, or the barons, or the clergy, should be despotic over the people, now began to assume a new aspect; and a fourth order, namely, that of the more opulent of the people, began to claim a share in the administration. Thus was the feudal government at first impaired; and liberty began to be more equally diffused throughout the nation.

From this happy commencement, England once more began to respire; agriculture returned with security; and every individual seemed to enjoy the happy effects of the young king's wise administration. Not but that some slight commotions proceeded from many of the depressed barons, who were quickly brought to a sense of their duty; as also from the Welsh, who made several incursions; but these were at last obliged to make submission, and to return to their natural fastnesses. To such a state of tranquillity was the whole kingdom brought in a very short time, that Henry thought his presence no longer necessary to preserve order at home, and therefore made an expedition to the continent, where his affairs were in some disorder.

As the transactions of the continent do not properly fall within the limits of this scanty page, it will be sufficient to say, that Henry's valour and prudence seconding his ambition, he soon extended his power in that part of his dominions, and found himself, either by marriage or hereditary claims, master of a third part of the French monarchy. He possessed, in right of his father, Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, Guienne, Poictou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limousin; to which he shortly after added Bretagne, by marrying his son, who was yet a child, to the heiress of that dukedom, who was yet a child also; and thus securing that province, under pretence of being his son's guardian. It was in vain that Lewis the younger, king of France, opposed his growing power; and several ineffectual engagements served only to prove that little was to be acquired by force. A cessation of arms, therefore, was at first concluded between them, and, soon after, a peace, which was brought about by the pope's mediation.

Henry, being thus become the most powerful prince of his age, the undisputed monarch of England, possessed of more than a third of France, and having humbled the barons that attempted to circumscribe his power, naturally expected to reign with very little opposition for the future. But it happened otherwise. He found the severest mortifications from a quarter where he least expected resistance. Though he had diminished the power of the barons, he was sensible that the temporal influence of the clergy was still gaining ground, and was grown to such a pitch as would shortly annihilate the authority of the sovereign himself.

They now seemed resolved not only to be exempted from the ordinary taxes of the state, but to be secured from its punishments also. They had extorted an immunity from all but ecclesiastical penalties, during the last distracted reign; and they continued to maintain that grant in the present. It may easily be supposed, that a law which thus screened their guilt, contributed to increase it; and we accordingly find upon record, not less than a hundred murders committed by men in holy orders, in the short period since the king's accession, not one of which was punished even with degradation; while the bishops themselves seemed to glory in this horrid indulgence.

The mild character and advanced age of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, together with his merits in refusing to put the crown on the head of Eustace, the son of Stephen, prevented Henry, during his lifetime, from any attempts to repress the vices of his clergy; but, after his death, he resolved to exert himself with more activity. For this purpose, and that he might be secure against any opposition, he advanced to that dignity [A. D. 1162. Thomas à Becket, on whose compliance he supposed he could entirely depend.

The famous Thomas à Becket, the first man of English extraction who had, since the Norman conquest, risen to any share of power, was the son of a citizen of London. Having received his early education in the schools of that metropolis, he resided some time in Paris; and on his return became clerk in the sheriff's office. In that station he was recommended to the archbishop of Canterbury, and behaved with so much prudence, that he obtained from that prelate some beneficial dignities in the church. Thomas, however, was not contented with moderate preferment, and resolved to fit himself for a higher station in life, by travelling to Italy, where he studied the civil law at Bologna. On his return, he appeared to have made so great a proficiency in knowledge, that he was promoted by his patron to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of considerable trust and profit. On the accession of Henry to the throne, he was recommended to that monarch as worthy of great preferment; and the king, finding on farther acquaintance, that his spirit and abilities entitled him to the highest trusts, soon promoted him to the dignity of chancellor, the first civil office in the kingdom. Preferments were now heaped upon him without number. He was made provost of Beverley, dean of Hastings, and constable of the Tower. He was put in possession of the honours of Eye and Berkham; and, to complete his grandeur, he was intrusted with the education of prince Henry, son and heir to the king. His revenues were immense; his expenses were incredible. He kept open table for persons of all ranks. The most costly luxuries were pro-

vided for his entertainments. The pomp of his retinue, the sumptuousness of his furniture, and the magnificence of his presents, corresponded with the greatness of his preferments. His apartments exhibited an odd mixture of the rudeness of the times, and the splendour of his station; they glittered with gold and silver plate, and yet were covered with hay or clean straw in winter, and with green boughs or rushes in summer, for the ease of his reclining guests. A considerable number of knights were retained in his service, and the greatest barons were fond of being received at his table; the king himself frequently condescended to partake of his entertainments. He employed two-and-fifty clerks in keeping accounts of the vacant prelacies and his own ecclesiastical preferments. When he crossed the sea, he was always attended with five ships; and in an embassy to Paris, he appeared with a thousand persons in his retinue, displaying such wealth as amazed the spectators. As he was but in deacon's orders, he declined few of the amusements then in fashion. He diverted himself with hawking, hunting, chess-playing, and tilting; at which he was so expert, that even the most approved knights dreaded his encounter. His familiarity with the king is ascertained by a story told of their happening to meet a beggar, as they were riding together through London. "Would it not be right," said the king, casting his eyes on a poor wretch that was shivering with cold, "to clothe that man in this severe season?" "Certainly," replied his chancellor; "and you do right in considering his calamity." "If so," cried the king, "he shall have a coat instantly; and without more delay he began to pull off the chancellor's coat with violence. The chancellor defended himself for some time; but after a struggle, in which both were near falling to the ground, he gave up his coat, and the king gave it to the beggar, who, ignorant of the quality of his benefactors, was not a little surprised with his good fortune. Such was the deportment of Becket while he was chancellor; but when, contrary to the advice of Matilda, he was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, his whole conduct took a new turn. No sooner was he fixed in this high station, which rendered him for life the second person in the kingdom, than he endeavoured to retrieve the character of sanctity which his former levities might have seemed to oppose. Without consulting his master's pleasure, he sent him the seals of his office as lord-chancellor, pretending that he was henceforth to be employed in matters of a more sacred nature. Though he still retained the pomp and splendour of his retinue, he was in his own person the most mortified man that could be seen. He wore sackcloth next his skin. He changed it so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His usual diet was bread; his drink water, which he rendered further unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs. His back was mangled with frequent discipline. He every day washed on his knees the feet of thirteen beggars. Every one that made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation; and his aspect wore the appearance of mortification and secret sorrow. To these mortifications he sacrificed all the comforts of life; and it would be unjust to suppose, but that he thought them really meritorious.

Henry now saw, when it was too late, the ambitious superiority at which Becket aimed. His resignation of the chancellor's office served to raise his suspicions how much he was mistaken in the pliancy of Becket's disposition; but he was soon after convinced, when this churchman, now made archbishop, began to revive some ancient claims to several church-lands that had lain dormant ever since the Conquest. Henry, indeed, prevailed upon him to desist from one or two of these claims; but he found, for the future, that he was to expect, from the seemingly easy Becket, a most obstinate and turbulent opposer of all his schemes of humbling the clergy.

Notwithstanding this unexpected opposition, Henry was resolved to try every expedient to rectify the errors that had crept in among the clergy, who, under a pretence of independence upon secular power, were grown most abominably licentious. During the preceding reign, a great number of idle and illiterate persons, in order to enjoy the indulgence of their vices, had entered into holy orders; for the bishops seldom rejected any who presented themselves. These having no benefices, and belonging to no diocese, and consequently subject to no jurisdiction, committed the most flagrant enormi-

ties with impunity. Among other inventions of the clergy to obtain money, that of selling pardons was introduced, and had become a revenue to the priests. These and the like grievances bore hard upon the people, who were at the same time taught that their only remedy was implicit submission. A prince of Henry's excellent penetration easily pierced through the mist of ignorance in which the age was involved: and he resolved, by a bold struggle, to free the laity from these clerical usurpations. An opportunity soon offered, that gave him a popular pretext for beginning his intended reformation. A man in holy orders had debauched the daughter of a gentleman in Worcestershire, and then murdered the father, to prevent the effects of his resentment. The atrocity of the crime produced a spirit of indignation among the people; and the king insisted that the assassin should be tried by the civil magistrate. This Becket opposed, alleging the privileges of the church; and ordered the criminal to be confined in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the officers of the king. It was to no purpose that the king desired he might be tried first by an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and then delivered up to the secular tribunal. Becket asserted that it was unjust to try a man twice for the same offence; and appealed for the equity of his opinions to the court of Rome. This, however, was the time for Henry to make his boldest attack upon the immunities of the church, when, to defend itself, it must also espouse the cause of the most atrocious of criminals. He, therefore, summoned an assembly of all the prelates in England, and desired that the murderer should be delivered over to the hands of justice, and a law made to punish such delinquents for the future. Becket retired with the prelates to deliberate; but, as he directed the assembly, they entrenched themselves behind the papal decrees, and refused to give up their prisoner. Henry, willing to bring them to an open absurdity, demanded whether they were willing or not to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? To this they replied with equal art, that they were willing, except where their own order was concerned. The king, provoked past bearing by this evasive answer, instantly quitted the assembly, and sent Becket orders to surrender the honours and castles which he continued to hold in consequence of having been chancellor. These being surrendered, the prelate quitted London, without taking the least notice of the assembly.

Labouring for some time under the uncertainty of the king's displeasure, Becket was soon after induced to give way, and to promise his majesty, without reserve, a steady observance of the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom. This was the disposition in which the king wished to retain him; and he therefore summoned a general council of the nobility and [A. D. 1164. gentry at Clarendon, to whom he submitted this great and important affair, and desired their concurrence. These councils seem, at that time, convened rather to give authenticity to the king's decrees, than to enact laws that were to bind their posterity. A numer of regulations were there drawn up, which were afterwards well known under the title of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and were then voted without opposition. By these regulations it was enacted, that clergymen accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts; that laymen should not be tried in the spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable witnesses: that the king should ultimately judge in ecclesiastical and spiritual appeals; that the archbishops and bishops should be regarded as barons, and obliged to furnish the public supplies, as usual with persons of their rank; that the goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or church-yards by the clergy; and that the sons of villains should not take orders without the consent of their lord. These, with some others of less consequence, or implied in the above, to the number of sixteen, were readily subscribed by all the bishops present; and Becket himself, who at first shewed some reluctance, added his name to the number. It only remained that the pope should ratify them: but there Henry was mistaken. Alexander III. who was then pope, condemned them in the strongest terms, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them: out of sixteen he admitted only six, which he thought not important enough to deserve censure.

How Henry could suppose the pope would give consent to these articles, which must infallibly have destroyed the papal authority in the kingdom, is

not easy to conceive; but we may well suppose, that a man of Becket's character must be extremely mortified at finding that he had signed what the pope had refused to confirm. Accordingly, on this occasion, he expressed the deepest sorrow for his former concessions. He redoubled his austerities, in order to punish himself for his criminal compliance; and refused to officiate at the altar, till he had obtained absolution from his holiness. All these mortifications appeared to Henry as little more than specious insults upon himself; his former affection was converted into hatred, and the breach between him and the archbishop every day grew wider. At last, willing to supersede the prelate's authority at any rate, he desired that the pope would send a legate into his dominions; who, from the nature of his commission, might have a superior control. This the pope readily granted; and a legate was appointed, but with a clause annexed to his commission, that he was to execute nothing prejudicial to the archbishop. An authority thus clogged in that very part where it was desired to be unlimited, was no way agreeable to the king; and he sent back the commission with great indignation. He now, therefore, went another way to wreak his resentment upon Becket. He had him sued for some lands, which were a part of a manor belonging to his primacy; and the primate being detained by sickness from coming into court, his non-attendance was construed into disrespect. A great council was summoned at Northampton, where Becket defended his cause in person; but he was condemned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court, and as wanting in that fealty which he had sworn to his sovereign. All his goods and chattels were confiscated; and the bishop of Winchester was obliged to pronounce the sentence against him. Besides this conviction, the king exhibited another charge against him for three hundred pounds, which he had levied on the honours of Eye and Berkham, while he remained in possession. Becket, rather than aggravate the king's resentment, agreed to give sureties for the payment. The next day another suit was commenced against him for a thousand marks, which the king had lent him on some former occasion. Immediately on the back of these, a third claim was made, still greater than the former; this was, to give an account of the money he had received and expended during the time of his chancellorship. The estimate was laid at no less than forty thousand marks; and Becket was wholly unprovided either with the means of balancing his accounts, or with securities for answering so great a demand. In this exigence, his friends were divided what counsel to give. Some prelates advised him to resign his see, in hopes of an acquittal; some counselled him to throw himself entirely upon the king's mercy; and some, to offer ten thousand marks as a general satisfaction for all demands. Becket followed none of these opinions; but, with an intrepidity peculiar to himself, arraying himself in his episcopal vestments, with the cross in his hand, he went forward to the king's palace, and entering the royal apartments, sat down, holding up his cross as his banner of protection. The king, who sat in the inner room, ordered by proclamation the prelates and the nobility to attend him; to whom he complained loudly of Becket's insolence and inflammatory proceedings. The whole council joined in condemning this instance of his unaccountable pride; and determined to expostulate with him upon his inconsistency, in formerly subscribing the Constitutions of Clarendon, and now in being the first to infringe them. But all these messages, threats, and arguments, were to no purpose: Becket had taken his resolution, and it was now too late to attempt to shake it. He put himself, in the most solemn manner, under the protection of the supreme pontiff; and appealed to him against any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict. Then departing from the palace, he asked the king's immediate permission to leave Northampton; and upon receiving a refusal, he secretly withdrew in disguise, and at last found means to cross over to the continent.

Here it may be natural to inquire how a person of such mean extraction should be able to form any kind of opposition to so powerful a monarch as Henry. But the state was then, as it was for some ages after, composed of three distinct powers, all pursuing separate interests, and very little dependent upon each other. These were, that of the king that of the barons, and

that of the clergy; for as yet the people had scarcely any influence, separately considered. Of these three powers, the most recent was that of the clergy, which, wanting the sanction of prescriptive right, endeavoured to make up those defects by superior arts of popularity. They, therefore, attached the people, who had hitherto been considered as unworthy of notice in the constitution, to their party; and thus gained an acquisition of strength that was often too powerful for the other two members of the state. The king, being but a single person, could have no wide connexions among the lower orders of mankind; the nobles being bred up in a haughty independence, were taught to regard the inferior ranks as slaves; the clergy alone, by their duty, being obliged to converse with the lowest as well as the highest orders, were most beloved by the populace, who, since they were at any rate to be slaves, were the more willing to obey men who conversed with them, and who seemed to study their welfare, than such as kept them at a humiliating distance, and only regarded them as the instruments of their private ambition. For these reasons therefore, during the times we speak of, the side of the clergy was always espoused by the people; and Becket, upon the present occasion, secretly relied on their encouragement and support.

The intrepidity of Becket, joined to his apparent sanctity, gained him a very favourable reception upon the continent, both from the people and their governors. The king of France, who hated Henry, very much affected to pity his condition; and the pope, whose cause he had so strenuously defended, honoured him with the greatest marks of distinction, while he treated Henry's ambassadors with coolness and contempt. Becket, sensible of his power, was willing to shew all possible humility; and even resigned his see of Canterbury into the pope's hands, in order to receive it back from him with greater solemnity, and with an investiture of more apparent sanctity. Such favours bestowed upon an exile, and a perjured traitor, (for such had been his sentence of condemnation in England,) excited the indignation of Henry beyond measure. He saw his ambassadors slighted, all his endeavours to procure a conference with the pope frustrated, and his subjects daily excited to discontent, in consequence of the king's severity to a sanctified character. In this state of resentment, Henry resolved to throw off all dependence upon the pontiff at once, and to free himself and his people from a burden that had long oppressed them without pity. He accordingly issued orders to his justiciaries, inhibiting, under severe penalties, all appeals to the pope or the archbishop; and forbidding any of them to receive mandates from them, or to apply to their authority. He declared it treasonable to bring over from either of them any interdict upon the kingdom. This he made punishable in secular clergymen by the loss of their eyes and by castration; in regulars, by the amputation of their feet; and in laymen, by death.

The pope and the archbishop were not remiss on their side to retort these fulminations, and to shake the very foundation of the king's authority. Becket compared himself to Christ, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which the church laboured. But he did not rest in complaints only; he issued out a censure, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, all that were concerned in sequestering the revenues of his see, and all who obeyed or favoured the Constitutions of Clarendon. He even threatened to excommunicate the king himself, if he did not immediately repent; and, to give his censures the greater energy, he got them to be ratified by the pope.

Whatever Henry's contempt of these fulminations might be in the beginning, he, after some deliberation, began to find them more formidable than he had supposed, and secretly wished for an accommodation. Yet there seemed no other way of terminating these disputes, but by the king's appealing to the pope, as umpire between him and the archbishop; and this promised no very favourable decision. However, perceiving that his authority was beginning to decline among his subjects, and that his rivals on the continent had actually availed themselves of his perplexities, he resolved at any rate to apply to the pope for his mediation. The pope himself, on the other hand, was every day threatened by the machinations of an antipope. He was apprehensive that the king of England might join against him; he knew his great

abilities, and was sensible that, as yet, no insurrection had been made in consequence of the threats and exhortations of Becket. Thus the disposition of both parties produced frequent attempts towards an accommodation; but their mutual jealousies, and their anxiety not to lose the least advantage in the negociation, often protracted this desirable treaty. At one time, the terms being agreed on, were postponed by the king's refusing to sign, but with a salvo to his royal dignity. At another time, they were accommodated, but were broken off by Becket's refusing to submit, but with a salvo to the honour of God. A third and a fourth negociation followed without effect. In this last, all the terms were completely adjusted, when Becket took it into his head to demand a kiss of peace. This the king refused to grant; and both parties once more prepared for mutual annoyance.

These disturbances continued for some time longer: Becket never losing an opportunity of impeaching the king's ministers, and obstructing all his A. D. 1170.] measures. At length, by the mediation of the pope's legate, all difficulties were adjusted; and while the king allowed Becket to return, that prelate consented to wave the kiss of peace. The ceremonial of the interview being regulated, when the archbishop approached, the king advanced to meet him in the most gracious manner; and conversed with him for some time with great ease, familiarity, and kindness. All material points being adjusted, Becket attended Henry on horseback; and as they rode together, the prelate begged some satisfaction for the invasions of his right by the archbishop of York, who had some time before crowned the young prince. To this Henry replied, that what was past could not be undone; but that he would take care that none but he should crown the young queen, which ceremony was soon to be performed. Becket, transported at this instance of the king's condescension, alighted instantly, and threw himself at the feet of his sovereign; who, leaping from his horse at the same time, lifted him from the ground, and helped him to remount. The terms of their present agreement were very advantageous to the prelate; and this might have inspired him, in the ardour of his gratitude, to such a humiliation. It was agreed that he should not give up any of the rights of the church, or resign any of those pretensions which had been the original ground of the quarrel; that Becket and his adherents should be restored to their livings; and that all such possessors of benefices (belonging to the see of Canterbury) as had been installed since the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have liberty to supply the vacancies. In return for these concessions, the king only reaped the advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and of preventing an interdict which was preparing to be laid upon all his dominions.

Becket having thus, in some measure, triumphed over the king, was resolved to remit nothing of the power which he had acquired. He soon began to shew, that not even a temporary tranquillity was to be the result of his reconciliation. Nothing could exceed the insolence with which he conducted himself upon his first landing in England. Instead of retiring quietly to his diocese with that modesty which became a man just pardoned by his king, he made a progress through Kent in all the splendour and magnificence of a sovereign pontiff. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrated his triumphal entry with hymns of joy. Thus confident of the voice and the hearts of the people, he began to launch forth his thunders against those who had been his former opposers. The archbishop of York, who had crowned Henry's eldest son in his absence, was the first against whom he denounced sentence of suspension. The bishops of London and Salisbury he actually excommunicated. Robert de Broc and Nigel de Sackville were exposed to the same censures; and many of the most considerable prelates and ministers, who had assisted at the late coronation of the young prince, were partakers of the common calamity. One man he excommunicated for having spoken against him; and another for having cut off the tail of one of his horses.

Henry was then in Normandy, while the primate was thus triumphantly parading through the kingdom; and it was not without the utmost indignation that he received information of his turbulent insolence. When the

suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived with their complaints, his anger knew no bounds. He broke forth into the most acrimonious expressions against that arrogant churchman, whom he had raised from the lowest station to be the plague of his life, and the continual disturber of his government. The archbishop of York remarked to him, that so long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity; and the king himself burst out into an exclamation, that he had no friends about him, or he would not so long have been exposed to the insults of that ungrateful hypocrite. These words excited the attention of the whole court, and armed four of his most resolute attendants to gratify their monarch's secret inclinations. The names of these knights and gentlemen of his household were Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito, who immediately communicated their thoughts to each other. They instantly bound themselves by an oath to revenge their king's quarrel; and, secretly retiring from court, took shipping at different ports, and met the next day at the castle of Saltwode, within six miles of Canterbury. Some menacing expressions which they had dropped, and their sudden departure, gave the king reason to suspect their design. He therefore sent messengers to overtake and forbid them, in his name, to commit any violence; but these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. The conspirators, being joined by some assistants at the place of their meeting, proceeded to Canterbury with all the haste their bloody intentions required. Advancing directly to Becket's house, and entering his apartment, they reproached him very fiercely for the rashness and the insolence of his conduct; as if they had been willing to enjoy his terrors before they destroyed him. Becket, however, was not in the least terrified; but vindicated his actions with that zeal and resolution, which nothing probably but the consciousness of his innocence could inspire. The conspirators felt the force of his replies; and were particularly enraged at a charge of ingratitude, which he objected to three of them, who had been formerly retained in his service. During this altercation, the time approached for Becket to assist at vespers, whither he went unguarded, the conspirators following, and preparing for their attempt. As soon as he had reached the altar, where it is just to think he aspired at the glory of martyrdom, they all fell upon him; and when they had cloven his head with repeated blows, he dropped down dead before the altar of St. Benedict, which was besmeared with his blood and brains.

The circumstances of the murder, the place where it was perpetrated, and the fortitude with which the prelate resigned himself to his fate, made a surprising impression on the people. No sooner was his death known than they rushed into the church to see the body, and dipping their hands in his blood, crossed themselves with it as with that of a saint. The clergy, whose interest it was to have Becket considered as a saint, and many of whom were perhaps sincere in their belief, considering the times we treat of, did all that lay in their power to magnify his sanctity, to extol the merits of his martyrdom, and to hold him out as the fittest object for the veneration of the people. Their endeavours soon prevailed. Innumerable were the miracles said to be wrought at his tomb; for when the people are brought to see a miracle, they generally find or make one. It was not sufficient that his shrine had the power of restoring dead men to life; it restored also cows, dogs, and horses. It was reported and believed, that he rose from his coffin before he was buried, to light the tapers designed for his funeral: nor was he remiss, when the funeral ceremony was over, in stretching forth his hands to give his benediction to the people. Thus Becket became a saint; and the king was strongly suspected of procuring his assassination.

Nothing could exceed the king's consternation upon receiving the first news of this prelate's catastrophe. He was instantly sensible that the murder would be ultimately imputed to him. He was apprised that his death would effect what his opposition could not do, and would procure those advantages to the church which it had been the study of his whole reign to refuse. These considerations gave him the most unfeigned concern. He shut himself up in darkness, refusing even the attendance of his domestics. He even rejected, during three days, all nourishment. The courtiers, dreading the effects of his

regret, were at last obliged to break into his solitude, in order to persuade him to be reconciled to a measure that he could not redress. The pope, soon after, being made sensible of the king's innocence, granted him his pardon; but upon condition, that he would make every future submission, and perform every injunction that the holy see should require. All things being thus adjusted, the assassins who had murdered Becket returned in safety to the enjoyment of their former dignities and honours; and the king, in order to divert the minds of the people to a different object, undertook an expedition against Ireland.

Ireland was at that time nearly in the same situation in which England had been after the first invasion of the Saxons. Its inhabitants had been early converted to Christianity; and, for three or four centuries after, possessed a very large proportion of the learning of the times: being undisturbed by foreign invasions, and perhaps too poor to invite the rapacity of conquerors, they enjoyed a peaceful life, which they gave up to piety, and such learning as was then thought necessary to promote it. Of their learning, their arts, their piety, and even their polished manners, too many monuments remain to this day for us to make the least doubt concerning them; but it is equally true, that in time they fell from these advantages: and their degenerate posterity, at the period we are now speaking of, were involved in the darkest barbarity. This may be imputed to the frequent invasions which they suffered from the Danes and Norwegians, who overran the whole country, and every where spread their ravages, and confirmed their authority. The natives, kept in the strictest bondage, grew every day more ignorant and brutal; and when at last they rose upon their conquerors, and totally expelled them from the island, they wanted instructors to restore them to their former attainments. Henceforward they long continued in the most deplorable state of barbarism. The towns that had been formerly built were suffered to fall into ruin; the inhabitants exercised pasture in the open country, and sought protection from danger by retiring into their forests and bogs. Almost all sense of religion was extinguished; the petty princes exercised continual outrages upon each other's territories; and strength alone was able to procure redress.

At the time when Henry first planned the invasion of the island, it was divided into five small kingdoms, namely, Leinster, Meath, Munster, Ulster, and Connaught. As it had been usual for one or other of the five kings to take the lead in their wars, he was denominated monarch of the island, and possessed a power resembling that of the early Saxon monarchs in England. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, then enjoyed this dignity, and Dermot M'Morrogh was king of Leinster. This last-named prince, a weak, licentious tyrant, had carried off and ravished the daughter of the king of Meath, who, being strengthened by the alliance of the king of Connaught, invaded the ravisher's dominions, and expelled him from his kingdom. This prince, thus justly punished, had recourse to Henry, who was at that time in Guienne, and offered to hold his kingdom of the English crown, if he should recover it by the king's assistance. Henry readily accepted the offer; but being at that time embarrassed by more near interests, he only gave Dermot letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot, relying on this authority, repaired to Bristol, where, after some difficulty, he formed a treaty with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, who agreed to reinstate him in his dominions, upon condition of his being married to his daughter Eva, and declared heir of all his territory. He at the same time contracted for succours with Robert Fitzstephen and Maurice Fitzgerald, whom he promised to gratify with the city of Wexford, and the two adjoining districts, which were then in possession of the Easterlings, or descendants of the Norwegians. Being thus assured of assistance, he returned privately to Ireland, and concealed himself during the winter in the monastery of Fernes, which he had founded. Robert Fitzstephen was first able, the ensuing spring, to fulfil his engagements, by landing with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers. They were soon after joined by Maurice Prendergast, who, about the same time, brought over ten knights and sixty archers; and with this small force they resolved on besieging Wexford, which was to be theirs by treaty. This town

was quickly reduced; and the adventurers, being reinforced by another body of men, to the amount of a hundred and fifty, under the command of Maurice Fitzgerald, composed an army that struck the barbarous natives with awe. Roderic, the chief monarch of the island, ventured to oppose them, but he was defeated; and soon after the prince of Ossory was obliged to submit, and give hostages for his future conduct.

Dermot, being thus reinstated in his hereditary dominions, soon began to conceive hopes of extending the limits of his power, and making himself master of Ireland. With these views he endeavoured to expedite Strongbow, who, being personally prohibited by the king, had not yet come over. Dermot tried to inflame his ambition by the glory of the conquest, and his avarice by the advantages it would procure: he expatiated on the cowardice of the natives, and the certainty of his success. Strongbow first sent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and seventy archers; and receiving permission shortly after for himself, he landed with two hundred horse and a hundred archers. All these English forces, now joining together, became irresistible; and though the whole number did not amount to a thousand, yet such was the barbarous state of the natives, that they were every where put to the rout. The city of Waterford quickly surrendered; Dublin was taken by assault; and Strongbow, marrying Eva, according to treaty, became master of the kingdom of Leinster upon Dermont's decease.

The island being thus in a manner wholly subdued, for nothing was capable of opposing the progress of the English arms, Henry became jealous of the success of the adventurers, and was willing to share in person those honours which they had already secured. He therefore shortly after landed in Ireland, at the head of five hundred knights and some soldiers; not [A. D. 1171. so much to conquer a disputed territory, as to take possession of a subject kingdom. In his progress through the country, he received the homage of the petty chieftains, and left most of them in possession of their ancient territories. In a place so uncultivated and so ill peopled, there was still land enough to satisfy the adventurers who had followed him. Strongbow was made seneschal of Ireland; Hugh de Lacey was made governor of Dublin, and John de Courcy received a patent for conquering the province of Ulster, which yet remained unsubdued. The Irish bishops very gladly admitted the English, as they expected from their superior civilization a greater degree of reverence and respect. Pope Adrian IV. had, in the beginning, encouraged Henry to subdue the Irish by his bull granting him the kingdom. Pope Alexander III. now confirmed him in his conquest; and the kings of England were acknowledged as lords over Ireland for ever. Thus, after a trifling effort, in which very little money was expended, and little bloodshed, that beautiful island became an appendage to the English crown, and as such it has ever since continued with unshaken fidelity.

The joy which this conquest diffused was very great; and Henry seemed now to have attained the summit of his wishes. He was undisputed monarch of the greatest domain in Europe; father of a numerous progeny, that gave both lustre and authority to his crown; victorious over all his enemies, and cheerfully obeyed by all his subjects. Henry, his eldest son, had been anointed king, and was acknowledged as undoubted successor; Richard, his second son, was invested with the duchy of Guienne and Poictou; Geoffrey, his third son, inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Bretagne; and John, his youngest, was designed as king in Ireland. Such was the flattering prospect of grandeur before him; but such is the instability of human happiness, that this very exaltation of his family proved the means of imbittering his future life, and disturbing his government.

Among the few vices ascribed to this monarch, unlimited gallantry was one. Queen Eleanor, whom he married from motives of ambition, and who had been divorced from her former royal consort for her incontinence, was long become disagreeable to Henry; and he sought in others those satisfactions which he could not find with her. Among the number of his mistresses we have the name of Fair Rosamond, whose personal charms and premature death make so conspicuous a figure in the romances and the ballads of this period. It is true, that the severity of criticism has rejected most of these

accounts as fabulous; but even well-known fables, when much celebrated, make a part of the history, at least of the manners, of the age. Rosamond Clifford is said to have been the most beautiful woman that ever was seen in England, if what romances and poets assert be true. Henry loved her with a long and faithful attachment; and in order to secure her from the resentment of his queen, who from having been formerly incontinent herself, now became jealous of his incontinence, he concealed her in a labyrinth in Woodstock Park, where he passed in her company his hours of vacancy and pleasure. How long this secret intercourse continued we are not informed. It was not, however, so closely concealed but that it came to the queen's knowledge, who, as the accounts add, being guided by a clue of silk to her fair rival's retreat, obliged her, by holding a drawn dagger to her breast, to swallow poison. Whatever may be the veracity of this story, certain it is, that this haughty woman, though formerly offensive by her own gallantries, was no less so by her jealousy; and she it was who first sowed the seeds of dissension between the king and his children.

Young Henry was taught to believe himself injured, when, upon being crowned as partner in the kingdom, he was not admitted to a share of the administration. This prince had, from the beginning, shewn a degree of pride that seems to have been hereditary to all the Norman succession. When the ceremony of his coronation was performing, the king, willing to give it all the splendour possible, waited upon him at table; and while he offered him the cup, observed, that no prince ever before had been so magnificently attended. "There is nothing very extraordinary," replied the young prince, "in seeing the son of a count serving the son of a king." From this instance, nothing seemed great enough to satisfy his ambition; and he took the first opportunity to assert his aspiring pretensions. The discontent of young Henry was soon followed by that of Geoffrey and Richard, whom the queen persuaded to assert their title to the territories assigned them; and, upon the king's refusing their undutiful demands, they all fled secretly to the court of France, where Lewis, who was instrumental in increasing their disobedience, gave them countenance and protection. Queen Eleanor herself was meditating an escape to the same court, and had put on man's apparel for that purpose, when she was seized by the king's order, and put into confinement. Thus Henry saw all his long perspective of future happiness totally clouded; his sons, scarcely yet arrived at manhood, eager to share the spoils of their father's possessions; his queen warmly encouraging those undutiful princes in their rebellion; and many potentates of Europe not ashamed to afford assistance for the support of their pretensions. Nor were his prospects much more pleasing when he looked among his subjects: his licentious barons, disgusted with a vigilant administration, desired to be governed by princes whom they could flatter or intimidate: the clergy had not yet forgotten Becket's death; and the people considered him as a saint and a martyr. In this general disaffection, Henry supported that intrepidity which he had shewn through life, and prepared for a contest from which he could expect to reap neither profit nor glory. Twenty thousand mercenary soldiers, joined to some troops which he brought over from Ireland, and a few barons of approved fidelity, formed the sole force with which he proposed to resist his opponents.

It was not long before the young princes had sufficient influence upon the continent to raise a powerful confederacy in their favour. Beside the king of France, Philip count of Flanders, Matthew count of Boulogne, Theobald count of Blois, and Henry count of Eu, declared themselves in their interests. William, king of Scotland, also made one of this association; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion of Henry's extensive dominions. This was shortly after put into execution. The king's continental dominions were invaded on one side by the counts of Flanders and Boulogne; on the other by the king of France with a large army, which the young English princes A. D. 1173.] animated by their presence and popularity. But Henry found means to oppose them in every quarter. The count of Boulogne being mortally wounded in the assault of the town of Driencourt, his death stopped the progress of the Flemish arms on that side. The French being obliged

to retire from the siege of Vernœuil, Henry attacked their rear, put them to the rout, and took many prisoners. The barons of Bretagne also, who had risen in favour of the young princes, shared no better fate: their troops being defeated in the field, and taking shelter in the town of Dol, were made prisoners of war. These successes repressed the pride and the expectations of the confederate forces; and a conference was demanded by the French king, to which Henry readily agreed. In this interview he had the mortification to see his three sons ranged on the side of his mortal and inveterate enemy; but he was still more disappointed to find that their demands rose with their incapacity to obtain them by compulsion.

While Henry was thus quelling the insolence of his foreign enemies, his English subjects were in no small danger of revolting from their obedience at home. The nobility were in general united to oppose him; and an irruption at this time by the king of Scotland, assisted their schemes of insurrection. The earl of Leicester, at the head of a body of Flemings, invaded Suffolk, but was repulsed with great slaughter. The earl of Ferrars, Roger de Mowbray, and many others of equal dignity, rose in arms; while the more to augment the confusion, the king of Scotland broke into the northern provinces with an army of eighty thousand men, which laid the whole country into one extensive scene of desolation. Henry, from baffling his enemies in France, flew over to oppose those in England; but his long dis- [A. D. 1174. session with Becket still was remembered against him, and it was his interest to persuade the clergy, as well as the people, that he was no way accessary to his murder. All the world now began to think the dead prelate a saint; and, if we consider the ignorance of the times, perhaps Henry himself thought so too. He had some time before taken proper precautions to exculpate himself to the pope, and given him the most solemn promises to perform whatever penances the church should inflict. He had engaged at the Christmas following to take the cross, and, if the pope insisted on it, to serve three years against the infidels, either in Spain or Palestine; and promised not to stop appeals to the holy see. These concessions seemed to satisfy the court of Rome for that time; but they were nevertheless every day putting Henry in mind of his promise, and demanding those humiliations, for his offences to the saint, that could alone reconcile him to the church. He now, therefore, found it the most proper conjuncture to obey; and, knowing the influence of superstition over the minds of the people, and perhaps apprehensive that a part of his troubles arose from the displeasure of Heaven, he resolved to do penance at the shrine of Thomas of Canterbury; for that was the name given to Becket upon his canonization. As soon as he came within sight of the church of Canterbury, alighting from his horse, he walked barefoot towards the town, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer a whole day, watched all night the holy relics, made a grant of fifty pounds a year to the convent for a constant supply of tapers to illuminate the shrine; and not satisfied with these submissions, he assembled a chapter of monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into each of their hands, and presented his bare shoulders to their infliction. Next day he received absolution; and departing for London, received the agreeable news of a victory over the Scots, obtained on the very day of his absolution.

Having thus made his peace with the church, and brought over the minds of the people, he fought upon surer grounds; every victory he obtained was imputed to the favour of the reconciled saint, and every success thus tended to ascertain the growing confidence of his party. The victory which was gained over the Scots was signal and decisive. William, their king, after having committed the most horrible depredations upon the northern frontiers, had thought proper to retreat, upon the advance of an English army, commanded by Ralph de Glanville, the famous English lawyer. As he had fixed his station at Alnwick, he thought himself perfectly secure, from the remoteness of the enemy, against any attack. In this, however, he was deceived; for Glanville, informed of his situation, made a hasty and fatiguing march to the place of his encampment, and approached it very nearly during the obscurity of a mist. The Scots, who continued in perfect security, were

surprised in the morning to find themselves attacked by the enemy, which they thought at such a distance; and their king, venturing with a small body of a hundred horse to oppose the assailants, was quickly surrounded, and taken prisoner. His troops, hearing of his disaster, fled on all sides with the utmost precipitation, and made the best of their way to their own country.

From that time Henry's affairs began to wear a better aspect; the barons who had revolted, or were preparing for a revolt, made instant submission; they delivered up their castles to the victor, and England in a few weeks was restored to perfect tranquillity. Young Henry, who was ready to embark with a large army, to second the efforts of the English insurgents, finding all disturbances quieted at home, abandoned all thoughts of the expedition. Lewis attempted in vain to besiege Rouen, which Henry hastened over to succour. A cessation of arms, and a conference, were once more agreed upon by the two monarchs. Henry granted his sons much less advantageous terms than they formerly refused to accept; the most material were some pensions for their support, come castles for their residence, and an indemnity to all their adherents. Thus England once more emerged from the numerous calamities that threatened to overwhelm it; and the king was left at free liberty to make various provisions for the glory, the happiness, and the security of his people.

His first care was to make his prisoner, the king of Scotland, undergo a proper punishment for his unmerited and ungenerous attack. That prince was obliged to sign a treaty, by which he was compelled to do homage to Henry for his dominions in Scotland. It was agreed, that his barons and bishops also should do the same; and that the fortresses of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be delivered into the hands of the conqueror till the articles were performed. This treaty was punctually and rigorously executed: the king, barons, and prelates of Scotland, did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York; so that he might now be considered as monarch of the whole island, the mountainous parts of Wales only excepted.

His domestic regulations were as wise as his political conduct was splendid. He enacted severe penalties against robbery, murder, false coining, and burning of houses; ordaining that these crimes should be punished by the amputation of the right hand and right foot. The ordeal trial by the water, though it still subsisted, was yet so far weakened, that if a person, who came off in this scrutiny, should be afterwards legally convicted by credible testimony, he was condemned to banishment. He partitioned out the kingdom into four divisions, and appointed itinerant justices to go their respective circuits to try causes, to restrain the cruelties of the barons, and to protect the lower ranks of the people in security. He renewed the trial by jury, which, by the barbarous method of camp-fight, was almost grown obsolete. He demolished all the new-erected castles that had been built in the times of anarchy and general confusion; and, to secure the kingdom more effectually against invasion, he established a well-armed militia, which with proper accoutrements, specified in the act, were to defend the realm upon any emergency.

But it was not in the power of wisdom to conciliate the turbulent and ambitious spirits of his sons, who, not contented with rebelling against their father, A. D. 1183.] now warmly prosecuted their enmities against each other. Richard, whom Henry had made master of Guienne, and who had already displayed great marks of valour in humbling his mutinous barons, refused to obey his father's orders in doing homage to his elder brother for that duchy. Young Henry and Geoffrey, uniting their arms, carried war into their brother's dominions; and while the king was endeavouring to compose their differences, he found himself secretly conspired against by all. What the result of this conspiracy might be, is uncertain; for it was defeated by the death of young Henry, who died in the twenty-eighth year of his age, of a fever, at Martel, not without the deepest remorse for his undutiful conduct towards his father.

As this prince left no posterity, Richard was become heir in his room; and he soon discovered the same ardent ambition that had misled his elder

brother. He refused to obey his father's commands in giving up Guienne, of which he had been put in possession; and even made preparations to attack his brother Geoffrey, who was possessed of Bretagne. No sooner was this breach made up, at the intercession of the queen, than Geoffrey broke out into violence, and demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Bretagne. This being refused him, he followed the old undutiful method of procuring redress,—fled to the court of France, and prepared to levy an army against his father.

Henry was freed from the danger that threatened him on that quarter, by the death of his son, who was killed in a tournament at Paris. [A. D. 1186. The loss of this prince gave few, except the king himself, any uneasiness, as he was universally hated, and went among the people under the opprobrious name of *the Child of Perdition*.

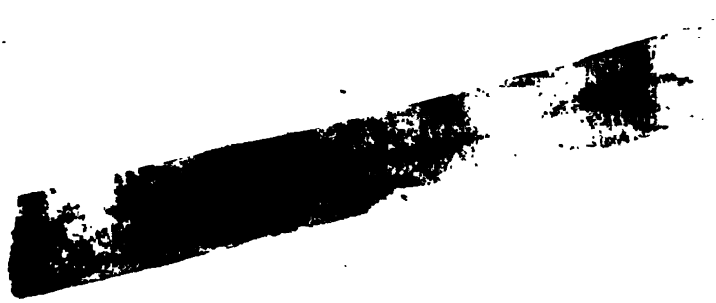
But the death of the prince did not wholly remove the cause of his revolt; for Philip Augustus, king of France, disputed his title to the wardship of Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, who was now become duke of Bretagne, upon the death of his father. Some other causes of dissension inflamed the dispute between the two monarchs. Philip had once more debauched Richard from his duty; insisted upon his marriage being completed with Adelais, the sister of Philip; and threatened to enforce his pretensions by a formidable invasion. In consequence of this claim, another conference was held be- [A. D. 1188. tween Gisors and Trie, the usual place of meeting, under a vast elm, that is said to have shaded more than an acre. It was in the midst of this conference upon their mutual rights, that a new object of interest was offered to their deliberation, and that quickly bore down all secular considerations before it. The archbishop of Tyre appeared before the assembly in the most miserable habit, and with looks calculated to inspire compassion. He had come from the Holy Land, and had seen the oppressions of the Christians, who were appointed to defend the Holy Sepulchre, and was a witness of the triumph of the infidels. He painted the distresses of those champions of the cross in the most pathetic manner; he deplored their bravery and their misfortunes. The Christians, about a century before, had attacked and taken Jerusalem; but the Saracens recovered courage after the first torrent of success was past, and being every day reinforced by fresh supplies, at last conquered by perseverance a band of warriors, who, in common, preferring celibacy to marriage, had not multiplied in the ordinary methods of population. The holy city itself was soon retaken by the victorious arms of Saladin; and all Palestine, except a few maritime towns, was subdued. Nothing now remained of those boasted conquests that had raised the glory, and inflamed the zeal, of the western world; and nothing was to be seen, of what near a century before had employed the efforts of all the noblest spirits of Europe to acquire. The western Christians were astounded at receiving this dismal intelligence; the whole audience burst into tears; the two kings laid aside their animosity, and agreed to convert their whole attention to the rescue of Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels. They instantly took the cross; many of their most considerable vassals imitated their example; and as the emperor Frederic I. entered into the same confederacy, it was universally expected that nothing could resist their united endeavours. But it was the fate of Henry to be crossed in his most darling pursuits by his undutiful and ungrateful children.

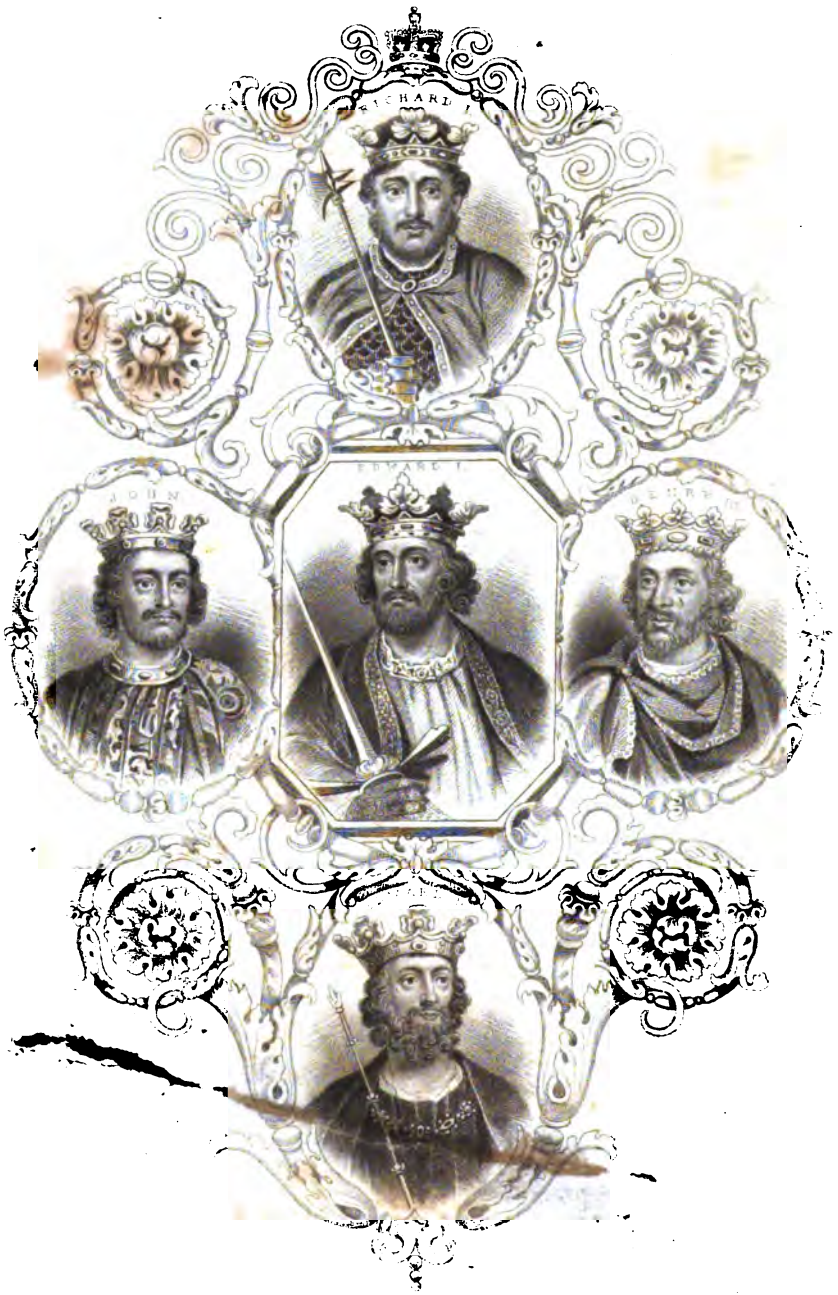
Richard, who had long wished to have all the glory of such an expedition to himself, and who could not bear to have even his father a partner in his victories, entered into a confederacy with the king of France, who promised to confirm him in those wishes at which he so ardently aspired. He therefore began by making an inroad into the territories of the count of Thoulouse, a vassal of the king of France; and this monarch, in order to retaliate, carried war into the provinces of Berri and Auvergne. Henry, who was apprised of their secret confederacy, nevertheless attempted to make depredations in turn upon the dominions of the French king. Conferences were proposed, attended, and dismissed. At length, Henry found himself obliged to give up all hopes of taking the cross, and compelled to enter upon a war with France and his eldest son, who were unnaturally leagued against him. He now saw the confederacy daily gaining ground. Ferté-Bernard fell first into the hands

A. D. 1189.] of the enemy; Mans was next taken by assault; Amboise, Chaumont, and Château de Loire, opened their gates upon the enemy's appearance; Tours was invested; and the king, who had retired to Saumur, and had daily instances of the cowardice and infidelity of his governors, expected the most dismal issue of all his enterprises. While he was in this state of despondency, the duke of Burgundy, the count of Flanders, and the archbishop of Rheims, interposed their good offices; and at last a treaty was concluded, in which he submitted to many mortifying concessions. It was agreed that Richard should marry the princess Adelais, and be crowned king of England during the lifetime of his father. It was stipulated, that Henry should pay twenty thousand marks to the king of France, as a compensation for the charges of the war; that his own barons should engage to make him observe this treaty, and, in case of violating it, to join Philip and Richard against him; and that all his vassals who espoused the cause of Richard should receive an indemnity for the offence. These were terms sufficiently humiliating to a prince accustomed to give, not receive, commands: but what was his resentment, when, upon demanding a list of the barons that were to be thus pardoned, he found his son John, his favourite child, among the number! He had long borne an infirm state of body with calm resignation; he had seen his children rebel without much emotion; he saw his own son his conqueror, himself bereft of his power, reduced to the condition of a fugitive, and almost suppliant in his old age; and all this he endured with tranquillity of temper; but when he saw that child, whose interests always lay next his heart, among the number of those who were in rebellion against him, he could no longer contain his indignation. He broke out into expressions of the utmost despair; cursed the day in which he had received his miserable being; and bestowed on his ungrateful children a malediction which he never after could be prevailed upon to retract. The more his heart was disposed to friendship and affection, the more he resented this barbarous return; and now, not having one corner in his heart where he could look for comfort, or fly for refuge from his conflicting passions, he lost all his former vivacity. A lingering fever, caused by a broken heart, soon after terminated his life and his miseries. He died at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur.

His corpse was conveyed by his natural son Geoffrey, who of all his children behaved with duty, to the nunnery of Fontevrault; and next day, while it lay in the abbey church, Richard, chancing to enter, was struck with horror at the sight. At his approach, the blood was seen to gush out at the mouth and nostrils of the corpse; and this, which without doubt was accidental, was interpreted by the superstition of the times as the most dreadful rebuke. Richard could not endure the sight; he exclaimed, "that he was his father's murderer;" and expressed a strong, though late sense of that undutiful conduct which brought his parent to an untimely grave. Thus died Henry, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign; in the course of which he displayed all the abilities of a politician, all the sagacity of a legislator, and all the magnanimity of a hero. He was of a middle stature, strong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable and entertaining; his elocution easy, persuasive, and ever at command. When he could enjoy leisure, he recreated himself either in learned conversation or reading, and he cultivated his natural talents by studying above any prince of his time. During his reign, all foreign improvements in literature and politeness, in laws and arts, seem to have been, in a good measure, transplanted into England. The little learning of the Saxon priests, which was confined to church history and legendary tales, was now exchanged for the subtilties of school philosophy. The homely manners of the great were softened by the pomp of chivalry. The people, however, were as yet far from being civilized; and even in their cities, where the social arts were best cultivated, there were amazing instances of barbarity. It was common, for instance, in London, for great numbers, to the amount of a hundred or more, of the sons and relatives of eminent citizens, to form themselves into a confederacy, to plunder and rob their more wealthy neighbours. By these crimes, it was become so dangerous to walk the streets at night, that the citizens, after dark, were obliged to continue within doors. A

THE NEW
PUBLIC




RICHARD I
EDWARD I
JOHN
HENRY III

band of these ruffians had one day attacked the house of a rich citizen, with an intention to plunder it. They had already broken through a stone wall with hammers and wedges, and were actually entering the house sword in hand, when the citizen, in complete armour, supported by his servant, appeared in the passage to oppose them. He cut off the right hand of the first robber that entered; and made such a noble resistance, that his neighbours had time to assemble and come to his relief. The man who lost his hand was caught; and was tempted, by the promise of a pardon, to reveal his confederates, among whom was one John Senex, esteemed among the richest and the best-born citizens of London. He was convicted by the ordeal trial; and though he offered five hundred marks for his life, the king refused the money, and ordered him to be hanged.

Henry left only two legitimate sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and John, who inherited no territory, and therefore received the surname of Lackland. He left three legitimate daughters, Maud, who was married to the duke of Saxony, Eleanor, married to Alphonso king of Castile, and Joan, to William king of Sicily. He left two natural sons by Rosamond: Richard Longsword, who married the daughter and heiress of the earl of Salisbury; and Geoffrey, who was afterwards archbishop of York.

CHAP. X.

RICHARD I. *surnamed* CŒUR DE LION.—A. D. 1189 to 1199.

RICHARD, who succeeded to the throne without opposition, seemed resolved to discourage future disobedience, by dismissing from his service all those who had assisted him in his former undutiful conduct. Those who had seconded his rebellion, instead of meeting with that trust and honour which they expected, were treated with scorn and neglect. He retained in his service all the loyal adherents of the late king; and more than once observed, that those who were faithful to one sovereign would probably continue so to another. He instantly, upon his accession, released his mother from confinement; and was profuse in heaping favours upon his brother John, who afterwards made a very indifferent return for his indulgence.

But the king was no way suspicious in his temper; nor did he give much attention to his own security, being more earnestly solicitous of fame. A romantic desire for strange adventures, and an immoderate zeal for the external rites of Christianity, were the ruling passions of the times. By these alone, glory was to be acquired; and by these only Richard hoped for glory. The Jews, who had been for some time increasing in the kingdom, were the first who fell a sacrifice to the enthusiastic zeal of the people; and great numbers of them were slaughtered by the citizens of London, upon the very day of the king's coronation. Five hundred of that infatuated people had retired into York castle for safety; but finding themselves unable to defend the place, they resolved to perish by killing one another, rather than meet the fury of their persecutors. Having taken this gloomy resolution, they first murdered their wives and children; next threw the dead bodies over the wall against their enemies, who attempted to scale it; and then setting fire to the houses, perished in the flames.

This horrid massacre, which was in itself so impolitic and unjust, instead of tarnishing the lustre of this monarch's reign, was then considered as a most splendid commencement of his government: and the people were from thence led to form the most favourable sentiments of his future glory. Nor was it long before he shewed himself perfectly fitted to gratify their most romantic desires. Perhaps impelled more by a love of military glory than actuated by superstition, he resolved upon an expedition to the Holy Land, and took every method to raise money for so expensive an undertaking. His father had left him a treasure of above a hundred thousand marks; and this sum he endeavoured to augment by all expedients, however pernicious to the public, or dangerous to royal authority. He set up to sale the revenues and manors of the crown, and several offices of the greatest trust and power. Liberties, charters, castles, and employments, were given to the best bidders.

When some of his friends suggested the danger attending this venality, he told them he would sell the city of London itself, if he could procure a purchaser. In these times we find but one man who was honest enough to retire from employment, when places were become thus ignominious. This was the great lawyer Glanville, who resigned his post of justiciary, and took the cross. Richard was not much displeased at his resignation, as he was able shortly after to sell his employment to Hugh, bishop of Durham, who gave a thousand marks for the office. Thus the king, elated with the hopes of fame, was blind to every other consideration. Numerous exactions were practised upon people of all ranks and stations; menaces, expostulations, promises, were used to frighten the timid, or allure the avaricious. A zealous preacher was so far emboldened as to remonstrate against the king's conduct; and advised him to part with his three daughters, which were Pride, Avarice, and Sensuality. To this, Richard readily replied, "You counsel right, my friend; and I have already provided husbands for them all. I will dispose of my Pride to the Templars; my Avarice to the Monks; and as for my Sensuality, the Clergy shall share that among them." At length, having procured a sufficient supply for his undertaking, and sold his superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, which had been acquired in the last reign, for a moderate sum, he set out for the Holy Land, whither he was impelled by repeated messages from the king of France, who was ready to embark in the same enterprise.

The first place of rendezvous, for the troops of England and France, was the plain of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, where, when Richard and Philip arrived, they found their armies amounting to a hundred thousand
A. D. 1190.] fighting men. These were all ardent in the cause; the flower of all the military in both dominions, and provided with all the implements and accoutrements of war. Here the French prince and the English entered into the most solemn engagements of mutual support; and having determined to conduct their armies to the Holy Land by sea, they parted, one for Genoa, the other for Marseilles, with a view of meeting the fleets that were to attend them at their respective stations. It was not long after that both fleets put to sea; and nearly about the same time were obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, the capital of Sicily, where they were detained during the whole winter. Richard took up his quarters in the suburbs, and possessed himself of a small fort, which commanded the harbour. Philip quartered his troops in the town, and lived upon good terms with the Sicilian king.

It is now unknown what gave rise to a quarrel, which happened soon after, between the Sicilians and the English; it is doubtful whether the intrigues of the French king, or the violent proceedings of Richard. Certain it is, that the Messinese took occasion to treat the English with great insolence; shut their gates, manned their walls, and set Richard at defiance. Richard, who had hitherto acted as a friend, endeavoured to use the mediation of Philip to compromise this quarrel; but while the two monarchs were yet in deliberation, a body of Sicilians issued from the town, and attacked the English with great impetuosity. This insult was sufficient to excite the fury of Richard, who, naturally bold, and conscious of his own superior force, assaulted the city with such fury, that it was soon taken, and the standard of England displayed on the ramparts. Philip, who considered the place as his quarters, exclaimed against the insult, and ordered some of his troops to pull down that mark of his disgrace. To this, however, Richard returned for answer, that he was willing to take down the standard, since it displeased his associate; but that no power on earth should compel him to do so. This was sufficient to produce a mutual jealousy between these two princes, which never after subsided; but which was still more inflamed by the opposition of their tempers.

Many were the mistrusts and the reconciliations between these monarchs, which were very probably inflamed by the Sicilian king's endeavours. At
A. D. 1191.] length, however, having settled all controversies, they set sail for the Holy Land, where the French arrived long before the English. The little knowledge that was then had of the art of sailing, made that passage by sea very long and dangerous, which is now considered as so trifling. Richard's

fleet was once more encountered by a tempest, and two of the ships were driven upon the coast of the island of Cyprus. Isaac, who was then prince of that country, either impelled by avarice, or willing to discourage the rest of Richard's fleet from landing, pillaged the ships that were stranded, and threw the seamen and soldiers into prison. But Richard, who soon after arrived, took vengeance for that injury. He disembarked his troops, defeated the tyrant, entered the capital by storm, obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion, and took the island into his own possession. It was there that Richard married Berengaria, daughter to the king of Navarre, who had attended him in his expedition; and whom he had preferred to Adelais, Philip's sister, whose charms were not so powerful, or whose fidelity was more suspected.

Upon the arrival of the English army in Palestine, fortune was seen to declare more openly in favour of the common cause. The French and English princes seemed to forget their secret jealousies, and act in concert. In besieging the city of Acre, while one made the attack, the other guarded the trenches; and this duty they performed each day alternately. By this conduct, that garrison, after a long and obstinate resistance, was obliged to capitulate; and, upon condition of having their lives spared, they promised to restore the Christian prisoners, and to deliver up the wood of the true cross. Such were the *amazing* advantages of an enterprise that had laid Asia in blood, and had in a great measure depopulated Europe of its bravest forces.

Immediately after the conquest of this place, Philip, either disgusted at the ascendant assumed by Richard, or displeased at his superior popularity, declared his resolution of returning to France. He pleaded the bad state of his health in excuse for his desertion; and to give colour to his friendly professions, he left Richard ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy. Richard, being now left sole conductor of the war, went on from victory to victory. The Christian adventurers under his command determined to besiege the renowned city of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for attaking Jerusalem with greater advantage. Saladin, the most renowned of all the Saracen monarchs, resolved to dispute their march, and placed himself upon the road with an army of two hundred thousand men. This was a day equal to Richard's wishes; this, an enemy worthy his highest ambition. The English were victorious. Richard, when the wings of his army were defeated, led on the main body in person, and restored the battle. The Saracens fled in the utmost confusion, and no less than thirty thousand of their number perished in the field of battle. Ascalon soon surrendered after this victory; other cities of less note followed the example; and Richard was at last able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his long and ardent expectations. But, just at this glorious juncture, his [A. D. 1192. ambition was to suffer a total overthrow: upon reviewing his forces, and considering his abilities to prosecute the siege, he found that his army was so wasted with famine, fatigue, and even with victory, that they were neither able nor willing to second the views of their commander. It appeared, therefore, absolutely necessary to come to an accommodation with Saladin; and a truce for three years was accordingly concluded, in which it was agreed, that the sea-port towns of Palestine should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that all of that religion should be permitted to make their pilgrimage to Jerusalem in perfect security.

Richard, having thus concluded his expedition, with more glory than advantage, began to think of returning home, and of enjoying in tranquillity those honours which he had reaped with so much danger. But he was at a loss how to proceed. If he should take shipping, and return by the way he came, he must necessarily put himself into the power of the king of France, from whose resentment he had every thing to fear. No way was left but by going more to the north. He, therefore, sailed up the Adriatic; and being wrecked near Aquileia, assumed the disguise of a pilgrim, with the hope of making his way, in that private manner, through Germany. Unfortunately, his intentions and person were not so concealed, but that his quality was suspected; and the governor of Istria pursued him, in order to make him a prisoner. Being thus forced from the direct road, and now become a fugitive, he was obliged to pass by Vienna, where his expenses and liberalities betraying his

dignity, though disguised in the habit of a pilgrim, he was arrested by Leopold, duke of Austria, who commanded him to be imprisoned and loaded with shackles, to the disgrace of honour and humanity. This prince had served under Richard at the siege of Acre; and being disgusted at some affront offered him by his commander on that occasion, he took this base method of retaliating the injury. His avarice, also, might have had a share in this procedure, as he expected a large share of that ransom which he knew would be given by the English to extricate their king from bondage. Henry the Sixth, who was then emperor of Germany, was equally an enemy to Richard, on account of the alliance contracted between him and Tancred king of Sicily. When, therefore, he received the news of Richard's being in custody, he required the prisoner to be delivered up to him, and ordered a large sum o money to the duke as a reward for this service. Thus the king of England, who had long filled the world with his fame, was basely thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons, by those who expected to reap a sordid advantage from his misfortunes. It was a long time before his subjects in England knew what was become of their warlike monarch. So little intercourse was there between different nations at that time, that this discovery is said by some to have been made by a poor French minstrel, who, playing upon his harp (near the fortress in which Richard was confined) a tune which he knew that unhappy monarch was fond of, was answered from within by the king, who with his harp played the same tune; and this discovered the place of his confinement.

In the mean time, while Richard was thus fruitlessly victorious, and afterwards miserably confined, his affairs in England were in a very unprosperous situation. The kingdom was put under the government of two persons, one of whom had bought his place, and the other had risen to it by the meanest arts of adulation. The bishop of Durham was ignorant and avaricious; his colleague, Longchamp, who was chancellor of the realm, was naturally proud, and still more elated by the consciousness of possessing his master's favour. Tempers so opposite soon begot enmity; and Longchamp went even so far as to arrest the person of his associate, who was obliged to resign his power to obtain his liberty. It was to no purpose that the king, by his letters, commanded Longchamp to replace his coadjutor; this haughty prelate refused to obey, alleging, that he knew the king's secret intentions better than to comply. He proceeded, therefore, still to govern the kingdom alone; and as he knew his situation was precarious, he increased the number of his guard, without which he never ventured from his palace. In the universal disgust which so much power and magnificence naturally produced against him, there was no person in the kingdom hardy enough to control his will, except John, the king's brother, who, having been personally disobliged by this prelate, was willing to seize the present favourable occasion of universal discontent, to oppose himself to his power. He accordingly ventured to summon, at Reading, a general council of the nobility and prelates; and cited Longchamp to appear before them. The chancellor, sensible of his own insolence, and their enmity, was unwilling to trust himself in their power, but shut himself up in the Tower of London. Thence he fled, in the disguise of a female habit, beyond sea; upon which the archbishop of Rouen was made justiciary in his room. These dissensions were soon known by the king of France, who had by this time returned from the Holy Land. He made all possible use of Longchamp's resentment, to divide the English still more effectually; and almost prevailed upon John to throw off his allegiance, by an offer of putting him in possession of all Richard's continental dominions.

It was in this precarious situation of affairs that the English were first informed of the captivity of their beloved monarch, and the base treatment he had received, without even the colour of justice to gloss over the injury. The queen-dowager was particularly enraged at the treatment of her favou- A. D. 1193.] rite son. She wrote reiterated letters to pope Celestine, to excite his compassion or his indignation, but all to very little purpose. The people testified their regard for him with all the marks of violence and despair. The clergy considered him as a sufferer in the cause of the church; and all mouths were filled with the nobleness of his actions, and the great-

ness of his fall. But while these testified the sincerity of their sorrow, there were some that secretly rejoiced in his disaster, and did all they could to prolong the term of his captivity. In this number, besides the king of France, his ancient enemy, was his own brother John; who, forgetting every tie of kindred, duty, or gratitude, on the first invitation from Philip, suddenly went abroad, and held a conference with him, in which the perpetual captivity of Richard was agreed upon. He stipulated to deliver into Philip's hand a great part of Normandy; and, in return, he received the French king's assurances of being secured on the English throne; and some say that he did homage for the crown of England. In consequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy, the fortresses of which were delivered up to him after a colour of opposition; and all but Rouen were subjected to his authority. John, on his side, was equally assiduous to secure England; and, upon his arrival in London, claimed the throne, as being heir to his brother, of whose death he pretended to have received certain intelligence. But in this the traitor's expectations were disappointed. His claim was rejected by all the barons, who took such measures to provide for the security of the kingdom, that John was obliged to return to the continent, and openly to acknowledge his alliance with the king of France.

In the mean time, the unhappy Richard suffered all the mortifications that malicious tyranny could inflict. The emperor, in order to render him more impatient for the recovery of his liberty, and make him submit to the payment of a larger ransom, treated him with the greatest severity, and reduced him to a condition worse than that of the meanest malefactor. Richard, however, was too noble-spirited to be meanly depressed by those indignities. As he did not know what extremities he might be reduced to, or what condescensions he might be obliged to make, he wrote to the justiciary of England to obey no orders that should come from him, if they seemed in the least contrary to his honour, or the good of the nation. His precautions were well-founded; for the emperor, willing to intimidate him, charged him at the diet of Worms with many crimes and misdemeanors, partly to justify his own cruelty, and partly to swell the ransom. There he was accused of making an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily; of turning the arms of the crusade against a Christian prince; of affronting the duke of Austria before Acre; of obstructing the progress of the Christian arms, by his contests with the king of France; of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the infidels. These frivolous charges were heard by Richard with becoming indignation. He even waved his dignity to answer them; and so fully vindicated himself before the princes who composed the diet, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor, while the pope even threatened him with excommunication. This barbarous monarch now saw that he could no longer detain his prisoner. He therefore was willing to listen to terms of accommodation. A ransom was agreed upon, which amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand marks, or about three hundred thousand pounds of our money. Of this, Richard was to pay one hundred thousand before he received his liberty, and sixty-seven hostages were to be delivered for the remainder. The agreement being thus made, Richard sent Hubert, one of his faithful followers in the Holy Land, to England, with the terms upon which he was to receive his liberty, and with a commission to raise money for that purpose.

In the feudal times, every military tenant was, by law, obliged to give aid for the ransom of his lord from captivity. The tax arising from this obligation was accordingly raised throughout the kingdom, and assessed by itinerant justices. But the ardour of the people outwent the cool offerings of their duty; great sums were raised by voluntary contribution to purchase the freedom of their king. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate; the bishops, abbots, and nobles, paid a fourth of their annual income; the inferior clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes, and the requisite sum was thus at length amassed; with which queen Eleanor and the justiciary immediately set out for Germany.

While the English were thus piously employed in preparing for the ransom of their king, Philip was as assiduously occupied in endeavouring to

prolong Richard's captivity. As he had the passions of the emperor to work upon, whom he knew to be avaricious to the last degree, he made him fresh proposals, still more lucrative than those which had been agreed upon for Richard's ransom. He offered to marry the emperor's daughter, and to gratify him with a sum equal to the ransom, if he would only detain his prisoner for one year more in captivity. The emperor perceived that he had concluded a treaty with Richard too hastily, and repented of his rashness. He was very willing to sacrifice every consideration of honour or justice; but then he feared the resentment of his princes, who, in the feudal times, had power to punish his injustice. Thus he continued fluctuating between his avarice and his fears, between different motives equally sordid, until the day fixed for the king's
A. D. 1194.] deliverance arrived. His releasement from captivity was performed with great ceremony at Mentz, in presence of the German nobility: the money was paid by queen Eleanor, the hostages were delivered as a security for the remainder, and Richard was restored to freedom. In the mean time, the emperor beheld his releasement with an agitation of all the malignant passions. He could not bear to see one, whom he had made his enemy, in a state of felicity; he could not bear to lose the superior advantages that were offered for his detention. All his terrors, from his own subjects, gave way to the dictates of avarice; he resolved to send him back to his former prison, and gave orders to have him pursued and arrested. But luckily the messengers were too late. Richard, well acquainted with his perfidy, and secretly apprised of the offers of the French king, had ordered some shipping to attend him at the mouth of the Scheldt; so that upon his arrival at the place of embarkation, he went instantly on board, although the wind was against him, and was out of sight of land when his pursuers reached Antwerp.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the English upon seeing their monarch return, after all his achievements and sufferings. He made his entry into London in triumph; and such was the profusion of wealth shewn by the citizens, that the German lords who attended him were heard to say, that if the emperor had known of their affluence, he would not so easily have parted with their king. He soon after ordered himself to be crowned anew at Winchester. He convoked a general council at Nottingham, at which he confiscated all his traitorous brother's possessions; and then having made proper preparations for avenging himself on the king of France, he set sail with a strong body of forces for Normandy.

Richard was but one day landed, when his faithless brother John came to make submission, and to throw himself at his monarch's feet. It was not without some degree of resentment that Richard received a prince who had all along been leagued with his mortal enemy against him. However, at the intercession of queen Eleanor, he was received into favour. "I forgive him," said the king; "and I wish I could as easily forget his offences as he will forget my pardon." This condescension was not lost upon a man whose heart, though naturally bad, was not yet dead to every sentiment of humanity. From that time he served him faithfully, and did him signal services in his battles with the king of France, which followed soon after. This war, from which no permanent consequences resulted, only served to keep the animosity of the two nations alive, without fixing their claims or pretensions. The most remarkable circumstance, in the tedious journals of those transactions, is the taking the bishop of Beauvais captive at the head of his vassals, and his being put in prison by Richard. When the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as a child of the church, the king sent his holiness the bloody coat of mail which that prelate had worn in battle; asking, whether that was the coat of his son? The cruelty of both parties was in this manner inflamed by insult and revenge. Both kings frequently put out the eyes of their prisoners; and treaties were concluded and broken with very little repugnance. At length the pope's legate induced them to conclude a treaty,
A. D. 1196.] which promised to be attended with a firm reconciliation. The war, however, was renewed; but the death of Richard put an end to the contest.

A.D. 1199.] Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, a vassal of the crown, had taken possession of a treasure which was found by one of his peasants in digging a field; and, to secure the remainder, he sent a part of it to the king. Richard,

as superior lord, sensible that he had a right to the whole, insisted on its being sent him; and, upon refusal, attacked the castle of Chalus, where he understood this treasure had been deposited. On the fourth day of the siege, as he was riding round the place to observe where the assault might be given with the fairest success, he was aimed at by one Bertram de Gourdon, an archer from the castle, and pierced in the shoulder with an arrow. The wound was not in itself dangerous; but an unskilful surgeon endeavouring to disengage the arrow from the flesh, so rankled the wound that it mortified, and brought on fatal symptoms. Richard, when he found his end approaching, made a will, in which he bequeathed the kingdom, with all his treasure, to his brother John, except a fourth part, which he distributed among his servants. He ordered also that the archer who had shot him should be brought into his presence, and demanded "what injury he had done him that he should take away his life?" The prisoner answered with deliberate intrepidity, "You killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged me. I am now in your power, and my torments may give you revenge; but I will endure them with pleasure, since it is my consolation that I have rid the world of a tyrant." Richard, struck with this answer, ordered the soldier to be presented with one hundred shillings, and set at liberty; but Marcadé, the general who commanded under him, like a true ruffian, ordered him to be flayed alive, and then hanged. Richard died in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age, leaving only one natural son, called Philip.

Richard had all the qualities that could gain the admiration and love of a barbarous age, and few of those that could ensure the approbation of his more refined posterity. He was open, magnanimous, generous, and brave, to a degree of romantic excess. But then he was cruel, proud, and resentful. He valued neither the blood nor the treasure of his subjects; and he enfeebled his states by useless expeditions, and by wars calculated rather to promote his own revenge than their interest. During this reign, the inferior orders of the people seemed to increase in power, and to shew a degree of independent obstinacy. Formerly, they were led on to acts of treason by their barons; they were now found to aim at vindicating their rights under a leader of their own rank and denomination. The populace of London placed at their head one William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called Longbeard, who had been bred to the law; but who, more fond of popularity than business, renounced his profession, and espoused the cause of the poor with uncommon enthusiasm. He styled himself the saviour of the poor; and, upon a certain occasion, even went over to Normandy, where he represented to the king, that the poor citizens were oppressed by an unequal assessment of taxes, and obtained a mitigation. His fame for this became so great among the lower orders of his fellow-citizens, that above fifty thousand of them entered into an engagement to defend and to obey him. Murders were in consequence daily committed in the streets; but whether by Longbeard's order, is uncertain. The justiciary (for the king was then absent) summoned him before the council to answer for his conduct: but he came with such a formidable train, that none were found hardy enough to accuse him. However, he was pursued some time after by a detachment of officers of justice; but, killing one of them, he escaped with his concubine to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where he defended himself with determined resolution. There he was supplied with arms and provisions, and expected to be joined by the populace; but being deceived in his expectations, he was at last forced from his retreat by the smoke of wet straw kindled for the purpose at the door. He was then taken, tried, and convicted; and being drawn at a horse's tail through the streets of London, he was hung in chains, with eight of his accomplices. The lower class of people, when he was dead, began to revere a man whom they had not spirit to relieve. They stole his gibbet, and paid to it a veneration like that offered to the wood of the cross. The turf on which it stood was carried away, and kept as a preservative from sickness and misfortune; and had not the clergy withstood the torrent of popular superstition, his memory might have probably received honours similar to those paid at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

CHAP. XI.

John.—A. D. 1199 to 1216.

Were the claims of princes settled on the same principles that govern the lower orders of mankind, John had nothing to fear from a disputed succession. The king of France, who was the only monarch that could assist the pretensions of a rival, had long declared for John's title; and, during the life of his brother, had given him the most convincing proofs of sincerity in his assistance. But it was otherwise now that Richard was no more. Philip began to shew that his former alliances and friendships were calculated not to serve John, but to distress England; not to distribute justice, but to increase his own power. There was an old claimant of the crown, whom indeed Richard, upon his taking the cross, declared heir to the throne; but who was afterwards set aside, at the instance of the dowager-queen. This was Arthur, the son of his late brother Geoffrey, a youth who, though then but twelve years of age, promised to be deserving of the kingdom. Philip, who only desired an occasion to embarrass John, soon resolved to second this young claimant's pretensions; and several of the continental barons immediately declared in favour of Arthur's succession.

John, who was readily put in possession of the English throne, lost no time to second his interest on the continent; and his first care was to recover the revolted provinces from young Arthur, his nephew. The war, therefore, between the English and French king, was renewed with all its former animo-
A. D. 1200.] sity, and all its usual detail of petty victories and indecisive engagements. At length a treaty put an end to those contests that only served to thin mankind; and it was hastened by a circumstance peculiarly favourable. John's nephew, Arthur, together with Constantia, his mother, distrusting the designs of the king of France, who only intended to betray them, came to throw themselves on his mercy, and restored the provinces which still continued in their interest. Thus this monarch, after a short contest, saw himself undisputed sovereign of all the dominions which were annexed to the English throne. But he was ill able to preserve that power by his prudence, which was thus easily obtained by the mutual jealousies of his enemies. His first transgression was his marriage with Isabella, daughter of the count of Angouleme, while the queen was yet alive, and (what still increased the offence) while Isabella
A. D. 1201.] probably belonged to another husband, the count de la Marche, who ardently loved her. This produced an insurrection against him; to repress which he was obliged to have recourse to his English subjects for assistance, by whose means the confederacy was soon broken; and John found, by his present success, that he might in future commit violences with impunity.

As the method of deciding all disputes by duel was still in full force, John resolved to avail himself of this advantage against all his refractory barons. He kept a set of hired bravoes, under the title of his champions; and these he deputed to fight his cause whenever any of the nobility opposed his encroachments. Such contemptible opponents very justly gave the haughty barons disgust; and an universal discontent prevailed among them, which at last produced another dangerous confederacy. John attempted to break it by oaths, protestations, and perfidies; but every attempt of this kind only served to connect his enemies, and render his person contemptible.

Something still remained to render John hateful to his subjects; and this ill-disposed prince took the first opportunity of becoming so. Young Arthur and his mother, who had so imprudently resigned themselves to his protection, soon perceived their error, and found that nothing honourable was to be expected from a prince of his abandoned character. Observing somewhat very suspicious in his manner of conducting himself to them, they fled from Mans, where he had detained them, and retired in the night to Angers, whence they went once more to take refuge with their old protector. As it was Philip's interest to treat them with all possible indulgence, they were
A. D. 1202.] received with great marks of distinction; and young Arthur's

interests were soon after very vigorously supported. One town after another submitted to his authority; and all his attempts seemed to be attended with success. But his unfortunate ardour soon put an end to his hopes and his claims. Being of an enterprising disposition, and fond of military glory, he had laid siege to a fortress in which Eleanor, the dowager-queen, was protected, and defended by a weak garrison. John, therefore, falling upon his little army before they were aware of his approach, the young prince was taken prisoner, together with the most considerable of the revolted barons. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England; but the unfortunate prince himself was shut up in the castle of Falaise. John, thus finding a rival at his mercy, from whom he had every thing to dread, began to meditate upon measures which would most effectually remove his future apprehensions. No other expedient suggested itself but what is foremost in the imagination of tyrants, namely, the young prince's death. How this brave youth was despatched, is not well known: certain it is, that from the moment of his confinement he was never heard of more. The most probable account of this horrid transaction is as follows. The king having [A. D. 1203. first proposed to one of his servants, William de la Braye, to despatch Arthur, the brave domestic replied, that he was a gentleman, and not an executioner. This officer having positively refused to comply, John had recourse to another instrument, who went, with proper directions, to the castle where Arthur was confined, to destroy him. But still this prince's fate seemed suspended: for Hubert de Bourg, chamberlain to the king, and constable of the place, willing to save him, undertook the cruel office himself, and sent back the assassin to his employer. However, he was soon obliged to confess the imposture; for Arthur's subjects vowing the severest revenge, Hubert, to appease them, revealed the secret of his pretended death, and assured them that their prince was still alive, and in his custody. John, finding that his emissaries had more compunction than himself, resolved, with his own hands, to execute the bloody deed; and for that purpose he commanded that Arthur should be removed to the castle of Rouen, situated upon the river Seine. It was at midnight when John came in a boat to the place, and ordered the young prince to be brought before him. Long confinement, solitude, and the continuance of bad fortune, had now broken this generous youth's spirit; and perceiving that his death was meditated, he threw himself in the most imploring manner upon his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy. John was too much hardened in the school of tyranny, to feel any pity for his wretched suppliant. His youth, his affinity, his merits, were all disregarded, or were even obnoxious in a rival. The barbarous tyrant, making no reply, stabbed him with his own hands; and, fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine. This inhuman action rid John of a hated rival; but, happily for the instruction of future princes, it opened the way to his future ruin. Having in this manner shewn himself the enemy of mankind in the prosperity of his reign, the whole world seemed to turn their back upon him in his distress.

John was now detested by all mankind; and during the rest of his reign he only supported himself in power, by making it the interest of some to protect him, and letting others feel the effects of his resentment, if they offered to defend themselves. The loss of all his French provinces quickly followed his last transgression. Not but that he attempted a defence; and even laid siege to Alençon, one of the towns that had revolted from him. But Philip, his active rival, persuaded a body of knights, who were assembled at a tournament, to take his part; and these readily joining against the parricide, quickly obliged him to raise the siege. John, therefore, repulsed and stripped of his dominions, was obliged to bear the insult with patience; though, indeed, such was the ridiculous absurdity of his pride, that he assured those about him of his being able to take back, in a day, what cost the French years in acquiring.

Normandy did not long resist the arms of Philip. Chateau-Gaillard, one of its strongest fortresses, being taken after an obstinate siege, [A. D. 1204. the whole duchy lay open to the invader; and while John basely sought safety by flying into England, Philip, secure of his prey, pushed his conquests

with vigour. The whole duchy submitted to his authority; and thus, after being for near three centuries dismembered from the French monarchy, was again united to it.

John, being thus deprived of all his continental dominions, resolved to wreak his vengeance on that part of the monarchy which still acknowledged subjection. Upon his arrival, therefore, in England, he began to lay the blame of this ill success upon his barons, who, he pretended, had deserted his standard in Normandy. To punish them for this imputed offence, he levied large sums upon their estates and effects, under colour of preparations for a Norman expedition. He then summoned all his barons to attend him; but capriciously deferred the execution of his projects to another opportunity. A.D. 1205.] The year following he put to sea, as if with a firm resolution to do wonders; but returned soon after, without making the smallest attempt. Another year elapsed, when he promised that he would then redeem his country's reputation by a most signal blow. He set sail, landed at Rochelle, A. D. 1206.] marched to Angers, laid the city in ashes; and hearing that the enemy were preparing to oppose him, he re-embarked his troops, and returned once more to his indignant country, loaded with shame and confusion.

Hitherto John was rather hateful to his subjects than contemptible; they rather dreaded than despised him. But he soon shewed that he might be offended, if not without resentment, at least with impunity. It was the fate of this vicious prince to make those the enemies of himself whom he wanted abilities to make the enemies of each other. The clergy had for some time acted as a community independent of the crown, and had their elections of each other generally confirmed by the pope, to whom alone they owned subjection. However, the election of archbishops had for some time been a continual subject of dispute between the suffragan bishops and the Augustine monks; and both had precedents to confirm their pretensions. Things being in this situation, Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, died: and the Augustine monks, in a very private manner, made choice of Reginald, their subprior. The bishops exclaimed at this election, as a manifest invasion of their privileges; and a furious theological contest was likely to ensue. A politic prince would have seized such a conjuncture with joy, and would have managed the quarrel in such a manner, as to enfeeble the exorbitant power of the clergy by inflaming their mutual animosity. But John was not a politic prince. He immediately sided with the suffragan bishops; and John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, was unanimously chosen. To decide the claims of both parties, it was expedient to appeal to the see of Rome: an agent was sent by the bishops to maintain their cause, while the monks despatched twelve of their order to support their pretensions. Innocent III., who then filled the chair, possessed an unbounded share of power, and his talents were equal to the veneration in which he was held. He seized with avidity that conjuncture which John failed to use: and vacating the claims of both par- A. D. 1207.] ties, as uncanonical and illegal, he enjoined the monks to choose Stephen Langton, an Englishman, then at the court of Rome, as a fit person to fill the vacant dignity.

This was an encroachment of power that the see of Rome had long been aiming at, and was now resolved to maintain. The being able to nominate to the greatest dignity in the kingdom, next to that of the king, was an acquisition that would effectually give the court of Rome an authority which it had hitherto vainly pretended to assume. So great an insult was to be introduced to this weak prince with persuasions adapted to his capacity; and the pope accordingly sent him a most affectionate letter, with a present of four gold rings set with precious stones. He begged John to consider seriously the form of the rings, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form being round, shadowed out eternity, for which it was his duty to prepare. Their number, four, denoted the four cardinal virtues, which it was his duty to practise. Their matter being gold, the most precious of metals, denoted wisdom, the most precious of accomplishments, which it was his duty to acquire: and as to their colour, the green colour of the emerald represented faith; the yellow of the sapphire, hope; the redness of the ruby, charity; and the splendour of the topaz, good works. John received the

rings, and thought all the pope's illustrations very beautiful, but resolved not to admit Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury.

As all John's measures were conducted with violence, he sent two knights of his train, who were fit instruments for such a prince, to expel the monks from their convent, and to take possession of their revenues. The pope was not displeased at this instance of his impetuosity; he was sensible that John would sink in the contest, and therefore persevered the more vigorously in his pretensions. He began his attempts to carry his measures by soothing, imploring, and urging; he proceeded to threats, and at last sent three English prelates to the king, to inform him, that, if he persevered in his disobedience, he would put the kingdom under the sentence of an interdict. The other prelates threw themselves on their knees before the king; entreated him in the most earnest manner not to bring upon them the resentment of the holy tribunal; exhorted him to receive the new primate, and to restore the monks to their convent, from which they had been expelled. But these entreaties served only to inflame his resentment. He broke out into the most violent invectives; and swore by God's teeth, his usual oath, that if the kingdom was put under an interdict, he would banish the whole body of the clergy, and confiscate all their possessions. This idle threat only served to hasten the resentment of the pontiff. Perceiving the king's weakness, and how little he was loved by his subjects, he issued at last the sentence of the interdict, which was so much dreaded by the whole nation. [A. D. 1208. This instrument of terror in the hands of the see of Rome, was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate upon the superstitious minds of the people. By it a stop was immediately put to divine service, and to the administration of all the sacraments but baptism. The church-doors were shut, the statues of the saints were laid on the ground. The dead were refused Christian burial, and were thrown in the ditches and on the highways, without the usual rites, or any funeral solemnity. Marriage was celebrated in the church-yards, and the people were prohibited from the use of meat, as in times of public penance. They were debarred from all pleasure; they were prohibited from shaving their beards, from saluting each other, and giving any attention to their apparel. Every circumstance seemed calculated to inspire religious terror, and testified the apprehensions of divine vengeance and indignation. Against such calamity, increased by the deplorable lamentations of the clergy, it was in vain that John exerted all his authority, threatened and punished, and opposed the terrors of his temporal power to their ecclesiastical censures. It was in vain that he banished some, and confined others; it was in vain that he treated the adherents of Langton with rigour, and ordered all the concubines of the clergy to be imprisoned. The church conquered by perseverance; and John saw himself every day growing more obnoxious and more contemptible. The barons, many of whose families he had dishonoured by his licentious amours, were almost to a man his declared enemies. The clergy represented him in the most odious light to the people: and nothing remained to him but the feeble relics of that power which had been so strongly fixed by his father, that all his vices were hitherto unable totally to overthrow it.

In the mean time, the pope, seeing all the consequences he expected attending the interdict, and that the king was thus rendered perfectly disagreeable to his subjects, resolved to second his blow; and, while the people were yet impressed with terror, determined to take advantage of their consternation. The church of Rome had artificially contrived a gradation of sentences; by which, while she inflicted one punishment, she taught the sufferers to expect more formidable consequences from those which were to ensue. On the back of the interdict, therefore, came the sentence of excommunication, by which John was at once rendered impious and unfit for human society. No sooner was this terrible sentence denounced [A. D. 1209. against him, than his subjects began to think of opposing his authority. The clergy were the first to set an example of disobedience. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, who was intrusted with a considerable office in the court of exchequer, resigned his employment; which so exasperated the king, that he had him confined, and, ordering his head to be covered with a great leaden

cope, thus kept him in torment till he died. Most of the other bishops, dreading his fate, left the kingdom. Many of the nobility, also, terrified at the king's tyranny, went into voluntary exile; and those who remained, employed their time in cementing a confederacy against him. The next gradation of
A. D. 1211.] papal indignation was to absolve John's subjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance, and to declare every one excommunicated who had any commerce with him in public or private, at his table, in his council, or even in private conversation. John, however, still continued refractory; and only one step more remained for the pope to take, and this was, to give away the kingdom to another.

No situation could be more deplorable than that of John upon this occasion. Furious at his indignities, jealous of his subjects, and apprehending an enemy in every face,—it is said that, fearing a conspiracy against his life, he shut himself up a whole night in the castle of Nottingham, and suffered none to approach his person. Being informed that the king of Wales had taken part against him, he ordered all the Welsh hostages to be instantly put to death. Being apprehensive of the fidelity of his barons, he required their sons and daughters as hostages for their obedience. When his officers repaired on this odious duty to the castle of William de Braouse, a nobleman of great note, that baron's wife resolutely told them, that she would never trust her children in the hands of a man who had so barbarously murdered his own nephew. John was so provoked at this merited reproach, that he sent a body of forces to seize the person of Braouse, who fled into Ireland with his wife and family. But John's indignation pursued them there; and, discovering the unhappy family in their retreat, he seized the wife and son, whom he starved to death in prison, while the unfortunate father narrowly escaped by flying into France.

Meanwhile, the pope, who had resolved on giving the kingdom to another, was employed in fixing upon a person who was willing to accept the donation, and had power to vindicate his claim. Philip, the king of France, seemed the fittest for such an undertaking: he was politic and powerful; he had already despoiled John of his continental dominions, and was the most likely person to deprive him of the remainder. To him, therefore, the pope
A. D. 1212.] made a tender of the kingdom of England; and Philip ardently embraced the offer. To strengthen the hands of Philip still more, the pope published a crusade against the deposed monarch all over Europe, exhorting the nobility, the knights, and men of every condition, to take up arms against that persecutor of the church, and to enlist under the French banner. Philip was not less active on his part: he levied a great army; and, summoning all the vassals of the crown to attend him at Rouen, he collected a fleet of seven-
A. D. 1213.] teen hundred vessels in the sea-ports of Normandy and Picardy, already devouring in imagination the kingdom he was appointed to possess.

John, who, unsettled and apprehensive, scarcely knew where to turn, was still able to make an expiring effort to receive the enemy. All-hated as he was, the natural enmity between the French and the English, the name of king, which he still retained, and some remaining power, put him at the head of sixty thousand men; a sufficient number, indeed, but not to be relied on; and with these he advanced to Dover. Europe now regarded the important preparations on both sides with impatience; and the decisive blow was soon expected, in which the church was to triumph or to be overthrown. But neither Philip nor John had ability equal to the pontiff, by whom they were actuated; he appeared on this occasion too refined a politician for either. He only intended to make use of Philip's power to intimidate his refractory son, not to destroy him. He expected more advantages from his agreement with a prince so abject both in character and fortune, than from his alliance with a great and victorious monarch, who, having nothing else left to conquer, might direct his power against his benefactor. He, therefore, secretly commissioned Pandolf, his legate, to admit of John's submission, in case it should be offered; and he dictated the terms which would be proper for him to impose. In consequence of this, the legate passed through France, where he beheld Philip's great armament ready to set sail, and highly commended that monarch's zeal and expedition. From thence he went in person, or, as

some say, sent over an envoy, to Dover, under pretence of negociating with the barons, and had a conference with John upon his arrival. He there represented to this forlorn prince the numbers of the enemy, the hatred of his own subjects, and the secret confederacy which had been formed in England against him. He intimated, that there was but one way to secure himself from impending danger; which was, to put himself under the pope's protection, who was a merciful father, and still willing to receive a repentant sinner to his bosom. John was too much intimidated by the manifest danger of his situation not to embrace every means offered for his safety. He assented to the truth of the legate's remonstrances, and took an oath to perform whatever stipulations the pope should impose. When he had thus sworn to the performance of an unknown command, the artful Italian so well managed the barons, and so effectually intimidated the king, that he persuaded him to take the most extraordinary oath in all the records of history, before all the people, kneeling upon his knees, and with his hands held up between those of the legate.

"I, John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins, from my own free will, and the advice of my barons, give to the church of Rome, to pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdom of England, and all other prerogatives of my crown. I will hereafter hold them as the pope's vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my master, and his successors legitimately elected. I promise to pay him a tribute of a thousand marks yearly; to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland." Having thus done homage to the legate, and agreed to reinstate Langton in the primacy, he received the crown, which he had been supposed to have forfeited, while the legate trampled under his feet the tribute which John had consented to pay.

Thus, after all his armaments and expectations, Philip saw himself disappointed of his prey, and perceived that the pope had overreached him in this transaction. Nevertheless, as he had undertaken the expedition at the pope's request, he was resolved to prosecute the war in opposition to him and all his censures. He laid before his vassals the ill treatment he had received from the court of Rome; and they all vowed to second his enterprise, except the earl of Flanders, who declared against the impiety of the undertaking. In the mean time, while the French king was resolved to bring this refractory nobleman to his duty, the English admiral attacked the French fleet in their harbours, where he took three hundred ships, and destroyed a hundred more. Philip finding it impossible to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself, and was thus obliged to give up all designs upon England. John was now once more, by the most [A. D. 1214. abject submissions, reinstated in power; but his late humiliations did not in the least serve to relax his cruelty or insolence. One Peter of Pontefract, a hermit, had foretold that the king this very year should lose his crown; and for that rash prophecy he had been thrown into Corfe castle: John now determined to punish him as an impostor, and had him arraigned for that purpose. The poor hermit, who was probably some wretched enthusiast, asserted the truth of his prediction, alleging that the king had given up his crown to the pope, from whom he again received it. This argument would have prevailed with any person less cruel than John. The defence was supposed to augment the crime. Peter was dragged at horses' tails to the town of Wareham, and there hanged on a gibbet with his son.

In this manner, by repeated acts of cruelty, by expeditions without effect, and humiliations without reserve, John was long become the detestation of all mankind. Equally odious and contemptible, both in public and private life, he affronted the barons by his insolence, and dishonoured their families by his debaucheries: he enraged them by his tyranny, and impoverished them by his exactions. But now, as he had given up the independence of his kingdom to a foreign power, his subjects thought they had a right to claim a part of that power which he had been granting so liberally to strangers.

The barons had been long forming a confederacy against him; but their union was broken, or their aims disappointed, by various and unforeseen

accidents. Nothing at present seemed so much to forward their combinations as the concurrence of Langton the primate, who, though forced upon the kingdom by the see of Rome, amply compensated to his countrymen by his attachment to their real interests.

This prelate, either a sincere friend of the people, or a secret enemy to the king; or supposing that, in their mutual conflict, the clergy would become superior; or, perhaps, instigated by all these motives; had formed a plan for reforming the government, which still continued in a very fluctuating situation. At a synod of his prelates and clergy, convened in St. Paul's, on pretence of examining the losses sustained by the exiled bishops, he conferred privately with a number of barons, and expatiated upon the vices and the injustice of their sovereign. He shewed them a copy of Henry the First's charter, which was luckily found in a monastery; for so little had those charters, extorted from kings at their coronation, been hitherto observed, that they soon came into disuse, and were shortly after buried in oblivion. There was but one copy of this important charter now left in the kingdom; and that, as was observed, was found in the rubbish of an obscure monastery. However, it contained so many articles tending to restore and fix the boundaries of justice, that Langton exhorted the confederating barons to insist on the renewal and observance of it. The barons swore they would lose their lives sooner than forego those claims that were founded on nature, on reason, and precedent. The confederacy every day began to spread wider, and to take in almost all the barons of England.

A new and a more numerous meeting was summoned by Langton, at St. Edmund'sbury, under colour of devotion. He again produced to the assembly the charter of Henry, and renewed his exhortations to continue stedfast and zealous in their former laudable conspiracy. The barons, inflamed by his eloquence, and still more by their injuries, and also encouraged by their numbers, solemnly swore before the high altar to adhere to each other, to insist on their demands, and to persevere in their attempts until they obtained redress. They agreed, that after Christmas they would prefer their common petition in a body; and in the mean time separated, with resolutions of putting themselves in a posture of defence, of enlisting men, and fortifying their castles. Pursuant to their promise and obligations, they repaired, in the A. D. 1215.] beginning of January, to London, accoutred in military garb and equipage, and presented their demands to the king; alleging that he had promised to grant them at the time he was absolved from his excommunication, when he consented to a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confessor. On the other hand, John, far from complying with their request, resented their presumption, and even insisted upon a promise under their hands and seals, that they would never demand, or attempt to extort, such privileges for the future. This, however, they boldly refused, and considered as an unprecedented act of power; so that, perceiving their unanimity, in order for a while to break their combination, he desired farther time to consider of an answer to their demands. He promised, that at the festival of Easter he would give a positive reply to their petition; and offered them the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and the earl-mareschal, as sureties for fulfilling his engagements. The barons accepted the terms, and peaceably returned to their habitations. They saw their own strength, and were certain at any time to enforce their demands.

Freedom could never have found a more favourable juncture for its exertions than under the government of a weak and vicious monarch, such as John was, whose resistance only served to give splendour to every opposition. Although he had granted the barons assurances of his good intentions, yet nothing was farther from his heart than complying with their demands. In order to break their league, he had recourse to the power of the clergy, of whose influence he had experience from his own recent misfortunes. He courted their favour, by granting them a charter, establishing all those rights of which they were already in possession, and which he now pretended liberally to bestow, when he had not the ability to refuse. He took the cross, to ingratiate himself still farther; and, that he might enjoy the privileges annexed to the profession, he appealed to the pope against the usurpation of

as barons, and craved his holy protection. Nor were the barons remiss in their appeal to the pontiff. They alleged that their just privileges were abridged, and entreated the interposition of his authority with the king. The pope did not hesitate in taking his part. A king who had already given up all to his protection, who had regularly paid the stipulated tributes, and who took every occasion to advance the interests of the church, was much more meritorious in his eyes than a confederacy of barons, whom, at best, he could manage with difficulty, and whose first endeavours would perhaps be to shake off his authority. He therefore wrote letters to England, reproaching Langton and the bishops for favouring these dissensions, and commanding them to promote peace between the parties. He exhorted the barons to conciliate the king by humble entreaties; and promised, upon their obedience, to interpose his own authority in favour of such of their petitions as he should find to be just. At the same time he annulled their associations, and forbade them to engage in any confederacy for the future.

Neither the bishops nor barons paid the least regard to the pope's remonstrance; and as for John's pretences of taking the cross, they turned them into ridicule. They had for some time detected the interested views of the see of Rome. They found that the pope consulted only his own interests, instead of promoting those of the church or the state. They continued, indeed, to reverence his authority as much as ever, when exerted on points of duty; but they now began to distinguish between his religious and his political aims, adhering to the one, and rejecting the other. The bishops and barons, therefore, on this occasion, employed all their arts and emissaries to kindle a spirit of revolt in the nation; and there was now scarcely a nobleman in the kingdom who did not either personally engage in the design, or secretly favour the undertaking. After waiting till Easter, when the king promised to return them an answer, they met by agreement at Stamford. There they assembled a force of above two thousand knights, and a body of foot to a prodigious number. Thence, elated with their power, they marched to Brackley, about twenty miles from Oxford, the place where the court then resided. John, hearing of their approach, sent the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Pembroke, and others of his council, to know the particulars of their request, and what those liberties were which they so earnestly importuned him to grant. The barons delivered a schedule, containing the chief articles of their demands, and of which the charters of Henry and Edward formed the groundwork. No sooner were they shewn to the king, than he burst into a furious passion, and asked why the barons did not also demand his kingdom; swearing that he would never comply with such exorbitant demands. But the confederacy was now too strong to fear much from the consequences of his resentment. They chose Robert Fitzwalter for their general, whom they dignified with the title of "Mareschal of the Army of God and of the Holy Church," and proceeded without farther ceremony to make war upon the king. They besieged Northampton, they took Bedford, they were joyfully received into London. They wrote circular letters to all the nobility and gentlemen who had not yet declared in their favour, and menaced their estates with devastation in case of refusal or delay.

In the mean time, the timid king was left with a mean retinue of only seven knights, at Odiham in Hants, where he vainly endeavoured to avert the storm by the mediation of his bishops and ministers. He appealed to Langton against these fierce remonstrants, little suspecting that the primate himself was leagued against him. He desired him to fulminate the thunders of the church upon those who had taken arms against their prince; and aggravated the impiety of their opposition, as he was engaged in the pious and noble duties of the crusade. Langton permitted the tyrant to waste his passion in empty complaints, and declared he would not pass any censure where he found no delinquent. He promised indeed that much might be done, if some foreign auxiliaries, whom John had lately brought over, were dismissed; and the weak prince, supposing his advice sincere, disbanded a great number of Germans and Flemings whom he had retained in his service. When the king had thus left himself without protection, he thought it was the duty of Langton to perform his promise, and to give him the aid of the church, since he had

discarded all temporal assistants. But what was his surprise, when the archbishop refused to excommunicate a single baron, and peremptorily opposed his commands! John, stung with resentment and regret, knew not where to turn for advice or comfort: as he had hitherto sported with the happiness of mankind, he could not reasonably complain if his people secretly rejoiced in his sufferings. He now began to think that any terms were to be complied with; and that it was better to reign a limited prince, than sacrifice his crown, and perhaps his life, to ambition. But first he offered to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be chosen by himself, and four by the confederates. This the barons scornfully rejected. He then assured them that he would submit at discretion, and that it was his supreme pleasure to grant all their demands: a conference was accordingly appointed, and all things were adjusted for this most important treaty.

The ground where the king's commissioners met the barons was between Staines and Windsor, at a place called Runnimede, still held in reverence by posterity, as the spot where the standard of freedom was first erected in England. There the barons appeared, with a vast number of knights and warriors, on the fifteenth day of June, while those on the king's part came a day or two after. Both sides encamped apart, like open enemies. The debates between power and precedent are generally but of short continuance. The barons, determined on carrying their aims, would admit of few abatements; and the king's agents being for the most part in their interests, few debates ensued. After some days, the king, with a facility that was somewhat suspicious, signed and sealed the charter required of him; a charter which continues in force to this day, and is the famous bulwark of English liberty, known by the name of MAGNA CHARTA. This famous deed either granted or secured very important privileges to those orders of the kingdom that were already possessed of freedom, namely, to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen; as for the inferior and the greatest part of the people, they were still treated as slaves, and it was long before they could come to a participation of legal protection.

The clergy, by this charter, had their former grants confirmed. All check upon appeals to Rome was removed, by allowance to every man to depart the kingdom at pleasure; and the fines upon the clergy, for any offence, were ordained to be proportionable to their temporal, not their ecclesiastical possessions. With respect to the barons, they were secured in the custody of the vacant abbeys and convents which were under their patronage. The reliefs or duties to be paid for earldoms, baronies, and knights' fees, were fixed, which before were arbitrary. This charter decreed, that barons should recover the lands of their vassals, forfeited for felony, after being a year and a day in possession of the crown; that they should enjoy the wardships of their military tenants, who held other lands of the crown by a different tenure; that a person knighted by the king, though a minor, should enjoy the privileges of a full-grown man, provided he was a ward of the crown. It enacted, that heirs should be married without disparagement; and before the marriage was contracted, the nearest relations were to be informed of it. No scutage or tax was to be imposed upon the people by the great council of the nation, except in three particular cases; the king's captivity, the knighting his eldest son, and the marrying his eldest daughter. When the great council was to be assembled, the prelates, earls, and great barons, were to be called to it by a particular writ, the inferior barons by the summons of the sheriff. It also ordained, that the king should not seize any baron's land for a debt to the crown, if the baron possessed personal property sufficient to discharge the debt. No vassal was to be allowed to sell so much of his land, as to incapacitate him from performing the necessary service to his lord. With respect to the people, the following were the principal clauses calculated for their benefit. It was ordained, that all the privileges and immunities, granted by the king to his barons, should be also granted by the barons to their vassals. One weight and one measure, it was declared, shall be observed throughout the whole kingdom; merchants shall be allowed to transact all business, without being exposed to any arbitrary tolls and impositions; they, and all freemen, shall be allowed to go out of the kingdom, and return to it at

pleasure; London, and all cities and boroughs, shall preserve their ancient liberties, immunities, and free customs; aids or taxes shall not be required of them, except by the consent of the great council; no towns or individuals shall be obliged to make or support bridges, but by ancient customs; the goods of every freeman shall be disposed according to his will; if he die intestate, his heirs shall succeed to them; no officer of the crown shall take any horses, carts, or wood, without the consent of the owner; the king's courts of justice shall be stationary, and shall no longer follow his person; they shall be open to every one, and justice shall no longer be bought, refused, or delayed by them; the sheriffs shall be incapacitated to hold pleas of the crown, and shall not put any person upon his trial from rumour or suspicion alone, but upon the evidence of lawful witnesses; no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or banished, or anywise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and all who suffered otherwise, in this and the two former reigns, shall be restored to their rights and possessions; every freeman shall be fined in proportion to his fault, and no fine shall be levied on him to his utter ruin. Such were the stipulations in favour of that part of the people, who, being either merchants, or the descendants of the nobles or of the clergy, were thus independent of an immediate lord. But that part of the people who tilled the ground, who constituted, in all probability, the majority of the nation, had but one single clause in their favour, which stipulated, that no villain or rustic should by any fine be bereaved of his carts, ploughs, and instruments of husbandry. As for the rest, they were considered as a part of the property belonging to an estate, and passed away with the horses, cows, and other moveables, at the will of the owner.

This great charter being agreed to by all, signed by both parties, and ratified, the barons, knowing the perfidious disposition of the king, endeavoured to secure the observance of it by prevailing upon him to appoint twenty-five of their order as conservators of the public liberty. These were to admonish the king, if he should act contrary to his written obligations; and, in case of resistance, they might levy war against him, and attack his castles. John, with his usual perfidy, seemed to submit passively to all these regulations, however injurious to majesty; and even sent writs to the sheriffs, ordering them to constrain every one to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons. He pretended that his government was henceforth to undergo a total reformation, more indulgent to the liberty and independence of the people. His subjects, therefore, flattered themselves with brighter prospects; and it was thought the king's misfortunes had humanized his disposition.

But John's seeming tranquillity was mere dissimulation. The more care his barons had taken to bind him to their will, the more impatient he grew under their restrictions. He burned with desire to shake off the conditions they had imposed upon him. The submissions he had paid to the pope, and the insults he had sustained from the king of France, slightly affected him, as they were his equals; but the sense of his subjection to his own vassals sunk deep in his mind; and he was determined, at all events, to recover his former power of doing mischief. He grew sullen, silent, and reserved. He shunned the society of his former companions, and even retired into the Isle of Wight, as if to hide his disgrace in solitude. He was still, however, employed in machinations to obtain revenge. He had sent to the continent to enlist a large body of mercenary troops; he had made complaints to the pope of the insurrections of his subjects against him; and the pontiff very warmly espoused his cause. A bull was sent over, annulling the whole charter; and at the same time the foreign forces arrived, whom John intended to employ in giving efficacy to his intentions.

He now no longer took shelter under the arts of dissimulation, but acted the bold tyrant; a character that became him much better. The barons, after obtaining the charter, seemed to have been lulled into a fatal security; and took no measures for assembling their forces in case of the introduction of a foreign army. The king, therefore, was for some time undisputed master of the field, at the head of an army of Germans, Brabantines, and Flemings, all eager for

battle, and inspired with the hopes of dividing the kingdom among them. The castle of Rochester was first invested, and, after an obstinate resistance, was obliged to surrender at discretion. John, irritated at the length of the siege, was going to hang the governor and all the garrison, contrary to the laws of war; but, at the intercession of one of his generals, he only put the inferior prisoners to death. After the reduction of this important fortress, the royal interests began to prevail; and two armies were formed, with one of which the king marched northward, subduing all fortresses and towns that lay in his way. The other army, commanded by the earl of Salisbury, was equally vigorous and successful; several submitted at his approach, and London itself was in the utmost danger. The foreign mercenaries committed the most horrible cruelties in their march, and ravaged the country in a most dreadful manner, being urged at once by their natural rapacity, and the cruelty of the king. Nothing was seen but the flames of villages and castles; consternation and misery were pictured in the looks of the people; and tortures were every where exercised by the soldiers, to make the inhabitants reveal their riches. Wherever the king marched, the provinces were laid waste on each side of his progress; for he considered every estate which was not his immediate property as entirely hostile, and a proper object of military execution.

The barons, reduced to this deplorable situation, their estates destroyed, their liberties annihilated, and their persons exposed to the revenge of a malicious tyrant, lost all power of self-defence. They were able to raise no army in England that could stand before their ravager, and yet they had no hopes from submission. In this desperate exigence they applied to the old enemy of their country, Philip king of France, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, the eldest son of that monarch, as their sovereign, on condition of his affording them protection against their domestic destroyer. No proffer could have been more agreeable to this ambitious monarch, who long wanted to annex England to the rest of his dominions. He therefore instantly embraced the proposal of the barons, of whom, however, he demanded five and twenty hostages for the performance of their promise. These being sent over, he began to make the most diligent preparations for this expedition, regardless of the menaces of the pope, who threatened Philip with excommunication, and he actually excommunicated Lewis some time after. The first detachment consisted of a body of seven thousand men, which he reinforced soon after by a powerful army, commanded by Lewis himself, who landed at Sandwich without opposition.

John, who but just now saw himself in the career of victory, upon the landing of the French army was stopped all of a sudden, and found himself disappointed in his revenge and ambition: The first effect of their appearance was, that most of the foreign troops deserted, refusing to serve against the heir of their monarchy. Many considerable noblemen also deserted his party; and his castles daily fell into the hands of his enemies. Thus England saw nothing but a prospect of being every way undone. If John succeeded, a tyrannical and implacable monarch was to be their tormentor; if Lewis should prevail, the country was ever after to submit to a more powerful monarchy, and was to become a province of France. What neither human prudence could foresee, nor policy suggest, was brought about by a happy and unexpected concurrence of events. Neither John nor Lewis succeeded in their designs upon the people's happiness and freedom.

Lewis, having vainly endeavoured to pacify the pope's legate, resolved to set the pope at defiance, and marched his army against the castle of Rochester, which he quickly reduced. Thence he advanced to London, where the barons and burghers did him homage, and took the oath of fealty, after he had sworn to confirm the liberties and privileges of the people. Though never crowned king of England, yet he exercised sovereign authority, granting charters, and appointing officers of state. But how flattering soever the prospect before him appeared, yet there was a secret jealousy that was destroying his ambition, and undermining all his pretensions. Through a great degree of imprudence, he on every occasion shewed a visible preference to his natural French subjects, to the detriment of those he came to

govern. The suspicions of the English against him were increased by the death-bed confession of the count de Melun, one of his courtiers, who declared to those about him, that it was the intention of Lewis to exterminate the English barons as traitors, and to bestow their dignities and estates on his own French subjects, upon whose fidelity he could safely rely. Whatever truth there might be in this confession, it greatly operated upon the minds of the people; so that the earl of Salisbury and other noblemen, who had forsaken John's party, now returned to him, and gave no small lustre to his cause.

In the mean time, John was assembling a considerable army, with a view to make one great effort for the crown; and, at the head of a large body of troops, he resolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. With these resolutions he departed from Lynn, which for its fidelity he had distinguished with many marks of favour, and directed his route towards Lincolnshire. His road lay along the shore, which was overflowed at high water; but not being apprised of this, or being ignorant of the tides of the place, he lost all his carriages, treasures, and baggage, by their influx. He himself escaped with the greatest difficulty, and arrived at the abbey of Swinsted, where his grief for the loss he had sustained, and the distracted state of his affairs, threw him into a fever, which soon appeared to be fatal. Next day, being unable to ride on horseback, he was carried in a litter to the castle of Sleaford, and thence removed to Newark, where, after having made his will, he died, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign.

This monster's character is too strongly marked in every transaction of his life, to leave the smallest necessity for disentangling it from the ordinary occurrences of his reign. It was destructive to the people, and ruinous to himself. He left two legitimate sons behind him; Henry, who succeeded him on the throne, and was now nine years of age; and Richard, who was about seven. He left also three daughters: Jane, married to Alexander II. king of Scotland; Eleanor, the wife of the earl of Pembroke; and Isabella, married to the emperor Frederick II. His illegitimate children were numerous, but unnoted.

CHAP. XII.

HENRY III.—A. D. 1216 to 1272.

THE English, being now happily rid of a tyrant who threatened the kingdom with destruction, had still his rival to fear, who only aimed at gaining the crown, to make it subservient to that of France. The partiality of Lewis on every occasion was the more disgusting, as it was the less concealed. The diffidence which he constantly discovered of the fidelity of the barons, increased that jealousy which it was so natural for them to entertain on the present occasion. An accident happened, which rendered him still more disagreeable to his new subjects. The government of the castle of Hertford becoming vacant, it was claimed as of right by Robert Fitzwalter, a nobleman who had been extremely active in his service; but his claim was rejected. It was now, therefore, apparent that the English would be excluded from every trust under the French government, and that foreigners were to engross all the favour of their new sovereign. Nor was the excommunication denounced against Lewis, by the pope, entirely without its effect. In fact, the people were easily persuaded to consider a cause as impious and profane, for which they had already entertained an insurmountable aversion.

In this disposition of the people, the claims of any native, with even the smallest pretensions to favour, would have had a most probable chance of succeeding. A claim was accordingly made in favour of young Henry, the son of the late king, who was now but nine years of age. The earl of Pembroke, a nobleman of great worth and valour, who had faithfully adhered to John in all the fluctuations of his fortune, was, at the time of that prince's death, mareschal of England, and consequently at the head of the army. This nobleman determined to support the declining interests of the young prince, and had him solemnly crowned by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, at Gloucester. In order also to enlarge and confirm his own authority upon the

present occasion, a great council of the barons was summoned at Bristol, where the earl was chosen guardian to the king, and protector of the kingdom. His first act was highly pleasing to the people, and reconciled them to the interests of the young prince; he made young Henry grant a new charter of liberties, which contained very few exceptions from that already extorted from his predecessor. To this was added a charter, ascertaining the jurisdiction and the boundaries of the royal forests, which thence was called the Charta de Foresta. By this it was enacted, that all the forests which had been enclosed since the reign of Henry the Second should be restored to the people, and new perambulations made for that purpose. Offences on the forests were no longer declared to be capital, but punishable by gentler laws; and all the proprietors of land were gratified with a power of cutting and using their own wood at pleasure. To these measures, which gave universal satisfaction, Pembroke took care to add his more active endeavours against the enemy He wrote letters, in the king's name, to all the malcontent barons, assuring them of his resolution to govern them by their own charters; and represented the danger which they incurred by their adherence to a French monarch, who only wanted to oppress them. These assurances were attended with the desired effect. The party in the interest of Lewis began to lose ground every day, by the desertion of some of its most powerful leaders. The earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, with William Marechal, eldest son of the protector, came over to the young king; and all the rest of the barons appeared desirous of an opportunity of following their example.

A. D. 1217.] The protector was so much strengthened by these accessions, that he took the field; but the French army appearing, he was obliged to retire. The count de Perche, who commanded for Lewis, was so elated with his superiority, that he marched to Lincoln; and, being admitted into the town, began to attack the castle, which he soon reduced to extremity. The protector, now finding that a decisive blow was to be struck, summoned all his forces from every quarter, in order to relieve a place of such importance; and he, in turn, appeared so much superior to the French, that they shut themselves within the city, and resolved to take shelter behind the walls. But the garrison of the castle, having received a strong reinforcement, made a vigorous sally upon the besiegers, while the English army assaulted them from without; and scaling the walls, entered the city sword in hand. Lincoln was delivered over to be pillaged; the French army was totally routed, the commander-in-chief was killed, and many of the rest made prisoners of war. This misfortune of the French was but the forerunner of another. Their fleet, which was bringing over reinforcements both of men and money, was attacked by the English, under the command of Philip d'Albany, and was repulsed with considerable loss. D'Albany is said to have practised a stratagem against them, to which he owed his victory. Having gained the wind of the French, he ordered his men to throw quicklime in the faces of the enemy; which blinding them, they were disabled from farther defence. These repeated losses served, at length, to give peace to the kingdom. Lewis, finding his cause every day declining, and that it was at last grown wholly desperate, began to be anxious for the safety of his person; and was glad to submit to any conditions favourable to his retreat. He concluded a peace with the protector, in which he agreed to leave the kingdom, and exacted in return, an indemnity for all his adherents. Thus ended a civil war, which had for some time drenched the kingdom in blood, and in which not only its constitution, but all its happiness, seemed irretrievable. The death of John, and the abdication of Lewis, were circumstances that could hardly be expected even by the most sanguine well-wishers of their country. The one was brought about by accident, and the other by the prudence and intrepidity of the earl of Pembroke, who did not long survive his success.

The young king was of a character the very opposite to that of his father: as he grew up to man's estate, he was found to be gentle, merciful, and humane; he appeared easy and good-natured to his dependents, but no way formidable to his enemies. Without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct in war; without dartsist or suspicion, he was imposed upon in time of

peace. A king of such beneficent and weak qualifications, was very little fitted to hold the reins of a kingdom such as England was at that time, where every order was aspiring to independence, and endeavouring to plume themselves with the spoils of the prerogative.

The protector was succeeded in his office by Peter, bishop of [A. D. 1219: Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, high justiciary; but no authority in the governors could control a people who had been long used to civil discord, and who caught every slight occasion to magnify small offences into public grievances. The nobles were now, in effect, the tyrants of the people; for, having almost totally destroyed the power of the crown, and being encouraged by the weakness of a minority, they considered the laws as instruments made only for their defence, and with which they alone were to govern. They, therefore, retained by force the royal castles which they had usurped during the former convulsions; they oppressed their vassals; they infested their weaker neighbours; and they invited all disorderly people to take protection under their authority. It is not then to be wondered, that there were many complaints against those who were placed over them. Hubert de Burgh, who took the lead in the government, experienced many conspiracies formed not only against his authority, but his person; and so little did the confederates regard secrecy, that they openly avowed their intentions of removing him from his office. When they were required by him to give up their castles, they not only refused, but several of them entered into a confederacy to surprise London; and, with the earls of Chester and Albemarle at their head, they advanced as far as Waltham with that intention. At that time, however, their aims were frustrated by the diligence of the government; but they did not desist from their enterprise: for, meeting some time after at Leicester, they endeavoured to seize the king, but found themselves disappointed in this, as in their former attempt. In this threatening commotion, the power of the church was obliged to interpose; and the archbishops and prelates threatened the barons with the sentence of excommunication, if they should persist either in their attempts upon the king, or in detaining his castles. This menace at last prevailed. Most of the fortresses were surrendered; and the number at that time is said to have amounted to above a thousand. But though Henry gained this advantage by the prudence and perseverance of his minister, yet his power still rested upon a very weak foundation. A contest with his brother Richard, who had amassed such sums of money as to be reckoned the richest prince in Europe, soon shewed the weakness both of his power and his disposition. Richard had unjustly expelled an inferior baron from his manor; and the king insisted upon his restoring him. The other persisting in his refusal, a powerful confederacy was formed, and an army assembled, which the king had neither power nor courage to resist. Richard's injustice was declared legal; and his resentment was obliged to be mollified by grants of much greater importance than the manor which had been the first ground of the quarrel. Thus was the king obliged to submit to all the demands of his haughty vassal; and he had scarcely any person who seemed solicitous for his interests but Hubert de Burgh, whom, nevertheless, he discarded in a sudden caprice, [A. D. 1231. and thus exposed his faithful servant to the violent persecution of his enemies. Among the many frivolous crimes objected to him, he was accused of gaining the king's affections by enchantment, and sending the prince of Wales a jewel which he had stolen from the treasury, that rendered the wearer of it invulnerable. Hubert, when he found his ruin resolved on, was compelled to take sanctuary in a church; but the king was prevailed upon to give orders for his being dragged from thence. Thus irresolute and timid, the orders of one moment contradicted those of the preceding.

He quickly recalled the orders he had given, and again renewed them. The clergy interposed, and obliged the king to permit him to return to his sanctuary; but he was once more constrained to surrender himself a prisoner, and was confined to the castle of Devizes. From thence Hubert made his escape; and though he afterwards obtained the king's pardon, he never testified any desire to encounter future dangers in his service.

But, as weak princes are never to be without governing favourites, the

place of Hubert was soon supplied by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, a Poictevin by birth, one equally remarkable for his arbitrary conduct, and for his courage and abilities. Henry, in pursuance of this prelate's advice, invited over a great number of Poictevins, and other foreigners, who, having neither principles nor fortunes at home, were willing to adopt whatever schemes their employer should propose. Every office and command were bestowed on these unprincipled strangers, whose avarice and rapacity were exceeded only by their pride and insolence. So unjust a partiality to strangers very naturally excited the jealousy of the barons; and they even ventured to assure the king, that if he did not dismiss all foreigners from court, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom. But the bishop of Winchester had taken his measures so well, that he brought over many of the most powerful of the confederates; and the estates of the more obnoxious barons were confiscated, for the benefit of his needy countrymen. In these violent measures the king was a calm consenting spectator; he was contented with the present advantages; and while these confiscations procured immediate wealth, he little regarded the consequence. But, as he was chiefly swayed by tumultuary remonstrances, another confederacy, at the head of which was the archbishop of Canterbury, induced him to dismiss his minister, and to send him and his indigent countrymen out of the kingdom. Encouragement to foreigners was the chief complaint against the king; and it was now expected that the people were to be no longer aggrieved by seeing such advanced before them. But their hopes were quickly disap- A. D. 1236.] pointed; for the king having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, transferred his affections to the strangers of that country, whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched with the most imprudent generosity. Places, dignities, and vast treasures, were lavished upon them; many young noblemen, who were wards to the crown, were married to wives of that country; and when the sources of the king's liberality were dried up, he resumed all the grants he had formerly made, in order to continue his favours. The resentment of every rank of people was excited by this mischievous attachment; but their anger was scarcely kept within bounds, when they saw a new swarm of these intruders come over from Gascony, with Isabella, the king's mother, who had been some time before married to the count de la Marche. To these just causes of complaint were added the king's unsuccessful expeditions to the continent, his total want of economy, and his oppressive exactions, which were but the result of the former. The kingdom, therefore, waited with gloomy resolution, resolving to take vengeance when the general discontent should arrive at maturity.

To these temporal discontents, those arising from the rapacity of the see of Rome were added. The clergy of England, while they were contending for the power of the pope, were not aware that they were effectually opposing their own interests; for the pontiff, having by various arts obtained the investiture of all livings and prelacies in the kingdom, failed not to fill up every vacancy with his own creatures. His power being established, he now began to turn it to his profit, and to enrich the church by every art of extortion and A. D. 1253.] avarice. At this time all the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians. Great numbers of that nation were sent over at one time to be provided for; the king's chaplain alone is said to have held at once seven hundred ecclesiastical livings. These abuses became too glaring even for the blind superstition of the people to submit to; they rose in tumults against the Italian clergy, pillaged their barns, wasted their fields, and insulted their persons. But these were transient obstacles to the papal encroachments. The pontiff exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices; the twentieth of all ecclesiastical livings without exception; the third of such as exceeded a hundred marks a year, and the half of such as were held by non-residents: he claimed the goods of all intestate clergymen; he pretended a right of inheriting all money obtained by usury; and he levied voluntary contributions on the people. The indignities which the people suffered from these intruding ecclesiastics were still more oppressive than their exactions. On a certain occasion, while the English were complaining of the avarice of their king, and his profusion to foreign favourites, the pope's legate made his

triumphal entry into England, and some business induced him to visit Oxford before his return. He was received there with all possible splendour and ceremony, and the most sumptuous preparations were made for his table. One day, as the legate's dinner was preparing, several scholars of the university entered his kitchen, some incited by motives of curiosity, others of hunger: while they were thus employed in admiring the luxury and opulence in which this dignitary was served, and of which they were only to be the spectators, a poor Irish scholar ventured to beg relief from the cook, who was an Italian, as were all the legate's domestics. This brutal fellow, instead of giving alms to the poor Irishman, threw a ladle-full of boiling water in his face, and seemed to exult in his brutality. The indignity so provoked a Welsh student who was near, that, with a bow which he happened to have in his hand, he shot the cook dead with an arrow. The legate, hearing the tumult, retired in a fright to the tower of the church, where he remained till night-fall. As soon as he found that he might retire in safety, he hastened to the king, who was then at London, and complained to him of the outrage. The king, with his usual submission to the church, appeared in a violent passion, and offered to give immediate satisfaction by putting the offenders to death. The legate at first seemed to insist upon vengeance, but at length was appeased by a proper submission from the university. All the scholars of that school which had offended him, were ordered to be stripped of their gowns, and go in procession barefooted, with halters about their necks, to the legate's house, and there were directed humbly to crave his absolution and pardon.

But the impositions of the church appeared in their most conspicuous point of view in a transaction between the pope and the king. The court of Rome, some time before, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the same state of vassalage to which England had submitted; but Mainfroy, an usurper, under pretence of governing the kingdom for the lawful heir, had seized upon the crown, and was resolved to reject the pope's authority. As the pontiff found that his force alone was not sufficient to vindicate his claims, he had recourse to Richard, the king's brother, whose wealth he was not ignorant of; and to him and his heirs he offered the kingdom of Sicily, with only one condition, that he should regain it from the hands of the usurper. Richard was too well acquainted with the difficulty of the enterprise, to comply with such a proposal; but when it was made to the king himself, the weak monarch, dazzled with the splendour of the conquest, embraced the proposal with ardour. Accordingly, without reflecting on the consequences, or even consulting the parliament, he gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he should think proper for completing the conquest of that kingdom. This was what the pope expected and desired; he soon brought Henry in debtor for more than a hundred thousand marks, a debt which he had never been advised with in the contracting. Henry was mortified at the greatness of the sum, and still more at the little prospect of its being laid out with success; but he dreaded the pope's displeasure, and therefore he resolved to have recourse to parliament for a supply.

In this universal state of indignation, it may readily be imagined that the barons were more liberal of their complaints than their supplies. They determined not to lavish their money on favourites without merit, and expeditions without a prospect of success. The clergy themselves began to turn against their spiritual father; and the bishop of London boldly asserted, that if the king and the pope should take the mitre from his head, he would clap on a helmet. But though the bishops and clergy were obliged to acquiesce in furnishing a part of this absurd expense, the barons still continued refractory; and, instead of supplies, for some time answered with expostulations. They urged the king's partiality to foreigners; they aggravated the injuries of his servants, and the unjust seizures made by his officers from men of mercantile professions. The parliament was dissolved, (for so now the general assembly of the nation began to be called,) and another soon after was convened with as little success. The urgency of the king's affairs required that money should be procured at any rate; and yet the legate never failed, upon these occasions, to obstruct the king's demands, by making several for him-

self. It was now, therefore, that Henry went amongst such of his subjects as were firmly attached to him, and begged for assistance at their own houses. At one time he would get money by pretending to take the cross; at another, he would prevail by asserting that he was resolved to reconquer his French dominions. At length his barons, perceiving the exigencies to which he was reduced, seemed, in mere pity, willing to grant him aid; and, upon his promising to grant them plenary redress, a very liberal supply was obtained, for which he renewed their charter with more than usual solemnity. All the pre- A. D. 1253.] lates and abbots were assembled, with burning tapers in their hands; Magna Charta was read in their presence; and they denounced sentence of excommunication against all who should infringe its decisions; they then put out their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May every soul that proves false to this agreement so stink and corrupt in hell!" The king had his part in the ceremony, and subjoined, "So help me God, I will inviolably keep all these things, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed!" Thus solemn were their mutual engagements; but the wretched Henry no sooner received the supplies for which his parliament had been convoked, than he forgot every article of what he had so solemnly agreed to observe.

Though the king, in the last convention, had solemnly engaged to follow the advice of the English counsellors, yet he was directed in all his measures by foreigners; and William de Valence, on whom he conferred various honours, grasped at every post of profit that was in the royal power to bestow. This imprudent preference, joined to a thousand other illegal evasions of justice, at last impelled Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, to attempt an innovation in the government, and to wrest the sceptre from the feeble hand that held it. This nobleman was the son of the famous general who commanded against the Albigenses, a sect of enthusiasts that had been destroyed some time before in the kingdom of Savoy. He was married to the king's sister; and, by his power and address, was possessed of a strong interest in the nation, having gained equally the affections of the great and the little. The king was the only person whose favour he disdained to cultivate. He so much disregarded Henry's friendship or enmity, that when the monarch, upon a certain occasion, called him traitor, Leicester gave him the lie, and told him, that if he were not his sovereign, he would soon make him repent of his insult. Being possessed of power too great for a subject, he had long, though secretly, aspired to the throne, and filled all places with complaints of the king's injustice, partiality, and inability to govern. Having at last found his designs ripe for execution, he called a meeting of the most considerable barons; and concealing his private ambition under the mask of public concern, he represented to them the necessity of reforming the state. He exaggerated the oppressions of the lower orders of the people, the violations of the barons' privileges, the continued plunder of the clergy, and the perfidy of the king. His popularity and his power added weight to his eloquence; and the barons entered into a resolution of redressing public grievances, by taking the government into their own hands.

The first place where this formidable confederacy discovered itself was the parliament-house, where the barons appeared in complete armour. The king, upon his entry, asked them what was their intention; to which they submissively replied, to make him their sovereign, by confirming his power, and to have their grievances redressed. Henry, who was ready enough to promise whatever was demanded, instantly assured them of his intentions to give all possible satisfaction; and for that purpose summoned another parliament at Oxford, to digest a new plan of government, and to elect proper persons who were to be intrusted with the chief authority. This parliament, afterwards called the *mad parliament*, went expeditiously to work upon the business of reformation. Twenty-four barons were appointed, with supreme authority, to reform the abuses of the state, and Leicester was placed at their head. The first step was calculated for the good of the people, as it contained the rude outline of the house of commons, which makes a part of the constitution June 11, 1258.] at this day. They ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county, who should inquire into the grievances of their

respective constituents, and attend at the ensuing parliament to give information of their complaints. They ordained that three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year; that a new high sheriff should be annually elected; that no wards or castles should be intrusted to foreigners; no new forests made; nor the revenues of any counties let to farm. These constitutions were so just, that some of them have been continued to the present time; but it was not the security of the people, but the establishment of their own power, that this odious confederacy endeavoured to effect. Instead of resigning their power when they had fulfilled the purposes of their appointment, they still maintained themselves in an usurped authority; at one time pretending that they had not as yet digested all necessary regulations for the benefit of the state; at another, that their continuance in power was the only remedy the people had against the faithless character of the king: in short, they resolved to maintain their stations till they should think proper to resign their authority. The whole state accordingly underwent a complete alteration; all its former officers were displaced, and creatures of the twenty-four barons were put in their room; they had even the effrontery to impose an oath upon every individual of the nation, declaring an implicit obedience to all the regulations enacted, and to be yet enacted, by the barons who were thus appointed as rulers. They not only abridged the authority of the king, but the efficacy of parliament, giving up to twelve persons all parliamentary power between each session. Thus these insolent nobles, after having trampled upon the crown, now threw prostrate all the rights of the people; and a vile oligarchy was on the point of being established for ever.

The first opposition that was made to these usurpations, was from that very power which so lately began to take place in the constitution. The knights of the shire, who for some time had begun to be regularly [A. D. 1261. assembled in a separate house, now first perceived those grievances, which they submitted to the superior assembly of the barons for redress. These bold and patriotic men strongly remonstrated against the slowness of the proceedings of their twenty-four rulers; and, for the first time, began to shew that spirit of just resistance which has ever since actuated their counsels in a greater or a less degree. They represented, that though the king had performed all the conditions required of him, the barons had hitherto done nothing on their part that shewed an equal regard for the people; that their own interests and power seemed the only aim of all their decrees; and they even called upon the king's eldest son, prince Edward, to interpose his authority, and save the sinking nation.

Prince Edward was at this time about twenty-two years of age, when the hopes which were conceived of his abilities and his integrity rendered him an important personage in the transactions of the times, and in some measure atoned for his father's imbecility. Upon this occasion his conduct was fitted to impress the people with the highest idea of his piety and justice. He alleged, when appealed to, that he had sworn to the late Constitutions of Oxford, which, though contrary to his own private sentiments, yet he resolved by no means to infringe. At the same time, however, he sent a message to the barons, requiring them to bring their undertaking to an end, or otherwise to expect the most vigorous opposition to their usurpations. To this the barons were obliged to reply, by publishing a new code of laws, which, though it contained scarcely any thing material, yet they supposed would, for a while, dazzle the eyes of the people, until they could take measures to confirm their authority upon a more secure foundation. In this manner, under various pretences and studied delays, they continued themselves in power for three years; while the whole nation perceived their aims, and loudly condemned their treachery. The pope himself beheld their usurpations with indignation, and absolved the king and all his subjects from the oath which they had taken to observe the Provisions of Oxford.

The people now only wanted a leader to subvert this new tyranny imposed upon them; but they knew not where, or to whom they could [A. D. 1262. apply for succour. The king himself, weak, timid, irresolute, and superstitious, was in a manner leagued with those who opposed and depressed his own interests; the clergy, who formerly gave the people redress, were

become an independent body; and little concerned in the commotions of the state, which they regarded as mere spectators. In this distressful situation, they had recourse to young prince Edward, who, at a very early age, had given the strongest proofs of courage, of wisdom, and of constancy. At first, indeed, when applied to, appearing sensible of what his father had suffered by levity and breach of promise, he refused for some time to take advantage of the pope's absolution, and the people's earnest application; but he was at last persuaded to concur. A parliament was called, in which the king resumed his authority; and the barons, after making one fruitless effort to take him by surprise at Winchester, were obliged to acquiesce in what they could not openly oppose.

In the mean time, the earl of Leicester, not discouraged by the ill success of his past enterprises, resolved upon entirely overturning that power which he had already humbled. For this purpose he formed a most powerful con-
A. D. 1263.] federacy with the prince of Wales, who invaded England with a body of thirty thousand men. To these barbarous ravagers Leicester quickly joined his own forces; and the whole kingdom was soon exposed to all the devastations of a licentious army. The citizens of London also were not averse to his cause. Under the command of their mayor, Thomas Fitz-Richard, a furious and licentious man, they fell upon the Jews, and many of the more wealthy inhabitants, pillaging and destroying wherever they came. The fury of the faction was not confined to London only, but broke out in most of the populous cities of the kingdom; while the king, with his usual pusillanimity, deplored the turbulence of the times, and in vain applied to the pope for his holy protection.

In this distressful state of the nation, nothing remained but an accommodation with the insurgent barons; and, after some time, a treaty of peace was concluded, but upon the most disadvantageous terms to the king and his party. The Provisions of Oxford were restored, and the barons re-established in the sovereignty of the kingdom. They took possession of all the royal castles and fortresses; they even named the officers of the king's household, and summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in order the more fully to settle the plan of their government. By this assembly it was enacted, that the authority of the twenty-four barons should continue, not only during the reign of the king, but also during that of prince Edward.

But these were conditions which, though the pusillanimous king could very easily submit to, yet the young prince would by no means acquiesce in. He appealed to the king of France, to whom he consented to refer the subject of his infringed pretension; and when that just monarch declared in his
A. D. 1264.] favour, he resolved to have recourse to arms, the last refuge of oppressed royalty. Accordingly, summoning the king's military vassals from all quarters, and being reinforced by many of the more equitable barons, he resolved to take the field. His first attempts were successful: Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham, submitted to his power; and he proceeded into the county of Derby, in order to ravage with fire and sword the estates of such as had espoused the opposite cause. On the other side, the earl of Leicester was besieging Rochester, when he was informed of the king's successes; upon which he raised the siege, and retreated to London, where he was joined by a body of the citizens amounting to fifteen thousand men. Both armies being nearly equal, they resolved to come to an engagement, and Leicester halted about two miles from Lewes in Sussex; offering, at the same time, terms of accommodation, which he well knew the king would reject. Upon the refusal of these with contempt, both sides prepared for a battle with the utmost rancour and animosity. The earl advanced with his troops to Lewes, where the king had drawn up his forces to give him a proper reception. The royal army was formed in three divisions: prince Edward commanded on the right; Richard, the king's brother, who had been some time before made king of the Romans, was posted on the left wing; and Henry himself remained in the centre. The earl's army was divided into four bodies: the first was conducted by Henry de Montford, son of the general; the second was commanded by the earl of Gloucester; the third was under the command of the earl himself; and the fourth, consisting of Londoners,

was under the direction of Nicholas Seagrave. To encourage these measures, the bishop of Chichester gave a general absolution to their party, accompanied with assurances, that if any of them fell in the action, they would infallibly be received into heaven, as a reward for their suffering in so meritorious a cause. The battle was begun by prince Edward, who rushed upon the Londoners, placed foremost in the post of honour, with so much fury, that they were unable to sustain the charge, but, giving way, fled with great precipitation. The prince, transported with a desire of revenging the insults they had offered to his mother, pursued them four miles off the field of battle, causing a terrible slaughter. While he was making this imprudent use of his victory, the earl of Leicester, who was a skilful commander, pushed with all his forces against the enemies' left wing, soon put them to the rout, and took both the king and his brother prisoners. It was a dreadful prospect, therefore, to the young prince, who was now returning victorious from the pursuit, to behold the field covered with the bodies of his friends, and still more when he heard that his father and uncle were defeated and taken. In this deplorable state, he at first endeavoured to inspire his remaining troops with ardour; but being artfully amused by Leicester with a pretended negociation, he quickly found his little body of troops surrounded, and himself obliged to submit to such terms as the conqueror thought fit to impose. These were short, and very conformable to his wretched situation. He, and another general, named Henry d'Almain, were to become prisoners, as pledges in the place of the king and his brother, who were to be released; the Provisions of Oxford were to continue in full force, but to be revised by six Frenchmen appointed by the king of France, three prelates, and three temporal noblemen, who, with three more of their own choosing, were to be invested with full powers to settle all disturbances that then subsisted. Such was the convention called the *Mise* of Lewes.

These great advantages were no sooner obtained, than Leicester resolved to possess himself of that power for which he had so long been struggling. Instead of referring the subject in dispute to the king of France, as was agreed on, he kept Richard still a prisoner; and though he had already confined prince Edward in the castle of Dover, he effectually took care to continue the king also in bondage. To add to his injustice, he made use of his name for purposes the most prejudicial to the royal interests; and while he every where disarmed the king's adherents, he was cautiously seen to keep his partisans in a posture of defence. The king, a poor contemptible spectator of his own degradation, was carried about from place to place, and obliged to give his governors directions to deliver their castles into the hands of his enemy. To this usurpation of the king's authority, Leicester added the most barefaced and rapacious avarice. He seized the estates of no less than eighteen barons, as his share of the spoil gained in the battle of Lewes. He engrossed to himself the ransom of all the prisoners; he monopolized the sale of wool to foreign markets; and, to fix himself completely in authority, he ordained that all power should be exercised by a council of nine persons, who were to be chosen by three persons, or the majority of them; and these were the earl himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester.

In this stretch of power Leicester was not so entirely secure, but that he still feared the combinations of the foreign states against him, as well as the internal machinations of the royal party. The king of France, at the intercession of the queen of England, who had taken refuge at his court, actually prepared to reinstate Henry in his dominions; the pope was not sparing in his ecclesiastical censures; and there were many other princes who pitied the royal sufferings, and secretly wished the usurper's fall. The miserable situation of the kingdom, in the end, produced the happiness of posterity. Leicester, to secure his ill-acquired power, was obliged to have recourse to an aid till now entirely unknown in England, namely, that of the body of the people. He called a parliament, where, besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from every shire; and also deputies from the boroughs, which had been hitherto considered as too inconsiderable to have a voice in legislation. This is the first undoubted outline

Jan. 20, 1265.] of an English house of commons. The people had been gaining some consideration since the gradual diminution of the force of the feudal system. The establishment of corporation charters, by which many of the rustic slaves were in a capacity of rescuing themselves from the power of their masters, increased not only the power of the people, but their ardour to be free. As arts increased, the number of these little independent republics, if they may be so called, increased in proportion; and we find them, at the present period, of sufficient consequence to be adopted into a share of the legislature. Such was the beginning of an institution, that has since been the guardian of British liberty, and the admiration of mankind. In this manner it owed its original to the aspiring aims of a haughty baron, who flattered the people with the name of freedom, with a design the more completely to tyrannize.

A parliament, assembled in this manner to second the views of the earl, was found not so very complying as he expected. Many of the barons, who had hitherto steadfastly adhered to his party, appeared disgusted at his immoderate ambition; and many of the people, who found that a change of masters was not a change from misery to happiness, began to wish for the re-establishment of the royal family. In this exigence, Leicester, finding himself unable to oppose the concurring wishes of the nation, was resolved to make a merit of what he could not prevent; and he accordingly released prince Edward from confinement, and had him introduced at Westminster-hall, where his freedom was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the barons. But though Leicester had all the popularity of restoring the prince, he was politic enough to keep him still guarded by his emissaries, who watched all his motions, and frustrated all his aims.

On the other hand, prince Edward, who had too much penetration not to perceive that he was made the tool of Leicester's ambition, anxiously watched an opportunity to regain that freedom of which he then enjoyed but the appearance. An opportunity soon offered for procuring him a restoration of liberty and power. The earl of Gloucester, one of the heads of Leicester's party, being discontented at that nobleman's great power, retired from court in disgust, and went, for safety, to his estate on the borders of Wales. Leicester was not slow in pursuing him thither; and, to give greater authority to his arms, carried the king and the prince of Wales along with him. This was the happy opportunity that young Edward long wanted, in order to effect his escape. Being furnished by the earl of Gloucester with a horse of extraordinary swiftness, under a pretence of taking the air with some of Leicester's retinue, who were in reality appointed to guard him, he proposed that they should run their horses one against the other. When he perceived that he had thus sufficiently tired their horses, immediately mounting Gloucester's horse, that was still fresh, he bade his attendants very politely farewell. They followed him indeed for some time, but the appearance of a body of troops belonging to Gloucester soon put an end to the pursuit. This happy event seemed the signal for the whole body of the royalists to rise. The well-known valour of the young prince, the long train of grievances which the people endured, and the countenance of the earl of Gloucester, a man of great power, all combined to increase their numbers, and inspire their activity. An army was soon assembled, which Leicester had no power to withstand; and he saw his hard-earned power every day ravished from him, without being able to strike a single blow in its defence. His son, attempting to bring him a reinforcement of troops from London, was, by a vigorous march of young Edward, surprised, and his army cut to pieces.

It was not long after, that the earl himself, ignorant of his son's fate, passed the Severn, in expectation of the London army; but instead of the troops he expected, he soon perceived that the indefatigable prince was coming up to give him battle. Nor was it without a stratagem that his little army was assaulted. While the prince led a part of his troops by a circuit to attack him behind, he ordered another body of them to advance with the banners of the London army that was just defeated, which, for a long time, the earl mistook for an actual reinforcement, and made dispositions accordingly. At last, however, this proud but unfortunate general perceived his mistake, and

saw that the enemy was advancing against him on all sides, with the most regular dispositions and determined bravery. He now, therefore, found that all was lost; and was so struck with dismay, that he could not help exclaiming, "The Lord have mercy upon our souls, for our bodies are doomed to destruction!" He did not, however, abandon all hopes of safety; but drew up his men in a compact circle, and exhorted them to fight like men who had all to gain or all to suffer. At the same time, he obliged the old king to put on armour, and to fight against his own cause in the front of the army. The battle soon began; but the earl's army, having been exhausted by famine on the mountains of Wales, were but ill able to sustain the impetuosity of young Edward's attack, who bore down upon them with incredible fury. During this terrible day, Leicester behaved with astonishing intrepidity, and kept up the spirit of the action from two o'clock in the afternoon till nine at night. At last, his horse being killed under him, he was compelled to fight on foot; and though he demanded quarter, the adverse party refused it, with a barbarity common enough in the times we are describing. The old king, who was placed in the front of the battle, was soon wounded in the shoulder, and not being known by his friends, he was on the point of being killed by a soldier; but crying out, "I am Henry of Winchester, the king!" he was saved by a knight of the royal army. Prince Edward, hearing the voice of his father, instantly ran to the spot where he lay, and had him conducted to a place of safety. The body of Leicester being found among the dead, was barbarously mangled by one Roger Mortimer, and then, with an accumulation of inhumanity, sent to the wretched widow, as a testimony of the royal party's success.

This victory proved decisive; and those who were formerly persecuted, now became oppressors in their turn. The king, who was grown vindictive from his sufferings, resolved to take a signal vengeance on the citizens of London, who had ever forwarded the interests of his opponents. In this exigence, submission was their only resource; and Henry was with difficulty dissuaded from destroying the city. He was at last contented to deprive it of its military ensigns and fortifications, and to levy upon the inhabitants a very heavy contribution. Fitz-Richard, the seditious mayor, was imprisoned, and purchased his pardon with the loss of his substance. The rebels every where submitted, or were pursued with rigour. Their castles were [A. D. 1268. taken and demolished; and scarcely any were found that disputed the king's authority. Among the few who still continued refractory, was one Adam de Gourdon, formerly governor of Dunstan castle, and very much celebrated for his prodigious strength and great bravery. This outrageous baron maintained himself for some time in the forests of Hampshire, and ravaged the counties of Berks and Surrey. Prince Edward was, at length, obliged to lead a body of troops into that part of the country, to force him thence; and attacked his camp with great bravery. Being transported with the natural impetuosity of youth, and the ardour of the action, he leaped over the trench, by which it was defended, attended by a few followers; and thus found himself unexpectedly cut off from the rest of his army. Gourdon soon distinguished him from the rest of his attendants; and a single combat began between these valiant men, which, for a long time, continued doubtful. But the prince's fortune at last prevailed; Adam's foot happening to slip, he received a wound which disabled him from continuing the action, and he remained at the mercy of the conqueror. Edward was as merciful as he was brave; he not only granted him his life, but introduced him that very night to his consort at Guildford; procured him his pardon and estate, and received him into favour. Gourdon was not ungrateful for such mercy; he ever after followed the prince, and was often found combating by his side in the most dangerous shock of battle. In this manner the generosity of the prince tempered the insolence of victory: strength was gradually restored to the different members of the constitution, that had been so long weakened by the continuance of civil discord.

Edward, having thus restored peace to the kingdom, found his affairs now so firmly established, that it was not in the power of any slight disgust taken by the licentious barons to shake them. The earl of Gloucester, indeed, who had been so instrumental in restoring the king to the crown, thought that no

recompense could equal his merits. He, therefore, engaged once more in open rebellion; but was soon brought to submission by the prince, who obliged him to enter into a bond of twenty thousand marks, never to take part in similar schemes for the future. The kingdom being thus tolerably composed, that spirit of adventure and ardour for military glory, which shone forth in all the prince's actions, now impelled him to undertake the expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land. The crusade was at that time the great object of ambition; all other wars were considered as trifling, and all other successes as mean, in comparison of those gained over the enemies of Christ and his religion. To that renowned field of blood flocked all the brave, the pious, the ambitious, and the powerful.

In pursuance of this resolution, which, though condemned by succeeding fashions of thinking, yet certainly then was prosecuted upon the noblest motives, Edward sailed from England with a large army, and arrived at the [A. D. 1270.] camp of Lewis, the king of France, which lay before Tunis, and where he had the misfortune to hear of that good monarch's death, before his arrival. The prince, however, no way discouraged by this event, continued his voyage, and arrived at the Holy Land in safety.

He had scarcely departed upon this pious expedition, when the health of the old king began to decline; and he found not only his own constitution, but also that of the state, in such a dangerous situation, that he wrote letters to his son, pressing him to return with all despatch. The former calamities began to threaten the kingdom again; and the barons taking advantage of the king's weakness, oppressed the people with impunity. Bands of robbers infested various parts of the nation; and the populace of London once more resumed their accustomed licentiousness. To add to the king's uneasiness, [A. D. 1272.] his brother Richard died, who had long assisted him with his advice in all emergencies. He, therefore, ardently wished for the return of his gallant son, who had placed the sceptre in hands that were too feeble to hold it. At last, overcome by the cares of government and the infirmities of age, he ordered himself to be removed, by easy journeys, from St. Edmund's-bury to Westminster; where, sending for the earl of Gloucester, he obliged him to swear that he would preserve the peace of the kingdom, and, to the utmost of his power, maintain the interests of his son. That same night he expired; and the next morning the great seal was delivered to the archbishop of York, and the lords of the privy council.

Thus died Henry, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his reign, the longest to be met with in the English annals. He was a prince more adapted for private than public life; his ease, simplicity, and goodnature, would have secured him that happiness in a lower station, of which they deprived him upon a throne. However, from his calamities the people afterwards derived the most permanent blessings; that liberty which they extorted from his weakness, they continued to preserve under bolder princes who succeeded him. The flame of freedom had now diffused itself from the incorporated towns through the whole mass of the people, and ever afterwards blazed forth at convenient seasons; so that, in proportion as the upper orders lost, the people were sure to be gainers. In this contest, though they often laid down their lives, and suffered all the calamities of civil war, yet those calamities were considered as nothing, when weighed against the advantages of freedom and security.

CHAP. XIII.

EDWARD I.—A. D. 1272 to 1307.

WHILE the unfortunate Henry was thus vainly struggling against the ungovernable spirit of his subjects, his son and successor, Edward, was employed in the holy wars, where he revived the glory of the English name, and made the enemies of Christianity tremble. He had arrived at the city of Acre, in Palestine, just as the Saracens were sitting down to besiege it. He soon relieved the place, followed the enemy, and obtained many victories, which, though splendid, were not decisive. Such, however, were the enemies' ter-

sors at the progress of his arms, that they resolved to destroy by treachery that valiant commander, whom they could not oppose in the field. A tribe of Mahometan enthusiasts had long kept possession of an inaccessible mountain in Syria, under the command of a petty prince, who went, in the Christian armies, under the name of the Old Man of the Mountain, and whose subjects were called Assassins; whence we have since borrowed the name, to signify a private stabber. These men, wholly devoted to their commander, and inflamed with a detestable superstition, undertook to destroy any Christian prince or leader who became obnoxious to their party. It was in vain to threaten them with punishment; they knew the dangers that awaited them, but, resolute to destroy, they rushed upon certain death. Some time before, the capital of this tribe had been taken by the Tartars, and the inhabitants put to the sword; yet there still remained numbers of them that were educated in that gloomy school of superstition; and one of those undertook to murder the prince of England. In order to gain admittance to Edward's presence, he pretended to have letters to deliver from the governor of Joppa, proposing a negociation; and thus he was permitted to see the prince, who conversed with him freely in the French language, which the assassin understood. In this manner he continued to amuse him for some time, being permitted to have free egress and regress from the royal apartments. It was on Friday in Whitsun-week, that he found Edward sitting in his apartment alone, in a loose garment, the weather being extremely hot. This was the opportunity the infidel had so long earnestly desired; and, looking round to see if there were any present to prevent him, and finding him alone, he drew a dagger from his breast, and attempted to plunge it into the prince's bosom. Edward had just time perceive the murderer's intention, and, with great presence of mind, received the blow upon his arm. Perceiving the assassin about to repeat his blow, he struck him at once to the ground with his foot; and, wresting the weapon from his hand, buried it instantly in his bosom. The domestics, hearing a noise, quickly came into the room, and soon wreaked their vengeance on the body of the perfidious wretch, who had thus abused the laws of hospitality. The wound received by the prince was the more dangerous, as having been inflicted with a poisoned dagger; and it soon began to exhibit some symptoms that appeared fatal. He therefore expected his fate with great intrepidity, and made his will, contented to die in a cause which he was assured would procure him endless felicity. But his usual good fortune prevailed; an English surgeon of extraordinary skill, by making deep incisions, and cutting away the mortified parts, completed the cure, and restored him to health in little more than a fortnight. A recovery so unexpected was considered by the superstitious army as miraculous; nor were there wanting some, who alleged that he owed his safety to the piety of Eleonora his wife, who sucked the poison from the wound, to save his life, at the hazard of her own. However this be, it is probable that the personal danger he incurred, by continuing the war in Palestine, might induce him more readily to listen to terms of accommodation, which were proposed soon after by the soldan of Babylon. He received that monarch's ambassadors in a very honourable manner, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, ten weeks, and ten days. Having thus settled the affairs of Palestine in the best manner they would admit of, he set sail for Sicily, where he arrived in safety, and there he first heard the news of the king's death, as well as that of his own infant son John. He bore the last with resignation, but appeared extremely afflicted at the death of his father; at which, when the king of Sicily expressed his surprise, he observed, that the death of a son was a loss that he might hope to repair, but that of a father was irreparable

Though the death of the king happened while the successor was so far from home, yet measures had been so well taken, that the crown was transferred with the greatest tranquillity. The high character acquired by the prince, during the late commotions, had procured him the esteem and affections of all ranks of men; and, instead of attempting to oppose, their whole wish was to see him returning in triumph. But the prince, sensible of the quiet state of the kingdom, did not seem in much haste to take possession of the throne; and he spent near a year in France before he made his appearance in Eng-

land. The honours he received from the great upon the continent, and the acclamations with which he was every where attended by the people, were too alluring to a young mind to be suddenly relinquished; he was even tempted to exhibit proofs of his bravery in a tournament, to which he was invited by the count de Chalons, who defied him to a trial of his skill. Impressed with high ideas of the chivalry of the times, he accepted the challenge; and proposed, with his knights, to hold the field against all that would enter the lists. His usual good fortune attended him; and his success had like to have converted a trial of skill into a matter of bloody contention. The count de Chalons, enraged at being foiled, made a serious attack upon the English, in which some blood was idly spilt; but Edward and his knights still maintained the superiority. From Chalons Edward proceeded to Paris, where he was magnificently entertained by Philip, king of France, to whom he did homage for the territories the kings of England had possessed in that kingdom. From Paris he set out for Gascony, to curb the insolence of Gaston de Bearne, who had rebelled in his absence. Thence he passed through Montreuil, where he accommodated some differences between the English and Flemings. At length, after various battles, dangers, and fatigues, he arrived in his native dominions, amidst the loud acclamations of his people, A.D. 1274.] and was solemnly crowned at Westminster by the archbishop of Canterbury. The joy of all ranks upon this occasion was inexpressible; the feasting continued a whole fortnight at the king's expense; five hundred horses were turned loose, as the property of those who could catch them. The king of Scotland, with several other princes, graced the solemnity, and did homage for the territories which they held under the English crown. Nothing therefore remained to complete the felicity of the people but the continuance of such prosperity; and this they had every reason to expect from the king's justice, economy, and prudence.

As Edward was now come to an undisturbed throne, the opposite interest was proportionably feeble. The barons were nearly exhausted by long mutual dissensions; the clergy were divided in their interests, and agreed only in one point, to hate the pope, who had for some time drained them with impunity: the people, by some insurrections against the convents, appear to have hated the clergy with equal animosity. These disagreeing orders concurred in one point only, that of esteeming and reverencing the king. In such a conjuncture, therefore, few measures could be taken by the crown that would be deemed oppressive; and we accordingly find the present monarch often, from his own authority alone, raising those taxes that would have been peremptorily refused to his predecessor. However, Edward was naturally prudent; and though capable of becoming absolute, he satisfied himself with moderate power, and laboured only to be terrible to his enemies.

His first care was to correct those disorders which had crept in under the last part of his father's feeble administration. He proposed, by an exact distribution of justice, to give equal protection and redress to all the orders of the state. He took every opportunity to inspect the conduct of all his magistrates and judges, and to displace such as were negligent or corrupt. In short, a system of strict justice, marked with an air of severity, was pursued throughout his reign; formidable to the people indeed, but yet adapted to the ungovernable licentiousness of the times. The Jews were the only part of his subjects who were refused that equal justice which the king made a boast of distributing. As Edward had been bred up in prejudices against them, and as these were confirmed by his expedition to the Holy Land, he seemed to have no compassion upon their sufferings. Many were the arbitrary taxes levied upon them; two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once, upon a charge of adulterating the coin of the kingdom; the goods of the rest were confiscated, and all of that religion were utterly banished from the kingdom. This severity was very grateful to the people, who hated the Jews, not only for their tenets, but for their method of living, which was by usury and extortion.

But Edward had too noble a spirit to be content with the applause this petty oppression acquired: he resolved to march against Llewelyn, prince of North Wales, who had refused to do homage for his dominions, and seemed

bent upon renouncing all dependence upon the crown of England. The Welsh had for many ages enjoyed their own laws, language, customs, and opinions. They were the remains of the ancient Britons who had escaped the Roman and Saxon invasions, and still preserved their freedom and their country uncontaminated by the admission of foreign conquerors. But as they were, from their number, incapable of withstanding their more powerful neighbours on the plain, their chief defence lay in their inaccessible mountains, those natural bulwarks of the country. Whenever England was distressed by factions at home, or its forces called off to wars abroad, the Welsh made it a constant practice to pour in their irregular troops, and lay the open country waste wherever they came. Nothing could be more pernicious to a country than several neighbouring independent principalities, under different commanders, and pursuing different interests; the mutual jealousies of such were to harass the people; and whenever victory was purchased, it was always at the expense of the general welfare. Sensible of this, Edward had long wished to reduce that incursive people, and had ordered Llewelyn to do homage for his territories; which summons the Welsh prince refused to obey, unless the king's own son should be delivered as a hostage for his safe return. The king was not displeased at this refusal, as it served to give him a pretext for his intended invasion. He therefore [A. D. 1277. levied an army against Llewelyn, and marched into his country with certain assurance of success. Upon the approach of Edward, the Welsh prince took refuge among the inaccessible mountains of Snowdon, and there resolved to maintain his ground, without trusting to the chance of battle. These were the steep retreats that had for many ages before defended his ancestors against all the attempts of the Norman and Saxon conquerors. But Edward, equally vigorous and cautious, having explored every part of his way, pierced into the very centre of Llewelyn's territories, and approached the Welsh army in its last retreat. Llewelyn at first little regarded the progress of an enemy that he supposed would make a transient invasion, and then depart; but this contempt was turned into consternation, when he saw Edward place his forces at the foot of the mountains, and surround his army, in order to force it by famine. Destitute of magazines, and cooped up in a narrow corner of the country, without provisions for his troops, or pasturage for his cattle, nothing remained but death or submission; so that the unfortunate Welsh prince, without being able to strike a blow for his independence, was at last obliged to submit at discretion, and to receive such terms as the victor was pleased to impose. Llewelyn consented to pay fifty thousand pounds, as a satisfaction for damages; to do homage to the crown of England; to permit all other barons, except four near Snowdon, to swear fealty in the same manner; to relinquish the country between Cheshire and the river Conway; to do justice to his own family; and to deliver hostages for the security of his submission.

But this treaty was only of short duration: the oppression of the conqueror, and the indignant pride of the conquered nation, could not long remain without producing new dissensions. The lords of the marches committed all kinds of injustice on their Welsh neighbours; and although Edward remitted the fifty thousand pounds, he laid other restrictions some time after upon Llewelyn, which that prince considered as more injurious. He particularly exacted a promise from him at Worcester, that he would retain [A. D. 1281. no person in his principality that should be disagreeable to the English monarch. These were insults too great to be endured, and once more the Welsh flew to arms. A body of their forces took the field, under the command of David, the brother of the prince, ravaged the plain country, took the castle of Hawarden, made sir Roger Clifford, justice of the marches, who was very dangerously wounded, their prisoner, and soon after laid siege to the castle of Rhudlan. An account of these hostilities being quickly brought to Edward, he assembled a numerous army, and set out with a resolution to exterminate Llewelyn and his whole family, and to reduce that people to such an abject state, that they should never after be able to revolt, or distress their peaceable neighbours. At first, however, the king's endeavours [A. D. 1282. were not attended with their usual success; having caused a bridge of boats

to be laid over the Menayfrith, a body of forces, commanded by lord Latimer and De Thonie, passed over before it was finished, to signalise their courage against the enemy. The Welsh patiently remained in their fastnesses till they saw the tide flowing in beyond the end of the bridge, and thus cutting off the retreat of the assailants. It was then that they poured down from the mountains with hideous outcries, and, with the most ungovernable fury, put the whole body, that had gotten over, to the sword. This defeat revived the sinking spirits of the Welsh, and it was now universally believed by that superstitious people that Heaven had declared in their favour. A story ran, that it was foretold in the prophecies of Merlin, that Llewellyn was to be the restorer of Brutus's empire in Britain: a wizard had prognosticated that he should ride through the streets of London with a crown upon his head. These were inducements sufficiently strong to persuade this prince to hazard a decisive battle against the English. With this view he marched into Radnorshire; and passing the river Wye, his troops were surprised and defeated by Edmund Mortimer, while he himself was absent from his army upon a conference with some of the barons of that county. Upon his return, seeing the dreadful situation of his affairs, he ran desperately into the midst of the enemy, and quickly found that death he so ardently sought for. One of the English captains, recognising his countenance, severed his head from his body, and it was sent to London, where it was received with extreme demonstrations of joy. The brutal spirit of the times will sufficiently appear from the barbarity of the citizens on this occasion; the head being encircled in a silver coronet, to fulfil the prediction of a wizard, it was placed by them upon a pillory, that the populace might glut their eyes with such an agreeable spectacle. David, the brother of this unfortunate prince, soon after shared the same fate; while his followers, quite dispirited by the loss of their beloved leader, obeyed but slowly, and fought with reluctance. Being at last totally abandoned, he was obliged to hide himself in one of the obscure caverns of the country; but his retreat being soon after discovered, he was taken, tried, and condemned as a traitor. His sentence was executed with the most rigorous severity; he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, only for having bravely defended the expiring liberties of his native country, and his own hereditary possessions. With him expired the government, and the distinction of his nation. It was soon after united to the kingdom of England, made a principality, and given to the eldest son of the crown. Foreign conquest might add to the glory, but this added to the felicity of the kingdom. The Welsh were now blended with the conquerors; and, in the revolution of a few ages, all national animosity was entirely forgotten.

At the time of the conquest, however, the Welsh submitted with extreme reluctance; and few nations ever bowed to a foreign yoke with greater indignation. The bards of the country, whose employment consisted in rehearsing the glorious deeds of their ancestors, were particularly obnoxious to the king, who, considering that while they continued to keep the ancient flame alive he must expect no peace in his new acquisitions, ordered them to be massacred, from motives of barbarous policy, at that time not uncommon. This severity he is said to have softened by another measure, equally politic, and far less culpable. In order to flatter their vanity, and amuse their superstition, he left his queen to be delivered in the castle of Caernarven, and afterwards presented the child, whose name was Edward, to the Welsh lords, as a native of their country, and as their appointed prince. The lords received him with acclamations of joy, considering him as a master who would govern them as a distinct people from the English, there being at that time another prince who was heir-apparent to the English crown. But the death of the eldest son, Alphonso, soon after made young Edward, who had been thus created prince of Wales, heir also to the English monarchy; and ever since the government of both nations has continued to flow in one undivided channel.

This great and important conquest being achieved, paved the way for one of still more importance, though not attended with such permanent consequences. Alexander III. king of Scotland, had been killed by a fall from his horse, leaving only Margaret, his grand-daughter, heir to the crown, who died A. D. 1291.] some time after. The death of this princess produced a most

ardent dispute about the succession to the Scottish throne, which was claimed by no less than twelve competitors. That nation being thus divided into as many factions as there were pretenders, the guardians of the realm would not undertake to decide a dispute of so much consequence. The nobility of the country were no less divided in their opinions; and, after long debates, they at last unanimously agreed to refer the contest to the determination of the king of England. The claims of all the candidates were reduced to three, who were the descendants of the earl of Huntingdon by three daughters; John Hastings, who claimed in right of his mother, as one of the co-heiresses of the crown; John Baliol, who alleged his right, as being descended from the eldest daughter, who was his grand-mother; and Robert Bruce, who was the actual son of the second daughter. In this contest, which was referred to Edward, he pretended to wish for the utmost degree of deliberation; and although he had long formed his resolution, yet he ordered all inquiries to be made on the subject, that he might be master of the arguments that could be advanced on any side of the question. In this research, he soon discovered that some passages in old chronicles might be produced to favour his own secret inclinations; and, without farther delay, instead of admitting the claims of the competitors, he boldly urged his own; and, to second his pretensions, advanced with a formidable army to the frontiers of the kingdom.

The Scottish barons were thunderstruck at these unexpected pretensions; and though they felt extreme indignation at his procedure, yet they resolved to obey his summons to meet at the castle of Norham, a place situated on the southern banks of the Tweed, where he convened the parliament of that country. He there produced the proofs of his superiority, which he alleged were unquestionable, and desired their concurrence with his claims; at the same time advising them to use deliberation, and to examine all his allegations with impartial justice. To a proposal that appeared in itself so unreasonable, no immediate answer could be given; for, where all is defective, it is not easy to submit to the combating a part: the barons, therefore, continued silent; and Edward, interpreting this for a consent, addressed himself to the several competitors to the crown; and previous to his appointing one of them as his vassal, he required their acknowledgment of his superiority. He naturally concluded that none of them would venture to disoblige the man who was unanimously appointed to be the arbitrator of his pretensions. Nor was he deceived; he found them all equally obsequious on this occasion. Robert Bruce was the first who made the acknowledgment, and the rest quickly followed his example. Edward, being thus become the superior of the kingdom, undertook next to consider which candidate was the fittest to be appointed under him; or it may be, as they appeared all indifferent to him, which had the justest claim. In order to give this deliberation the appearance of impartiality, a hundred commissioners were appointed; forty of the number were chosen by the candidates who were in the interests of John Baliol; forty, by those in the interests of Robert Bruce; and twenty, by Edward himself. Having thus fitted matters to his satisfaction, he left the commissioners to sit at Berwick; and went southward, to free the deliberations from all shadow of restraint. The subject of the dispute ultimately rested in this question: Whether Baliol, who was descended from the elder sister, but farther removed by one degree, was to be preferred before Bruce, who was actually the younger sister's son? The rights of inheritance, as at present generally practised over Europe, were even at that time pretty well ascertained; and not only the commissioners, but many of the best lawyers of the age, concurred in affirming Baliol's superior claim. Edward, therefore, pronounced sentence in his favour; and that candidate, upon renewing his oath of fealty to England, was put in possession of the Scottish kingdom, and all its fortresses, which had been previously put into the hands of the king of England.

Baliol being thus placed upon the throne, less as a king than as a vassal, Edward's first step was sufficient to convince the Scots of his intentions to stretch the prerogative to the utmost. Instead of gradually accustoming them to bear the English yoke, and of sliding his new power upon them by slow and imperceptible degrees, he began at once to give them notice of his

intentions. A merchant of Gascony had presented a petition to him, importing that Alexander, the late king of Scotland, was indebted to him in a large sum, which was still unpaid, notwithstanding all his solicitations to Baliol, the present king, for payment. Edward eagerly embraced this opportunity of exercising his new right, and summoned the king of Scotland to appear at Westminster, to answer in person the merchant's complaint. Upon subjects equally trivial he sent six requisitions, at different times, in one year; so that the poor Scottish king soon perceived that he was possessed of the name only, but not the authority, of a sovereign. Willing, therefore, to shake off the A. D. 1295.] yoke of so troublesome a master, Baliol revolted, and procured the pope's absolution from his former oaths of homage. To strengthen his hands still more, he entered into a secret treaty with Philip king of France, which was the commencement of an union between these two nations, that, for so many succeeding ages, was pernicious to the interests of England. To confirm this alliance, the king of Scotland stipulated a marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of Philip de Valois.

Edward, to whom these transactions were no secret, endeavoured to ward the threatened blow, by being the first aggressor; and accordingly summoned John to perform the duty of a vassal, and to send him a supply of forces against an invasion from France, with which state he had for some time been at variance. He also summoned him to surrender some of his principal forts, and to appear at a parliament which was held at Newcastle. None of these commands, as he well foresaw, being complied with, he resolved to enforce A. D. 1296.] obedience, by marching a body of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, into the heart of the kingdom of Scotland. As the Scottish nation had little reliance on the vigour or the courage of their king, they had assigned him a council of twelve noblemen to assist, or, more properly speaking, to superintend his proceedings. They raised an army of forty thousand men for the present emergency, and marched them to the frontiers, which Edward was now preparing to attack. But some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobility, among whom were Robert Bruce and his son, endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with Edward by an early submission, which served not a little to intimidate those who still adhered to their king. The progress, therefore, of the English arms was extremely rapid; Berwick was taken by assault, sir William Douglas, the governor, made prisoner, and a garrison of seven thousand men put to the sword. Elated by these advantages, Edward despatched earl Warrenne, with ten thousand men, to lay siege to Dunbar; and the Scots, sensible of the importance of that place, advanced with their whole army, under the command of the earls of Mar, Buchan, and Lenox, to relieve it. Although the superiority of number was greatly on their side, yet courage and discipline were entirely on that of the English. The conflict was of short continuance; the Scots were soon thrown into confusion, and fifteen thousand of their men were slain. The castle of Dunbar, with all its garrison, surrendered the day following; and Edward, who was now come up with the main body of his army, led them onward into the country to certain conquest. The castles of the greatest strength and importance opened their gates to him almost without resistance; and the whole southern part of the country acknowledged the conqueror. The northern parts were not so easily reduced, being defended by the inaccessible mountains and intricate forests that deformed the face of that country. To make himself master of this part of the kingdom, Edward reinforced his army with numbers of men levied in Ireland and Wales, who, being used to this kind of desultory war, were best qualified to seek or pursue the latent enemy. But Baliol made these preparations unnecessary; he found that a ready submission was more safe and easy than a fierce resistance drawn out among mountainous deserts, which might be rendered still more dreadful by famine. He hastened, therefore, to make his peace with the victor, and expressed the deepest repentance for his former disloyalty. To satisfy him still farther, he made a solemn resignation of the crown into his hands; and the whole kingdom soon after followed his example. Edward, thus master of the kingdom, took every precaution to secure his title, and to abolish those distinctions which might be apt to keep the nation in its former independence.

He carefully destroyed all records and monuments of antiquity that inspired the people with national pride. He carried away a stone, which the traditions of the vulgar pretended to have been Jacob's pillow, on which all their kings were seated when they were anointed. This, the ancient tradition had assured them, was the mark of their government, and wherever it was placed their command was always to follow. The great seal of Baliol was broken: and that unhappy monarch himself was carried as a prisoner to London, and committed to custody in the Tower. Two years afterwards he was restored to his liberty, and banished to France, where he died in a private station, without making any farther attempts to reinstate himself upon the throne; happier perhaps in privacy, than if he had been gratified in the pursuits of ambition.

The cessation which was given to Edward by those successes, in his insular dominions, induced him to turn his ambition to the continent, where he expected to recover a part of those territories that had been usurped from his crown during the imbecility of his predecessors. There had been a rupture with France some time before, upon a very trifling occasion. A Norman and English ship met off the coast, near Bayonne, and having both occasion to draw water from the same spring, there happened a quarrel for the preference. This scuffle, in which a Norman was slain, produced a complaint to the king of France, who desired the complainant to take his own revenge, and not bring such matters before him. This the Normans did shortly after; for, seizing the crew of a ship in the Channel, they hanged a part of the number, together with some dogs, in the presence of all their companions. This produced a retaliation from the English cinque-ports; and the animosity of the merchants on both sides being wrought up to fury, the sea became a scene of piracy and murder. No quarter was given on either side; the mariners were destroyed by hundreds; and at last the affair became too serious for the sovereigns of either side to continue any longer unconcerned spectators. Some ineffectual overtures were made for an accommodation; but Edward, seeing that it was likely to come to an open rupture, gave orders for having his territory of Guienne, upon the continent, put into a posture of defence. Nor was he remiss in making treaties with several neighbouring princes, whose assistance he purchased, though greatly to the diminution of his scanty revenues. He even sent an army, collected in England from the jails, which had been filled in the former reign with robbers, who were now made serviceable to the state. These, though at first successful, under the command of John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, were soon repulsed by the French army, under the command of Charles, brother to the king of France. Yet it was not easy to discourage Edward from any favourite pursuit. He renewed his attempts upon Guienne, and sent thither an army of seven thousand men, under the command of his brother, the earl of Lancaster. That prince gained, at first, some advantages over the French at Bourdeaux; but he was soon after seized with a distemper, of which he died at Bayonne.

The king, finding his attempts upon that quarter unsuccessful, resolved to attack France upon another, where he hoped that kingdom [A. D. 1297. would be more vulnerable. He formed an alliance with John, earl of Holland, by giving him his daughter Elizabeth in marriage; and also with Guy, earl of Flanders, whose assistance he procured for the stipulated sum of seventy-five thousand pounds. From these assistances he entertained hopes of being once more able to recover his hereditary dominions; and he accordingly set himself earnestly about providing money for such an arduous undertaking. This was not obtained without the greatest struggles with his clergy and the people: so that when he came to take the field in Flanders, at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, the proper season of action was lost; wherefore the king of France and he were glad to come to an accommodation, by which they agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the pope. By this mediation it was agreed between them, that their union should be cemented with a double marriage,—that of Edward with Margaret, Philip's sister; and that of the prince of Wales, with Isabella, the French monarch's daughter. Philip was prevailed on to restore Guienne to the English. He agreed also to abandon the king of Scotland, upon condition that

Edward should in like manner neglect the earl of Flanders. Thus, after a very expensive war, the two monarchs were obliged to sit down just where they began; and, instead of making preparations against each other, they resolved to turn the weight of their power upon their weaker neighbours.

But though this expedition was thus fruitlessly terminated, yet the expenses which were requisite for fitting it out were not only burdensome to the king, but even, in the event, threatened to shake him on his throne. In order at first to set the great machine in movement, he raised considerable supplies by means of his parliament; and that august body was then first modelled by him into the form in which it continues to this day. As a great part of the property of the kingdom was now, by the introduction of commerce and the improvement of agriculture, transferred from the barons to the lower classes of the people, so their consent was thought necessary for raising any considerable supplies. For this reason he issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, (as in the former reign,) two deputies from each borough within their county, provided with sufficient powers from their constituents to grant such demands as they should think reasonable, for the safety of the state. The charges of these deputies were to be borne by the borough which sent them; and so far were they from considering their deputation as an honour, that nothing could be more displeasing to any borough than to be thus obliged to send a deputy, or to any individual than to be thus chosen. However, the authority of these commoners increased by time. Their union gave them weight; and it became customary among them, in return for the supplies which they granted, to prefer petitions to the crown for the redress of those grievances under which they supposed the nation to labour. The more the king's necessities increased, the more he found it expedient to give them an early redress, till from requesting, the commons proceeded to requiring; and, having all the property of the nation, they by degrees began to be possessed of the power. Such was the constitution of that parliament, to which Edward applied for assistance against France. He obtained from the barons and knights a grant of the twelfth of their moveables; from the boroughs an eighth; and from the clergy he resolved to exact a fifth; but he there found an unexpected resistance. This body of men, who had already felt the weight of his necessities, resolved to avail themselves of any pretext, rather than thus submit to such a heavy and disproportioned imposition. The pope had some time before issued a bull, prohibiting the clergy from paying taxes to any temporal prince, without permission from the see of Rome; and these of England now pleaded conscience, in refusing to comply with the king's demand. They alleged, that they owed obedience to two sovereigns, a spiritual and a temporal; but that their eternal happiness bound them to obey one, while only their worldly safety led them to acknowledge the commands of the other. Edward was somewhat mortified at their refusal, but employed their own arguments with great force against them. He refused them his temporal protection, and ordered his judges to receive no cause brought before them by the clergy, but to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants; to do every man justice against them; and to deny them justice even under the greatest injury.

In this outlawed situation they suffered numberless hardships from every ruffian, while the king's officers remained unconcerned spectators of the ravages committed upon them, without incurring the hatred of oppressive or vindictive cruelty. Whenever the clergy ventured from home, they were dismounted from their horses, and robbed of their clothes: the primate himself was attacked on the highway, and stripped of all his equipage and furniture. These severities at length prevailed: and the clergy agreed to lay the sums they were taxed in some church appointed them, which were to be taken away by the king's officers. Thus at once they obeyed the king, without incurring the censures of the pope. But though these sums were very great, they were by no means adequate to the wants of the state. New taxes were therefore arbitrarily imposed. Edward laid a duty of forty shillings a sack upon wool; he required the sheriffs of each county to supply him with two thousand quarters of wheat and as many of oats, without considering the

means by which they were to be obtained. These he levied by the way of loans promising to pay an equivalent whenever the exigencies of the state were less pressing. Such various modes of oppression were not suffered without murmuring. The clergy were already disgusted, to a man; the people complained at these extortions they could not resist; while many of the more powerful barons, jealous of their own privileges, as well as of national liberty, gave countenance to the general discontent.

The first symptoms of this spirit of resistance appeared upon the king's ordering Humphrey Bohun, the constable, and Roger Bigod, the marechal of England, to take the command of an army that he proposed to send over into Gascony, while he himself intended to make a diversion on the side of Flanders. But these two powerful noblemen refused to obey his orders, alleging, that they were obliged by their offices to attend him only in the wars, and not to conduct his armies. A violent altercation ensued. The king, addressing himself to the constable, cried out, "Sir earl! by God, you shall either go or be hanged." To which the haughty baron replied, "Sir king! by God, I will neither go nor be hanged." This opposition quite defeated his scheme for the conquest of Guienne. He found he had driven prerogative a little too far; and with that presence of mind which always brought him back when he had gone beyond the line of discretion, he desired to be reconciled to his barons, to the church, and to his people. He, therefore, pleaded the urgent necessities of the crown, and promised, upon his return from his Flemish expedition, to redress all grievances, to restore the execution of the laws, and to make his subjects compensation for the losses which they had sustained. These professions served to allay the kindling discontents of the nation during his absence, except that the two noblemen, attended by a great body of cavalry and infantry, took possession of the city gates, and obliged the king's council to sign Magna Charta, and to add a clause to secure the nation for ever against all impositions and taxes without the consent of parliament. This the council readily agreed to sign; and the king himself, when it was sent over to him in Flanders, after some hesitation, thought proper to do the same. These concessions he confirmed upon his return; and though it is probable that he was averse to granting them, yet he was at last brought to give a plenary consent to all the articles that were demanded of him. Thus, after the contest of an age, Magna Charta was finally established; nor was it the least circumstance in its favour, that its confirmation was procured from one of the greatest and boldest princes that ever swayed the English sceptre.

But though the confirmation of this charter was obtained without much violence, yet it was probable that the disturbance given by Scotland about the same time might have hastened its final execution. That fierce nation, which had been conquered some time before with so much ease, still discovered a spirit of independence, that no severity could restrain, nor defeats subdue. The earl Warrenne had been left justiciary in that kingdom; and his prudence and moderation were equal to his valour. He therefore protected the people with his justice, as he had subdued them by his arms: but being obliged, by the bad state of his health, to leave that kingdom, he left the administration in the hands of two very improper ministers; the one, whose name was Ormesby, was rigorous and cruel; the other, called Cressingham, was avaricious and mean. Under such an administration, little stability could be expected; and their injustice soon drove this distressed people into open rebellion. A few of those who had fled into the most inaccessible mountains, from the arms of Edward, took this opportunity to pour down, and strike for freedom. They were headed by William Wallace, so celebrated in Scottish story, the younger son of a gentleman who lived in the western part of the kingdom. He was a man of gigantic stature, incredible strength, and amazing intrepidity; eagerly desirous of independence, and possessed with the most disinterested spirit of patriotism. To this man had resorted all those who were obnoxious to the English government; the proud, the bold, the criminal, and the ambitious. These, bred among dangers and hardships themselves, could not forbear admiring in their leader a degree of patience under fatigue and famine, which they supposed beyond the power

of human nature to endure; he soon, therefore, became the principal object of their affection and their esteem. His first exploits were confined to petty ravages and occasional attacks upon the English. As his forces increased, his efforts became more formidable; every day brought accounts of his great actions; his party was joined first by the desperate, and then by the enterprising; at last, all who loved their country came to take shelter under his protection. Thus reinforced, he formed a plan of surprising Ormesby, the unworthy English minister, who resided at Scone; but though this tyrant escaped the meditated irruption, yet his effects served to recompense the insurgents. From this time, the Scots began to grow too powerful for the English that were appointed to govern them: many of their principal barons joined the insurgents; sir William Douglas was among the foremost openly to avow his attachment; while Robert Bruce secretly favoured and promoted the cause. To oppose this unexpected insurrection, earl Warrenne collected an army of forty thousand men in the north of England, and prepared to attack the Scots, who had by this time crossed the borders, and had begun to ravage the country. He suddenly entered Annandale, and came up with the enemy at Irvine, where he surprised their forces, who, being inferior in number, capitulated, and promised to give hostages for their future fidelity. Most of the nobility renewed their oaths, and joined the English army with reluctance, waiting a more favourable occasion for vindicating their freedom. Wallace alone disdained submission; but, with his faithful followers, marched northwards, with a full intention to protract the hour of slavery as long as he could. In the mean time, Warrenne advanced in the pursuit, and overtook him, where he was advantageously posted, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, on the other side of the river Forth. The earl, perceiving the favourable ground he had chosen, was for declining the engagement; but being pressed by Cressingham, a proud man, whose private revenge operated over his judgment, the old earl was at last obliged to comply, and he passed over a part of his army to begin the attack. Wallace allowing such numbers of the English to get over as he thought himself superior to, boldly advanced upon them before they were completely formed, and put them entirely to the rout. Part were pursued into the river that lay in the rear, and the rest were cut to pieces. Among the slain was Cressingham himself, whose memory was so extremely odious to the Scots, that they flayed his dead body, and made saddles of his skin. The earl retired with the remains of his army to Berwick, while his pursuers took such castles as were but ill provided for a siege. Wallace returned into Scotland, after having thus, for a time, saved his country; laden with an immense plunder, with which he for a while dispelled the prospect of famine that seemed to threaten the nation.

A. D. 1298.] Edward, who was in Flanders while these misfortunes happened in England, hastened back with impatience to restore his authority, and secure his former conquests. As the discontents of the people were not yet entirely appeased, he took every popular measure that he thought would give them satisfaction. He restored to the citizens of London the power of electing their own magistrates, of which they had been deprived in the latter part of his father's reign. He ordered strict inquiries to be made concerning the quantity of corn which he had arbitrarily seized for the use of his armies, as if he intended to pay the value to the owners. Thus having appeased, if not satisfied, all complaints, he levied the whole force of his dominions; and, at the head of a hundred thousand men, he directed his march to the north, fully resolved to take vengeance upon the Scots for their late defection.

It may easily be supposed that the Scots, even if united, were ill able to resist such an army, commanded by such a king; but their own mutual dissensions served to render them still more unequal to the contest, and to prepare Edward's way to an easy triumph. The Scots were headed by three commanders, who each claimed an equal share of authority; these were the steward of Scotland, Comyn of Badenoch, and William Wallace, who offered to give up his command, but whose party refused to follow any other leader. The Scottish army was posted at Falkirk, and there proposed to abide the assault of the English. They were drawn up in three separate divisions, each forming a complete body of pikemen, and the intervals filled up with

archers. Their horse were placed in the rear, and their front was secured with palisades.

Edward, though he saw that the advantage of situation was against him, little regarded such a superiority, confident of his skill and his numbers; wherefore, dividing his forces also into three bodies, he led them to the attack. Just as he advanced at the head of his troops, the Scots set up such a shout, that the horse upon which the king rode took fright, threw and afterwards kicked him on the ribs as he lay on the ground; but the intrepid monarch, though sorely bruised with his fall, quickly mounted again with his usual alacrity, and ordered the Welsh troops to begin the attack. These made but a feeble resistance against the Scots, who fought with determined valour; but Edward, seeing them begin to decline, advanced in person at the head of another battalion; and, having pulled up the palisades, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that they were no longer able to resist. In this distress, Wallace did all that lay in the power of man to sustain and avert the shock; but the division commanded by Comyn quitting the field, those of the lord-steward and of Wallace lay exposed to the English archers, who at that time began to excel those of all other nations. Wallace for a while maintained an unequal contest with his pikemen; but finding himself in danger of being surrounded, he was at last obliged to give way, and slowly to draw off the poor remnant of his troops behind the river Carron. Such was the famous battle of Falkirk, in which Edward gained a complete victory, leaving twelve thousand of the Scots, or, some will have it, forty thousand, dead upon the field of battle, while the English had not a hundred slain.

A blow so dreadful had not as yet entirely crushed the spirits of the Scottish nation; and, after a short interval, they began to breathe from their calamities. Wallace, who had gained all their regards by his valour, shewed that he still merited them more by his declining the rewards of ambition. Perceiving how much he was envied by the nobility, and knowing how prejudicial that envy would prove to the interests of his country, he resigned the regency of the kingdom, and humbled himself to a private station. He proposed Comyn as the properest person to supply his room; and that nobleman endeavoured to shew himself worthy of this pre-eminence. He soon began to annoy the enemy; and not content with a defensive war, he made incursions into the southern counties of the kingdom, which Edward had imagined wholly subdued. They attacked an army of the English lying at Roslin, near Edinburgh, and gained a complete victory. The renown of the Scottish arms soon began to spread dismay among the English garrisons left in that kingdom; and they evacuated all the fortresses of which they had for some time been put in possession. Thus the task of conquest was to be once more performed; and in proportion to their losses, the Scots seemed to gather fresh obstinacy.

But it was not easy for any circumstances of bad fortune to repress the enterprising spirit of the king. He assembled a great fleet and army; and, entering the frontiers of Scotland, appeared with a force which [A. D. 1303. the enemy could not think of resisting in the open field. The fleet furnished the land army with all necessary provisions; while these marched securely along, and traversed the kingdom from one end to the other, ravaging the open country, taking all the castles, and receiving the submissions of all the nobles. This complete conquest employed Edward for the space of two years; but he seemed, by the severity of his conduct, to make the natives pay dear for the trouble to which they had put him. He abrogated all the Scottish laws and customs; he endeavoured to substitute those of England in their place; he entirely razed or destroyed all their monuments of antiquity, and endeavoured to blot out even the memory of their former independence and freedom. There seemed to remain only one obstacle to the final destruction of the Scottish monarchy; and that was William Wallace, who still continued refractory, and, wandering with a few forces from mountain to mountain, still preserved his native independence and usual good fortune. But even their feeble hopes from him were soon disappointed; he was betrayed into the king's hands by sir John Monteith, his friend, whom he had made acquainted [A. D. 1305. with the place of his concealment, being surprised by him as he lay asleep in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. The king, willing to strike the Scots with an

example of severity, ordered him to be conducted in chains to London, whither he was carried amidst infinite crowds of spectators, who flocked to see a man that had often filled the country with consternation. On the day after his arrival he was brought to his trial as a traitor, in Westminster-hall, where he was placed upon a high chair, and crowned with laurel, in derision. Being accused of various imputed crimes, he pleaded Not guilty, and refused to own the jurisdiction of the court, affirming that it was equally unjust and absurd to charge him with treason against a prince whose title he had never acknowledged; and that, as he was born under the laws of another country, it was cruel to try him by those to which he was a stranger. The judges disregarded his defence; for, considering Edward as the immediate sovereign of Scotland, they found him guilty of high-treason, and condemned him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; the usual punishment for such offences. This sentence was executed with the most rigorous punctuality; and his head and quarters were exposed in the chief cities of England. Such was the wretched end of a brave man, who had, through a course of many years, with signal perseverance and conduct, defended his native country against an unjust invader.

Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, was among those on whom the cruel fate of Wallace had made the deepest impression. This nobleman, whose father was one of the competitors for the crown, and whose claims were still secretly pursued, was now in the English army. He never was sincerely attached to the English monarch, whom he was in some measure compelled to follow; and an interview with Wallace, some time before that champion was taken, confirmed him in his resolution to set his country free. But, not being young, he was obliged to give up the flattering ambition of being the deliverer of his people, and to leave it in charge to his son, whose name was Robert Bruce also, and who received the project with ardour. This young nobleman was brave, active, and prudent; and a favourable conjuncture of circumstances seemed to conspire with his aims. John Baliol, whom Edward had dethroned and banished into France, had lately died in that country; his only son was a prisoner; and no one appeared to dispute the pretensions of young Robert, except Comyn, who was regent of the kingdom; and he also was soon after brought over to second his interests. He therefore resolved upon freeing his country from the English yoke; and although he attended the court of Edward, yet he began to make secret preparations for his intended revolt. Edward, who had been informed not only of his intentions, but of his actual engagements, contented himself with setting spies round him to watch his conduct, and ordered all his motions to be strictly observed. Bruce was still busily employed in his endeavours, unconscious of being suspected, or even of having guards set upon his conduct; but he was taught to understand his danger, from a present sent him, by a young nobleman of his acquaintance, of a pair of gilt spurs and a purse of gold. This he considered as a warning to make his escape; which he did by ordering his horses to be shod with their shoes turned backwards, to prevent his being tracked in the snow, which had then fallen.

A. D. 1306.] His despatch was then considered as very great; having travelled from London to Lochmaben, which is near four hundred miles, in seven days. Comyn, who had in the beginning concurred in his schemes, was privately known to have communicated the whole to Edward; and Bruce resolved, in the first place, to take vengeance upon him for his perfidy. Hearing that he was then at Dumfries, he went thither; and, meeting him in the cloisters of a monastery belonging to the Gray Friars, reproached him in severe terms with his treachery; and, drawing his sword, instantly plunged it in his breast. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asking him soon after if the traitor was slain, and Bruce answering that he believed so, "What!" replied the other, "only belief? I will secure him;" and, while Comyn was receiving absolution at the altar, he stabbed him to the heart. It is a disagreeable reflection, that actions begun in this manner should, nevertheless, terminate in success.

Bruce had by this action not only rendered himself the object of Edward's resentment, but involved all his party in the same guilt. They had now no

resource left but to destroy by desperate valour what they had begun in cruelty: and he soon expelled each of the English forces as had fixed themselves in the kingdom. Bruce was solemnly crowned king by the bishop of St. Andrew's, in the abbey of Scone; and numbers flocked to his standard, resolved to confirm his possessions. Thus, after twice conquering the kingdom, and as often pardoning the delinquents; after having spread his victories in every quarter of the country, and received the most humble submissions, the old king saw that his whole work was to begin afresh, and that nothing but the final destruction of the inhabitants could give him sentiments of tranquillity. But no difficulties could repress the ardent spirit of this monarch: who, though now verging towards his decline, yet resolved to strike the parting blow, and to make the Scots once more tremble at his appearance. He vowed revenge against the whole nation; and avowed, that nothing but reducing them to the completest bondage could satisfy his resentment. He summoned his prelates, nobility, and all who held by knight's service, to meet him at Carlisle, which was appointed as the general rendezvous; and in the mean time he detached a body of forces before him into Scotland, under the command of Aymar de Valence, who began the threatened infliction by a complete victory over Bruce, near Methuen, in Perthshire. That warlike commander fought with great obstinacy; he was thrice dismounted from his horse in the action, and as often recovered: but at last he was obliged to fly, and take shelter, with a few followers, in the Western Isles. The earl of Athol, sir Simon Fraser, and sir Christopher Seton, who had been taken prisoners, were executed as traitors on the spot. Immediately after this dreadful blow, the resentful king himself appeared in person, entering Scotland with his army divided into two parts, and expecting to find, in the opposition of the people, a pretext for punishing them. But this brave prince, who was never cruel but from motives of policy, could not punish the poor submitting natives who made no resistance. His anger was disappointed in their humiliation; and he was ashamed to exterminate those who only opposed patience to his indignation. It was chiefly upon the nobles of the country that the weight of his resentment fell. The sister of Bruce, and the countess of Buchan, were shut up in wooden cages, and hung over the battlements of a fortress; and his two brothers fell by the hands of the executioner. The obstinacy of this commander served to inflame the king's resentment. He still continued to excite fresh commotions in the Highlands; and, though often overcome, persisted in seemingly fruitless opposition. Edward, therefore, at last resolved to give no quarter; and at the head of a great army entered Scotland, whence he had lately retreated, with a determination of extirpating the whole body of those insurgents who seemed so implacably averse to his government. Nothing lay before the refractory Scots, but prospects of the most speedy and terrible vengeance; while neither their valour nor their mountains were found to afford them any permanent protection. But Edward's death put an end to their apprehensions, and rescued their country from total subjection. He sickened and died near Carlisle, of a dysentery; enjoining his son, with his last breath, to prosecute the enterprise, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom. He expired {July 7, 1307. in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign; after having added more to the solid interests of the kingdom than any of those who went before or have succeeded him, except Henry the Seventh. He was a promoter of the happiness of the people; and seldom attempted to exert any arbitrary stretch of power, but with a prospect of increasing the welfare of his subjects. He was of a very majestic appearance, tall in stature, of regular features, with keen piercing black eyes, and an aspect that commanded reverence and esteem. His constitution was robust, his strength and dexterity unequalled, and his shape agreeable, except from the extreme length and thinness of his legs, whence he had the appellation of Longshanks. He seemed to have united all those advantages which in that age might be considered as true glory. He gained renown by his piety in the Holy Land; he fixed the limits of justice at home; he confirmed the rights of the people; he was the most expert at martial exercises of any man in the kingdom; and was allowed to be a conqueror, by his success over the kingdom of Scotland.

Succeeding times have, with great justice, questioned the merit of some of these claims; but none can deny him comparative excellence, if they look upon the majority of those princes who either went before, or have succeeded. Edward, by his first wife Eleanor of Castile, had four sons and ten daughters; of the last, five died young; of the former, Edward the Second alone, his heir and successor, survived him.

If we turn to the state of the people during his administration, we shall find that England acquired not only great power, but great happiness, under his protection. The barons, who might, during this period, be considered as a junto of petty tyrants, ready to cry out for liberty which they alone were to share, were kept under; and their combinations were but feeble and ill supported. The monarch was in some measure absolute, though he was prudent enough not to exert his power. He was severe, indeed; and some people tax his severity as a stain upon his memory; but let it be remembered that he was the first who began to distribute indiscriminate justice. Before his time, the people who rose in insurrections were punished in the most cruel manner by the sword or gibbet; while at the same time the nobility, who were really guilty, were treated with a degree of lenity which encouraged them to fresh insurrections. But what gave Edward's reign a true value with posterity, was the degree of power which the people began to assume during this period. The king considered the clergy and barons in some measure as rivals; and, to weaken their force, he never attempted to control the slow but certain advances made by the people, which in time entirely destroyed the power of the one, and divided the authority of the other.

CHAP. XIV.

EDWARD II. *surnamed of* CAERNARVON.—A. D. 1307 to 1327.

THE pleasure which the people generally feel at the accession of a new prince, effaces their sorrow for the deceased; the faults of the one are known and hated, while the other, from novelty, receives imputed merit. Much, therefore, was expected from the young prince; and all orders hastened to take the oath of allegiance to him. He was now in the twenty-third year of his age, of an agreeable figure, of a mild harmless disposition, and apparently addicted to few vices. But he soon gave symptoms of his unfitness to succeed so great a monarch as his father: he was rather fond of the enjoyment of his power, than of securing it; and, lulled by the flattery of his courtiers, he thought he had done enough for glory when he had accepted the crown. Instead, therefore, of prosecuting the war against Scotland, according to the injunctions he had received from his dying father, he took no steps to check the progress of Bruce: his march into that country being rather a procession of pageantry, than a warlike expedition. Bruce, no longer dreading a great conqueror in the field, boldly issued from his retreats, and even obtained a considerable advantage over Aymar de Valence, who commanded the English forces. Young Edward looked tamely on, and, instead of repressing the enemy, endeavoured to come to an accommodation. The English barons, who had been kept under during the preceding reign, now saw that the sceptre was fallen into such feeble hands, that they might re-assert their former independence with impunity.

To confirm the inauspicious conjectures that were already formed of this reign, Edward recalled one of his favourites, who had been banished during his father's reign, being accused of corrupting the prince's morals. The name of this much-loved youth was Peter Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, who had been employed in the service of the late king. This young man soon insinuated himself into the affections of the prince, and, in fact, was adorned with every accomplishment of person and mind that was capable of creating affection; but he was utterly destitute of those qualities of heart and understanding, that serve to procure esteem. He was beautiful, witty, brave, and active; but then he was vicious, effeminate, debauched, and trifling. These were qualities entirely adapted to the taste of the young monarch, and such as he could not think of living without. He, therefore, took Gaveston into

his particular intimacy, and seemed to think no rewards equal to his deserts. Even before his arrival at court from exile, he endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which had lately fallen to the crown. He married him soon after to his own niece, and granted him a sum of two and thirty thousand pounds, which the late king had reserved for the maintenance of one hundred and forty knights, who had undertaken to carry his heart to Jerusalem.

These accumulated favours did not fail to excite the jealousies and indignation of the barons; and Gaveston was no way solicitous to soften their resentment. Intoxicated with his power, he became haughty and overbearing. He treated the English nobility, from whom it is probable he received marks of contempt, with scorn and derision. Whenever there was to be a display of pomp or magnificence, he was sure to eclipse all others; and he not only mortified his rivals by his superior splendour, but by his superior insolence.

The barons were soon after still more provoked to see this presumptuous favourite appointed guardian of the realm, during a journey which the king was obliged to make to Paris, to espouse the princess Isabella, [A. D. 1308. to whom he had been long since betrothed. They were not remiss, therefore, upon the arrival of this princess, who was imperious and intriguing, to make her of their party, and to direct her animosity against Gaveston; which, to do him justice, he took little care to avoid. A conspiracy was soon formed against him, at the head of which queen Isabella, and the earl of Lancaster, a nobleman of great power, were associated. They bound themselves by oath to expel Gaveston, and began to throw off all reverence for the royal authority, which they saw wholly in the possession of this overgrown favourite. At length, the king found himself obliged to submit to their united clamour; and he sent Gaveston out of the kingdom, by appointing him lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But this compliance was of short duration: the weak monarch, long habituated to his favourite, could not live without him; and having obtained the pope's consent for the release of Gaveston from the obligation of an oath which he had taken never to return to England, he recalled the obnoxious minion, and even went down to Chester to receive him on his first landing from Ireland. A parliament was soon after assembled, [A. D. 1309. where the king had influence sufficient to have his late conduct approved; and this served only to increase his ridiculous affection, and to render Gaveston still more odious. This infatuated creature himself, forgetting his past misfortunes, and unmindful of future danger, resumed his former ostentation and insolence, and made himself every day some new enemy.

It was easy to perceive that a combination of the nobles, while the queen secretly assisted their designs, would be too powerful against the efforts of a weak king and a vain favourite. They were resolved upon the fall of Gaveston, even though Edward himself should be involved in the same ruin. They soon, therefore, assembled in a tumultuary parliament, contrary to the king's express command, attended with a numerous retinue of armed followers, and began their first usurpation by giving laws to the [March 16, 1310. king. They compelled him to sign a commission, by which the whole authority of government was to be delegated to twelve persons, to be chosen by themselves. These were to have the government of the kingdom, and the regulation of the king's household. They were to enact ordinances for the good of the state, and the honour of the king; and their commissions were to continue for a year and a half. Many of their ordinances were accordingly put in force; and some of them appeared for the advantage of the [A. D. 1311. nation; such as the requiring that the sheriffs should be men of property; the prohibiting the adulteration of the coin; the excluding foreigners from farming the revenues; and the revoking all the late exorbitant grants of the crown. All these the king, who saw himself entirely stripped of his power, could very patiently submit to; but when he learned that Gaveston was to be banished for ever from his dominions, he no longer was master of his temper; but removing to York, where he was at a small distance from the immediate terror of the confederate power, he instantly invited Gaveston back from Flanders, whither the barons had banished him; and declaring his punishment and sentence to be illegal, he openly reinstated him in all his former splendours

A. D. 1312.] This was sufficient to spread an alarm over the whole kingdom; the great barons flew to arms; the earl of Lancaster put himself at the head of this irresistible confederacy; Guy, earl of Warwick, entered into it with fury; the earl of Hereford, the earl of Pembroke, and earl Warrenne, embraced the same cause; whilst the archbishop of Canterbury brought over the majority of the ecclesiastics, and consequently the people. The unhappy Edward, instead of attempting to make resistance, sought only for safety; ever happy in the company of his favourite, he embarked at Tynemouth, and sailed with him to the castle of Scarborough, where he left Gaveston as in a place of safety; and then went back to York himself, either to raise an army to oppose his enemies, or by his presence to allay their animosity. In the mean time, Gaveston was besieged in Scarborough by the earl of Pembroke; and had the garrison been sufficiently supplied with provisions, that place would have been impregnable. But Gaveston, sensible of the bad condition of the garrison, took the earliest opportunity to offer terms of capitulation. He stipulated that he should remain in Pembroke's hands as a prisoner for two months; and that endeavours should be used, in the mean time, for a general accommodation. But Pembroke had no intention that he should escape so easily; he ordered him to be conducted to the castle of Deddington, near Banbury, where, on pretence of other business, he left him with a feeble guard; which the earl of Warwick having notice of, he attacked the castle in which the unfortunate Gaveston was confined, and quickly made himself master of his person. The earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, were soon apprised of Warwick's success, and informed that their common enemy was now in custody at Warwick castle. Thither, therefore, they hastened with the utmost expedition, to hold a consultation upon the fate of their prisoner. This was of no long continuance; they unanimously resolved to put him to death as an enemy to the kingdom, and gave him no time to prepare for his execution. They instantly had him conveyed to a place called Blacklow-hill, where a Welsh executioner, provided for that purpose, severed the head from the body. There appeared a deeper spirit of cruelty now entering the nation, than had been known in times of barbarism and ignorance. It is probable that the mutual slaughters committed by the Christians and Saracens upon each other, in the crusades, made the people familiar with blood, and taught Christians to butcher each other with the same alacrity with which they were seen to destroy infidels, to whom they seldom gave any quarter.

The king at first seemed to feel all the resentment which so sensible an injury could produce; but, equally weak in his attachment and his revenge, he was soon appeased, and granted the perpetrators a free pardon, upon A. D. 1313.] their making a show of submission and repentance. An apparent tranquillity was once more established among the contending parties; and that resentment which they had exercised upon each other, was now converted against the Scots, who were considered as the common enemy. A war had been declared some time before with this nation, in order to recover that authority over them which had been established in the former reign, and a truce was soon after concluded; but the terms of it being ill observed on both sides, animosities were kindled afresh, and the whole military force of England was called out by the king, together with very large reinforcements, as well from the continent as other parts of the English dominions. Edward's army amounted to a hundred thousand men; while Bruce, king of Scotland, could bring but a body of thirty thousand to oppose him. Both armies met A. D. 1314.] at a place called Bannockburn, in the kingdom of Scotland, within two miles of Stirling; the one confident in numbers, the other relying wholly on its advantageous position. Bruce had a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left; with a rivulet in front, on the banks of which he had caused several deep pits to be dug, with sharp stakes driven into them, and the whole carefully concealed from the view of the enemy. The onset was made by the English; and a very furious engagement ensued between the cavalry on both sides. The fortune and intrepidity of Bruce gave the first turn to the day. He engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford; and at one stroke clove his skull with his battle-

axe to the chin. So favourable a beginning was only interrupted by the night; for, the battle being renewed at the dawn of the ensuing day, the English cavalry once more attempted to attack the Scottish army, but unexpectedly found themselves entangled among those pits which Bruce had previously made to receive them. The earl of Gloucester, the king's nephew, was overthrown and slain: this served to intimidate the whole English army; and they were soon still more alarmed by the appearance of a fresh army, as they supposed it to be, that was preparing, from a neighbouring height, to fall upon them in the rear. This was only composed of waggoners and attendants upon the Scottish camp, who had been supplied by the king with standards, and ordered to make as formidable an appearance as they could. The stratagem took effect: the English, intimidated by their losses, and distracted by their fears, began to fly on all sides; and, throwing away their arms, were pursued with great slaughter as far as Berwick.

Edward himself narrowly escaped by flight to Dunbar, where he was received by the earl of Marche, and thence conveyed in safety by sea to Berwick. This battle was decisive in favour of the Scots. It secured the independence of the crown of that kingdom; and such was the influence of so great a defeat upon the minds of the English, that, for some years after, no superiority of numbers could induce them to take the field against their formidable adversaries.

Want of success is ever attended with want of authority. The king, having not only suffered a defeat from the Scots, but also having been weakened by several insurrections among the Welsh and Irish, found his greatest afflictions still remaining in the turbulence and insolence of his subjects at home. The nobility, ever factious, now took the advantage of his feeble situation, to depress his power, and re-establish their own. The earl of Lancaster, and those of his party, no sooner saw the unfortunate monarch return with disgrace, than they renewed their demands, and were reinstated in their former power of governing the kingdom. It was declared, that all offices should be filled from time to time by the votes of parliament; which being influenced by the great barons, these effectually took all government into their own hands. Thus, from every fresh calamity which the state suffered, the barons acquired new power; and their aims were not so much to repress the enemies of their country, as to foment new animosities, and strengthen every foreign confederacy.

A confirmed opposition generally produces an opposite combination. The king, finding himself thus steadily counteracted by all his subjects, had no resource but in another favourite, on whom he reposed all confidence, and from whose connexions he hoped for assistance. The name of this new favourite was Hugh le Despenser, a young man of a noble English family, of some merit, and very engaging accomplishments. His father was a person of a much more estimable character than the son; he was venerable from his years, and respected through life for his wisdom, his valour, and his integrity. But these excellent qualities were all diminished and vilified, from the moment he and his son began to share the king's favour. The turbulent barons, and Lancaster at their head, regarded them as rivals, and taught the people to despise those accomplishments that only served to eclipse their own. The king, equally weak and unjust in his attachments, instead of profiting by the wisdom of his favourites, endeavoured to strengthen himself by their power. For this purpose he married the young Spenser to his niece; settled upon him some very large possessions in the marches of Wales; and even dispossessed some lords unjustly of their estates, in order to accumulate them upon his favourite. This was a pretext for which the king's enemies had been long seeking: the earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to [A. D. 1321. arms; and the lords Audley and Amori, who had been dispossessed, joined them with all their forces. Their first measure was to require the king to dismiss or confine his favourite, the young Spenser; menacing him, in case of a refusal, with a determination to obtain their wishes by force. This request was scarcely urged, when they began to shew their resolution to have redress, by pillaging and destroying the lands of young Spenser, and burning his houses. The estates of the father soon after shared the same fate;

and the insurgents, having thus satiated themselves with the plunder of this most opulent family, marched to London, to inflict with their own hands that punishment which had been denied to their remonstrances. Finding a free entrance into the city, they so intimidated the parliament, that a sentence was procured of perpetual exile against the two Spensers, and a forfeiture of their fortune and estates. But an act of this kind, extorted by violence, was not likely to bind the king any longer than necessity compelled him. Some time after, having assembled a small army to punish one of those barons, who had offered an indignity to the queen, he thought it a convenient opportunity to take revenge on all his enemies at once, and to recall the two Spensers, whose company he so ardently desired. In this manner the civil war was rekindled, and the country once more involved in all the horrors of slaughter and devastation.

The king had now gotten the start of his adversaries, and hastened by forced marches towards the borders of Wales, where the enemy's chief power lay. Lancaster, however, was not slow in making head against him; having A. D. 1322.] summoned all his vassals and retainers, and being joined by the earl of Hereford. Still farther to strengthen his party, he formed an alliance with the king of Scotland, with whom he had long been privately connected. But his diligence on this occasion proved ineffectual: the king, at the head of thirty thousand men, pressed him so closely, that he had not time to collect his forces; and, flying from one place to another, he was at last stopped in his way towards Scotland by sir Andrew Harcla, who repulsed his forces in a skirmish, in which the earl of Hereford was slain, and Lancaster himself taken prisoner. As he had formerly shewn little mercy to Gaveston, there was very little extended to him upon this occasion. He was condemned by the court martial; led, mounted on a lean horse, to an eminence near Pontefract, in circumstances of the greatest indignity; and beheaded by a Londoner. The people, with whom he had once been a favourite, seemed to have quite forsaken him in his disgrace; they reviled him, as he was led to execution, with every kind of reproach; and even his own vassals seemed eager to remove suspicion, by their being foremost to insult his distress. About eighteen more of the principal insurgents were afterwards condemned and executed in a more legal manner, while others found safety by escaping to the continent.

A rebellion thus crushed, served only to increase the pride and rapacity of young Spenser: most of the forfeitures were seized for his use; and, in his promptitude to punish the delinquents, he was guilty of many acts of rapine and injustice. He himself laid the train for his own future misfortunes, and an occasion soon offered for putting it into effect against him. The king of France, taking the advantage of Edward's weakness, resolved to confiscate all his foreign dominions. After a fruitless embassy from Edward, to dissuade that monarch from his purpose, the queen of England herself desired permission to go over to the court of France, to endeavour to avert the storm. A. D. 1325.] The French king, though he gave her the kindest reception, was resolved to listen to no accommodation, unless Edward in person should appear, and do him homage for the dominions he held under him. This was reckoned a very dangerous step, and what the king of England could not think of complying with, nor what his favourite Spenser was willing to permit. In this exigence, the queen started a new expedient, which seemed calculated to remove all difficulties. It was, that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his son, now thirteen years of age; and that the young prince should go to Paris, to pay that homage which had been required of the father. With this proposal all parties agreed; young Edward was sent to Paris; and the queen, a haughty and ambitious woman, having thus gotten her son in her power, resolved to detain him till her own aims were complied with. Of these objects one was the expulsion of the Spensers; against whom she had conceived a violent hatred, from their great influence over the king.

In consequence of this resolution she protracted the negociation for some time; and being at last required by the king to return, she replied, that she would never again appear in England till Spenser should be removed from

the royal presence, and banished from the kingdom. By this reply, she gained two very considerable advantages; she became popular in England, where Spenser was universally disliked; and she had the pleasure of enjoying the company of a young nobleman, whose name was Mortimer, upon whom she had lately placed her affections. This youth had, in some former insurrection, been condemned for high treason, but had the sentence commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Tower. Thence, however, he had the good fortune to escape into France, and soon became distinguished among his party for his violent animosity to Spenser. The graces of his person and address, but particularly his dislike to the favourite, rendered him very acceptable to the queen; so that, from being a partisan, he became a lover, and was indulged with all the familiarities that her criminal passion could confer. The queen's court now, therefore, became a sanctuary for all the malcontents who were banished from their own country, or who chose to come over. A correspondence was secretly carried on with the discontented at home; and nothing now was aimed at but to destroy the favourites, and dethrone the king.

To second the queen's efforts, many of the principal nobles [A. D. 1326. prepared their vassals, and loudly declared against the favourite. The king's brother, the earl of Kent, was led to engage among the rest; the earl of Norfolk was prevailed upon to enter secretly into the conspiracy; the earl of Leicester, heir to the earl of Lancaster, was from principle attached to the cause: the archbishop of Canterbury expressed his approbation of the queen's measures; and the minds of the people were inflamed by all those arts which the designing practise upon the weak and ignorant. While the English were thus disposed to rebel, the queen prepared for her expedition; and, accompanied by three thousand men at arms, passed over from Dordrecht to the British coast, and landed without opposition in Suffolk. She no sooner appeared than there seemed a general revolt in her favour; three prelates, the bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her all their vassals; and Robert de Watteville, who had been sent to oppose her progress, deserted to her with all his forces.

In this exigence the unfortunate Edward vainly attempted to collect his friends, and bring the malcontents to their duty: he was obliged to leave the capital to the resentment of the prevailing party; and the populace, immediately upon his desertion, flew out into those excesses which are the consequence of brutality unrestrained by fear. They seized Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, as he was passing through the city, beheaded him without any form of trial, and threw his body into the Thames. They also seized upon the Tower, and agreed to shew no mercy to any who should oppose their attempts. In the mean time, the king found that the spirit of disloyalty was not confined to the capital, but was diffused over the whole kingdom. He had placed some dependence upon the garrison which was stationed in the castle of Bristol, under the command of the elder Spenser; but they mutinied against their governor, and that unfortunate favourite was delivered up, and condemned by the tumultuous barons to the most ignominious death. He was hanged on a gibbet in his armour, his body was cut to pieces and thrown to the dogs, and his head was sent to Winchester, where it was set on a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace. Thus died the elder Spenser, in his ninetieth year, whose character even the malevolence of party could not tarnish. He had passed a youth of tranquillity and reputation; but his fond compliance with his son's ambition at length involved his age in ruin, though not disgrace.

Young Spenser, the unhappy son, did not long survive the father; he was taken with some others who had followed the fortunes of the wretched king, in an obscure convent in Wales; and the merciless victors resolved to glut their revenge in adding insult to cruelty. The queen had not patience to wait the formality of a trial; but ordered him immediately to be led forth before the insulting populace, and seemed to take a savage pleasure in feasting her eyes with his distresses. The gibbet erected for his execution was fifty feet high; his head was sent to London, where the citizens received it in brutal triumph, and fixed it on the bridge. Several other lords also

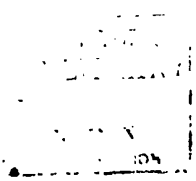
shared his fate; all deserving pity indeed, had they not themselves formerly justified the present inhumanity, by setting a cruel example.

In the mean time, the king, who hoped to find refuge in Wales, was quickly discovered, and closely pursued by his triumphant enemies. Finding no hopes of succour in that part of the country, he took shipping for Ireland; but even there his wretched fortune seemed willing to persecute him; he was driven back by contrary winds, and delivered up to his adversaries, who expressed their satisfaction in the grossness of their treatment. He was con- A. D. 1327.] ducted to the capital, amidst the insults and reproaches of the people, and confined in the Tower. A charge was soon after exhibited, in which no other crimes but his incapacity to govern, his indolence, his love of pleasure, and his being swayed by evil counsellors, were objected against him. His deposition was quickly voted by parliament; a pension was assigned to him for his support; his son Edward, a youth of fourteen, was fixed upon to succeed him, and the queen was appointed regent during the minority.

The deposed monarch but a short time survived his misfortunes; he was sent from prison to prison, a wretched outcast, and the sport of his inhuman keepers. He had been at first consigned to the custody of the earl of Leicester; but this nobleman shewing some marks of respect and pity, he was taken out of his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, Maltravers, and Gournay, who were intrusted with the charge of guarding him, each for a month. Whatever his treatment from lord Berkeley might have been, the other two seemed resolved that he should enjoy none of the comforts of life while in their custody. They practised every kind of indignity upon him, as if their design had been to accelerate his death by the bitterness of his sufferings. Among other acts of brutal oppression, it is said that they shaved him for sport in the open fields, using water from a neighbouring ditch. The genius of the people must have been greatly debased, or they would never have permitted such indecencies to be practised on a monarch, whose greatest fault was the violence of his friendships. He is said to have borne his former indignities with patience, but all fortitude forsook him upon this occasion; he looked upon his merciless insulters with an air of fallen majesty, and, bursting into tears, exclaimed, that the time might come when he should be more decently attended. This, however, was but a vain expectation. As his persecutors saw that his death might not arrive, even under every cruelty, till a revolution had been made in his favour, they resolved to rid themselves of their fears by destroying him at once. Accordingly, his two keepers, Gournay and Maltravers, repaired to Berkeley castle, where Edward was then confined; and having concerted a method of putting him to death without any external signs of violence, they threw him on a bed, holding him down by a table, which they placed over him. They then ran a horn pipe up his body, through which they conveyed a red-hot iron; and thus burned his bowels without disfiguring his body. By this cruel artifice, they expected to have their crime concealed; but his horrid shrieks, which were heard at a distance from the castle, soon gave a suspicion of the murder; and the whole was soon after divulged, by the confession of one of the accomplices. Misfortunes like his must ever create pity; and a punishment so disproportionate to the sufferer's guilt, must wipe away even many of those faults which were justly imputable to this prince. He left two sons and two daughters: Edward III. was his eldest son and successor; John died young; Jane was afterwards married to David Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor was the wife of Reginald, count of Gueldres.



Published by Henry Fisher, Caxton, London, 1824



CHAP. XV.

EDWARD III.—A. D. 1327 to 1377.

THE parliament by which young Edward was raised to the throne, during the life of his father, appointed twelve persons as his privy council, to direct the operations of government. Mortimer, the queen's paramour, who might naturally be set down as one of the members, artfully excluded himself, under a pretended show of moderation; but at the same time he secretly influenced all the measures that came under their deliberation. He caused the greatest part of the royal revenues to be settled on the queen-dowager, and seldom took the trouble to consult the ministers of government in any public undertaking. The king himself was so besieged by the favourite's creatures, that no access could be procured to him; and the whole sovereign authority was shared between Mortimer and the queen, who took no care to conceal her criminal attachment.

A government so constituted could not be of long continuance; and the slightest shock was sufficient to overturn that power which was founded neither in strength nor in virtue. An irruption of the Scots gave the first blow to Mortimer's credit; and young Edward's own abilities contributed to its ruin. The Scots, who had no connexion with either party, were resolved to take advantage of the feeble state of the nation; and, without regarding the truce that subsisted between the two kingdoms, attempted to surprise the castle of Norham. This commencement of hostilities they soon after seconded by a formidable invasion on the northern counties, with an army of twenty thousand men. Edward, even at this early age, discovered that martial disposition for which he was afterwards so famous. He resolved to intercept them in their retreat; and began his march in the middle of July, at the head of an army of threescore thousand men; but after undergoing incredible fatigues, in pursuing them through woods and morasses, he was unable to perceive any signs of an enemy, except from the ravages they had made, and the smoking ruins of villages which they had set on fire. In this disappointment, he had no other resource but to offer a reward to any who should discover the place where the Scots were posted. This the enemy understanding, sent him word that they were ready to meet him and give him battle. However, they had taken so advantageous a situation, on the opposite banks of the river Were, that the king found it impracticable to attack them: and no threats could bring them to a battle upon equal terms.

It was in this situation that the first breach was discovered between the king and Mortimer. The young monarch, all ardour to engage, resolved that night, at all hazards, not to allow the ravagers to escape with impunity; but Mortimer opposed his influence to the valour of the king, and prevented an engagement, which might be attended with the most destructive consequences to his authority, whether he won or lost the day. Shortly after, the Scots, under the command of Douglas, made an irruption into the English camp by night, and arrived at the very tent in which the king was sleeping. But the young monarch happening to wake in the critical moment, made a valiant defence against the enemy; his chamberlain and chaplain died fighting by his side; and he thus had time given him to escape in the dark. The Scots being frustrated in their design upon the king, were contented to decamp for their own country, leaving their tents standing, without any person behind them, except six English prisoners, whose legs had been broken to prevent their carrying intelligence to their countrymen. The escape of the Scots was as disagreeable a circumstance to the English army, as the valour of the young king was applauded and admired. The failure on one part was entirely ascribed to the queen's favourite; and the success on the other to the king's own intrepidity. The people began to wish for a removal of that authority which stood between them and the monarch; and spared no pains to aggravate the faults of their governors, or to extol the rising merit of their young sovereign.

Mortimer now found himself in a very precarious situation, and was resolved on any terms to procure a peace with Scotland, in order to fix his power more

A. D. 1328.] firmly at home. A treaty was accordingly concluded between the two nations, in which the English renounced all title to sovereignty over the sister kingdom; and the Scots, in return, agreed to pay thirty thousand marks as a compensation. The next step that Mortimer thought necessary for his security, was, to seize the earl of Kent, brother to the late king, a harmless and well meaning person, who, under a persuasion that his brother was still alive, and concealed in some secret prison, entered into a design of restoring him to liberty, and reinstating him in his former power. Him, therefore, Mortimer resolved to destroy; and summoning him before a A. D. 1330.] parliament, had him accused, condemned, and executed, even before the young king had time to interpose in his favour. In proportion as Mortimer thus got rid of his enemies, he was careful to enrich himself with their spoils. The estate of the unfortunate earl was seized upon for the use of the favourite's youngest son: the immense fortunes of the Spensers were in like manner converted to his use. Thus his power became invidious, and his corrupt morals made him still more formidable.

It was in this posture of affairs that Edward resolved to shake off an authority which was odious to the nation, and particularly restrictive upon him But such was the power of the favourite, that it required as much precaution to overturn the usurper as to establish the throne. The queen and Mortimer had for some time chosen the castle of Nottingham for the place of their residence; it was strictly guarded; the gates were locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. It was, therefore, agreed between the king and some of his barons, who secretly entered into his designs, to seize upon them in this fortress; and for that purpose, sir William Eland, the governor, was induced to admit them by a subterraneous passage, which had been formerly contrived for an outlet, but was now hidden with rubbish, and known only to one or two. It was by this, that the noblemen in the king's interests entered the castle in the night; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make any resistance, was seized in an apartment adjoining that of the queen. It was in vain that she endeavoured to protect him; in vain she entreated them to spare her "gentle Mortimer;" the barons, deaf to her entreaties, denied her that pity, which she had so often refused to others. Her paramour was condemned by the parliament, which was then sitting about a mile from London, where his body was left hanging for two days after. A similar sentence was passed against some of his adherents, particularly Gournay and Maltravers, the murderers of the late king; but these had time to elude punishment, by escaping to the continent. The queen, who was certainly the most culpable, was shielded by the dignity of her situation; she was only deprived of all share of power, and confined for life to the castle of Risings, with a pension of three thousand pounds a year. From this confinement she was never after set free: and though the king annually paid her a visit of decent ceremony, she found herself abandoned to universal contempt and detestation; and continued, for above twenty-five years after, a miserable monument of blasted ambition.

Edward, being thus freed from the control of usurped authority, resolved to become popular, by an expedient which seldom failed to gain the affections of the English. He knew that a conquering monarch was the fittest to please a warlike people. The weakness of the Scottish government, which was at that time under a minority, gave him a favourable opportunity of renewing hostilities; and the turbulent spirit of the nobles of that country contributed still more to promote his aims. A new pretender also started up to that throne, namely, Edward Baliol, whose father John had been crowned king of Scotland; and Edward resolved to assist him in his pretensions. He, A. D. 1332.] therefore, gave him permission to levy forces in England, in addition to those which he had brought from the continent; and, with not above three thousand adventurers, thus fortuitously united, Baliol gained a considerable victory over his countrymen, in which twelve thousand of their men were slain. This victory, which was followed by some others, so intimidated the Scots, that their armies dispersed, and the kingdom seemed as if subdued by a handful of men. Baliol, by one of those unexpected turns of fortune, common enough in barbarous times, was crowned king at Scone;

and every nobleman, who was most exposed to danger, submitted to his authority. But he did not long enjoy his superiority: by another turn, equally sudden, he was attacked and defeated by sir Archibald Douglas, and obliged to take refuge in England, in a miserable condition.

An attempt thus unsuccessfully made by Baliol, only served to inflame the ardour of Edward, who very joyfully accepted that offer of homage and superiority which it was Baliol's present interest to make. He therefore prepared, with all his force, to reinstate the deposed king of Scotland in a government which would ever after be subordinate to his own. He accordingly prevailed upon his parliament to give him a supply, which they reluctantly did; and, with a well-disciplined army, he laid siege to Berwick, which capitulated after a vigorous defence. It was in attempting to relieve this city, that a general engagement ensued between the Scots and the English. It was fought at Halidown-hill, to the north of Berwick. The fortune of Edward prevailed. Douglas, the Scottish general, was slain, and soon after the whole army put to the rout. This victory was in a great measure obtained by the expertness of the English archers, who now began to be famous over Europe for their peculiar skill. All the Scottish nobles of great distinction were either slain or taken prisoners; near thirty thousand of their men are represented as having fallen in the action, while the [July 19, 1333. loss of the English, it is said, only amounted to fifteen men; an inequality absolutely incredible. This important victory decided the fate of Scotland; Baliol, with very little trouble, made himself master of the country; and Edward returned in triumph to England, having previously secured many of the principal towns in Scotland, which were declared to be annexed to the English monarchy. These victories, however, were rather splendid than serviceable: the Scots seemed about this time to have conceived an insurmountable aversion to the English government; and no sooner were Edward's forces withdrawn, than they revolted against Baliol, and well nigh expelled him from the kingdom. Edward's appearance a second time served [A. D. 1335. to bring them to subjection; but they quickly renewed their animosities upon his retiring. It was in vain, therefore, that he employed all the arts of persuasion, and all the terrors of war, to induce them to submission: they persevered in their reluctance to obey; and they were daily kept in hopes, by promises of succour from France.

This kingdom, which had for a long time discontinued its animosities against England, was now an object of Edward's jealousy and ambition. A new scene began to be opened in France, which operated for more than a century in subjecting that country to all the miseries of war, till Europe at last began to doubt, whether it was annexed to England by right of arms, or of succession. France, at that period, was neither the extensive nor the powerful kingdom we see it at this day. Many great provinces have been added to it since that period, particularly Dauphiné, Provence, and Franche Comté; and the government was still more enfeebled by those neighbouring princes, who were pretended subjects to the king, but, in reality, formidable rivals of his power. At the time we are speaking of, that kingdom was particularly unfortunate; and the king shared in the general calamity. The three sons of Philip the Fair, in full parliament, accused their wives of adultery; and in consequence of this accusation, they were condemned and imprisoned for life. Lewis Hutin, the successor to the crown of France, caused his wife to be strangled, and her lovers to be flayed alive. After his death, as he left only a daughter, his next brother, Philip the Tall, assumed the crown, in prejudice of the daughter; and vindicated his title by the Salic law, which laid it down, that no female should succeed to the crown. This law, however, was not universally acknowledged, nor sufficiently confirmed by precedents, to procure an easy submission. They had hitherto inquired but slightly in France, whether a female could succeed to the kingdom; and as laws are only made to regulate what may happen, by what has happened already, there were no facts upon which to ground the opinions on either side of the question. There were, in reality, precedents to countenance both claims, and thus to keep mankind in suspense. The parliament in France had often adjudged the succession to women, as Artois was formerly given to a female,

in prejudice of the male heir. The succession of Champagne had been, on some occasions, given to the daughters; while, on others, they were judged unqualified to succeed. We thus see that right changed with power; and justice, in such a case, was unknown or disregarded. In the present instance, the younger brother of the late king, Charles the Fair, jealous of his elder brother's fortune, opposed his pretensions, and asserted that the late king's daughter was rightful heir to his crown. The cause, thus warmly contested between the two brothers, was at last carried before the parliament of France; and they decided upon the Salic law in favour of Philip. This monarch enjoyed the crown but a short time; and, dying, left only daughters to succeed him. Charles, therefore, without a male opponent, seized the crown, and enjoyed it for some time; but he also dying, left his wife pregnant. As there was now no apparent heir, the regency was contested by two persons, who laid their claims upon this occasion. Edward the Third urged his pretensions, as being by his mother Isabella, (who was daughter to Philip the Fair, and sister to the last three kings of France,) rightful heir to the crown. Philip de Valois, on the other hand, put himself in actual possession of the government, as being next heir by the male succession. He was, for this reason, constituted regent of France; and the queen dowager being unfortunately, some time after, brought to bed of a daughter, he was unanimously elected king. He was crowned amidst the universal congratulations of his subjects; received the appellation of Philip the Fortunate; and to this he added those qualities which might merit good fortune, namely, justice and virtue. Among other instances of his felicity, he might reckon that of the homage paid him by Edward, his rival, which he came to offer at Amiens. However, as strength generally inspires ambition, this homage was soon followed by a war; and Edward disputed that crown, of which he had just before declared himself a vassal.

A brewer of Ghent was one of those who gave the greatest assistance to Edward in this war, and determined him to assume the title of king of France. This citizen's name was James Arteveld, a man grown too powerful for a subject; and one of those, whom, according to Machiavel, kings ought to flatter or destroy. This citizen had, for some time, governed his countrymen with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. He placed and displaced magistrates at his pleasure. He was accompanied by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man who had the misfortune to fall under his displeasure. With the assistance of this man, therefore, Edward resolved to undertake the conquest of France. He first, however, in a formal manner, consulted his A. D. 1338.] parliament on the propriety of the undertaking; obtained their approbation; received a proper supply of wool, which he intended to barter with the Flemings; and being attended with a body of English forces, and several of the nobility, he sailed over to Flanders, big with his intended conquests.

Edward's first step was to assert his claim to the French crown; to assume the title of king of the country, and brand Philip, his rival, with the title of A. D. 1339.] usurper. Philip, on the other hand, made vigorous preparations to oppose him; he even challenged the invaders to try their fortune in single combat, upon equal terms, in some appointed plain. Edward accepted the challenge; for in every action this prince affected the hero: but some obstacles intervening, the war was prosecuted in the usual manner, both sides taking every advantage when it happened to offer.

A. D. 1340.] The first great advantage gained by the English, was in a naval engagement on the coast of Flanders, in which the French lost two hundred and thirty ships, and had thirty thousand of their seamen and two of their admirals slain. None of Philip's courtiers, it is said, dared to inform him of the event, till his jester gave him a hint, by which he discovered the loss he had sustained. This victory, together with some successful operations that soon after followed, brought on a truce, which neither side seemed willing to break, till the ambition of Edward was once more excited by the invitation of the count de Montfort, who had possessed himself of the province of Bretagne, and applied to Edward to second his claims. An offer of this kind entirely coincided with Edward's most sanguine desires. He imme-

diately saw the advantages arising from such a proposal. He was happy in the promised assistance of Montfort, an active and valiant prince, who was closely united to him by interest, and whose co-operation might open to him an entrance into the heart of France, while he could have no hopes from the side of Flanders, as he was obstructed by the numerous fortifications which had been raised on that frontier. His flattering prospects were for a while damped by the imprisonment of Montfort; whose aims being discovered, he found himself besieged in the city of Nantes, and taken. But [A. D. 1341. Jane of Flanders, his wife, soon made up for the loss of her husband. This lady, who was one of the most extraordinary women of the age, courageously undertook to support the falling fortunes of her family. She assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided; and, carrying her infant son in her arms, deplored her misfortunes, and attempted to inspire the citizens with an affection for her cause. The inhabitants of Nantes instantly espoused her interest; and the other fortresses of Bretagne embraced the same resolution. The king of England was apprised of her efforts in his favour, and entreated to send her succours with all possible expedition to the town of Hennebonne, in which place she resolved to sustain the attacks of the enemy. She was not deceived in her opinion of the enemy's vigilance and activity. Charles de Blois, Philip's general, anxious to make himself master of so important a fortress as Hennebonne, and still more to take the countess prisoner, sat down before the place with a [A. D. 1342. large army, and conducted the seige with indefatigable industry. The defence was no less vigorous; several sallies were made by the garrison, in which the countess herself was still the most active, and led on the assault. Observing one day that the army of Charles had quitted the camp to join in a general storm, she sallied out by a postern, at the head of three hundred horse, set fire to the enemy's tents and baggage, put their sutlers and servants to the sword, and occasioned such an alarm, that the besiegers desisted from the assault, in order to cut off her communication with the town. Thus intercepted, she retired to Auray, where she continued for five or six days; then returning at the head of five hundred horse, she fought her way through one quarter of the French camp, and returned to her faithful citizens in triumph. But mere unsupported valour could not repel all the encroachments of an active and superior enemy. The beseigers had, at length, made several breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general assault, which was hourly expected, would be fatal. A capitulation was therefore proposed, and a conference was already begun, when the countess, who had mounted on a high tower, looking towards the sea with great impatience, descried some ships at a distance. She immediately exclaimed that succours were arrived, and forbade any farther capitulation. She was not disappointed in her wishes; the fleet she discerned carried a body of English gentlemen, with six thousand archers, whom Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds. They entered the harbour, under the conduct of sir Walter Manny, one of the most valiant commanders of his time. This relief served to keep up the declining spirits of the Bretons, until the time appointed by the late truce with Edward was expired, on which he was at liberty to renew the war in greater form.

He accordingly soon after landed at Morbihan, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thousand men; and being master of the field, where no enemy dared to appear against him, he endeavoured to give lustre to his arms, by besieging some of the chief fortifications of his enemy. The vigour of his operations led on to another truce; and this was soon after followed by a fresh infraction. The truth is, neither side observed a truce longer than it coincided with their interests; and both had always sufficient art to throw the blame of perfidy from themselves. The earl of Derby was sent by Edward to defend the province of Guienne, with instruc- [A. D. 1344. tions also to take every possible advantage that circumstances might offer. At first his successes were rapid and brilliant; but as soon as the French king had time to prepare, he met with a very unexpected resistance; so that the English general was compelled to stand upon the defensive. One fortress after another was surrendered to the French; and nothing appeared but

a total extinction of the power of England upon the continent. In this situation Edward resolved to give relief in person to his distressed subjects and allies; and accordingly embarked at Southampton on board a fleet of near a thousand sail, of all dimensions. He carried with him, besides the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, the prince of Wales, (afterwards surnamed the Black Prince,) a youth of sixteen, remarkable both for understanding and valour above his age. His army consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh infantry, and six thousand Irish, all which he landed safely at La Hogue, a port in Normandy, which country he determined to make the seat of war.

The intelligence of Edward's landing, and the devastation caused by his troops, who dispersed themselves over the whole face of the country, soon spread consternation through the French court. The rich city of Caen was taken and plundered by the English without mercy; the villages and towns, even up to Paris, shared the same fate; and the French had no other resource but, by breaking down their bridges, to attempt putting a stop to the invader's career. In the mean time, Philip was not idle in making preparations to repress the enemy. He had stationed one of his generals, Godemar de Faye, with an army on the opposite side of the river Somme, over which Edward was to pass; while he himself, at the head of an army of a hundred thousand fighting men, advanced to give the English battle. Edward thus, in the midst of his victories, unexpectedly exposed to the danger of being enclosed, and of starving in an enemy's country, published a reward to any that should bring him intelligence of a passage over the river Somme. This was discovered by a peasant of the country; and Edward had just time to get his whole army over the river, when Philip appeared in his rear.

As both armies had for some time been in sight of each other, nothing was so eagerly expected on each side as a battle; and although the forces were extremely disproportioned, the English amounting only to thirty thousand, the French to a hundred and twenty thousand, yet Edward resolved to indulge the impetuosity of his troops, and put all to the hazard of a battle. He accordingly chose his ground, with advantage, near the village of Crecy; and there determined to wait with tranquillity the shock of the enemy. He drew up his men on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines. The first was commanded by the young prince of Wales; the second was conducted by the earls of Northampton and Arundel; and the third, which was kept as a body of reserve, was headed by the king in person. As his army was in danger of being surrounded, he threw up trenches on his flanks, and placed all his baggage in a wood behind him, which he also secured by an entrenchment. Having thus made the proper dispositions, he and the prince of Wales received the sacrament with great devotion; and all his behaviour denoted the calm intrepidity of a man resolved on conquest or death. He rode from rank to rank with a serene countenance; bade his soldiers remember the honour of their country; and, by his eloquence, animated the whole army to a degree of enthusiastic expectation. It is said also by some, that he first made use of artillery upon this occasion, and placed in his front some pieces, which contributed not a little to throw the enemy into disorder.

On the other side, Philip, impelled by resentment, and confident in his numbers, was more solicitous of bringing the enemy to an engagement, than prudent in taking measures for the success of it. He was advised by some of his generals to defer the combat till the ensuing day, when his army would have recovered from their fatigue, and might be disposed into better order than their present hurry permitted them to observe. But it was now too late; the impatience of his troops was too great to be restrained; they pressed one upon the other, and no orders could curb their blind impetuosity. They were led on, however, in three bodies to oppose those of the English. John, king of Bohemia, conducted the first line, in which were included fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow-men, commanded by Anthony Doria; the second body was led by the count d'Alençon, brother to the king; and Philip himself was at the head of the third.

Aug. 26. 1346.] About three in the afternoon, the famous battle of Crecy began, by the French king's ordering the Genoese archers to charge; but

they were so fatigued with their march, that they cried out for a little rest before they should engage. The count d'Alençon, being informed of their petition, rode up, and reviled them as cowards, commanding them to begin the onset without delay. Their reluctance to begin was still more increased by a heavy shower which fell that instant, and relaxed their bow-strings, so that the discharge they made produced very little effect. On the other hand, the English archers, who kept their bows in cases, and were favoured by a sudden gleam of sunshine that rather dazzled the enemy, let fly their arrows so thick, and with such good aim, that nothing was to be seen among the Genoese but hurry, terror, and dismay. The young prince of Wales had presence of mind to take advantage of their confusion, and to lead on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, commanded by the count d'Alençon, wheeling round, sustained the combat, and began to hem the English round. The earls of Arundel and Northampton now came in to assist the prince, who appeared foremost in every shock, and, wherever he appeared, turning the fortune of the day. The battle now raged around him, and the valour of a boy filled even veterans with astonishment. But their surprise at his courage could not give way to their fears for his safety. As the two earls were apprehensive that some mischance might happen to him in the end, an officer was despatched to the king, desiring that succours might be sent to the prince's relief. Edward, who had all this time, with great tranquillity, viewed the engagement from a wind-mill, demanded, with seeming deliberation, if his son were dead; but being answered that he still lived, and was giving astonishing instances of his valour; "Then tell my generals," cried the king, "that he shall have no assistance from me; the honour of this day shall be his; let him shew himself worthy the profession of arms, and let him be indebted to his own merit alone for victory." This speech, being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with new courage; they made a fresh attack upon the French cavalry, and count d'Alençon, their bravest commander, was slain. This was the beginning of their total overthrow: the French, being now without a competent leader, were thrown into confusion: the Welsh infantry rushed into the midst of the conflict, and despatched with their long knives those who had survived the fury of the former onset. It was in vain that the king of France seemed almost singly to maintain the combat: he endeavoured to animate his few followers, both by his voice and example; but the victory was too decisive to be resisted: while he was yet endeavouring to face the enemy, John de Hainault seized the reins of his horse, and, turning him round, carried him off the field of battle. In this engagement, thirty thousand of the French were killed: and, among this number, were John king of Bohemia, James king of Majorca, Ralph duke of Lorrain, nine counts, four and twenty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, and four thousand men at arms. There is something remarkable in the fate of the Bohemian monarch, who, though blind, was yet willing to share in the engagement. This unfortunate prince, inquiring the fate of the day, was told that all was lost, and his son Charles obliged to retire desperately wounded; and that the prince of Wales bore down every thing before him. Having received this information, blind as he was, he commanded his knights to lead him into the hottest part of the battle against the young warrior: accordingly, four of them rushed with him into the thickest part of the enemy, and they were all quickly slain.

The whole French army took to flight, and were put to the sword by the pursuers, till night stopped the carnage. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My valiant son! continue as you have begun; you have acquitted yourself nobly, and are worthy of the kingdom that will be your inheritance." The next morning was foggy; and a party of the militia of Rouen, coming to join the French army, were routed by the English at the first onset; many more also were decoyed by some French standards, which the victors placed upon the mountains, and to which the fugitives resorted, where they were cut in pieces without mercy. Never was a victory more seasonable, or less bloody, to the English than this. Notwithstanding the great slaughter of the enemy, the conquerors lost but one esquire, three knights, and a few of inferior rank. The

crest of the king of Bohemia was three ostrich feathers, with this motto, *Ich dien*, which signifies, in the German language, "I serve." This was thought to be a proper prize to perpetuate the victory: it was accordingly added to the arms of the prince of Wales, and it has been adopted by all his successors.

But this victory was attended with still more substantial advantages; for Edward, as moderate in conquest as prudent in his measures to obtain it, resolved to secure an easy entrance into France for the future. With this view he laid siege to Calais, which was then defended by John de Vienne, an experienced commander, and supplied with every thing necessary for defence. The king, however, knowing the difficulty of taking so strong a town by force, resolved to reduce it by famine. He chose a secure station for his camp: drew entrenchments round the city, and made proper provision for his soldiers to endure a winter campaign. These operations, though slow, were at length successful. It was in vain that the governor made a noble defence, or that he excluded all the useless mouths from the city, which Edward generously permitted to pass unmolested through his camp. It was at length taken, A. D. 1347.] after a siege of eleven months, the defendants having been reduced to extremities by famine and fatigue. The obstinate resistance made by the townsmen was not a little displeasing to Edward; and he had often declared, that, when put in possession of the place, he would take signal revenge for the numbers of men he had lost during the siege. It was with great difficulty, therefore, that he was persuaded to accept their submission, and to spare their lives, upon condition that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he should think proper: but on these he resolved to wreak his resentment, and he gave orders that they should be led into his camp, bare-headed and bare-footed, with ropes about their necks, in the manner of criminals just prepared for instant execution. When the intelligence of this fierce resolution was brought into the city, it spread new consternation among the inhabitants. Who should be the men that were thus to be offered up as victims to procure the safety of all the rest, and by their deaths appease the victor's resentment, was a fresh subject of dreadful inquiry. In this terrible suspense, one of the principal inhabitants, whose name was Eustace de St. Pierre, walked forward, and offered himself as willing to undergo any tortures that could procure his fellow-citizens safety. Five more soon followed his noble example; and these, marching out like criminals, laid the keys of their city at Edward's feet: but no submissions seemed sufficient to appease his resentment; and they would in all probability have suffered death, had not the generosity of their conduct affected the queen, who interceded in their behalf, and with some difficulty obtained their pardon.

Edward, having thus opened to himself a passage into France, by which he might at any time pour in his forces, and withdraw them with security, resolved on every method that could add strength or stability to his new acquisition. He ordered all the French inhabitants to leave the town, and peopled it with his own subjects from England. He also made it the staple, or principal market, for wool, leather, tin, and lead, the principal English commodities for which there was any considerable demand upon the continent. All the English were obliged to convey their goods thither; and foreign merchants came to the same place to purchase them. By these means the city became populous, rich, and flourishing; and although it was near being taken some time after by treachery, it continued for above two centuries in the possession of the English, and braved all the military power of France.

The treachery, which nearly restored it to the French, arose from the perfidy of Aymar de Pavie, an Italian, who had been appointed governor of the place. He agreed to deliver it up to the enemy; when his perfidy was discovered by Edward, who obliged him to carry on the treaty, and to persuade the enemy that he was still in their interests. Accordingly, a day was appointed for the admission of the French troops into the city; while the king, with a strong body of forces, took care to prepare for their reception. A. D. 1349.] All those who entered the city were immediately cut to pieces; and the garrison, with Edward, and sir Walter Manney, at their head, rushing out in the pursuit of the rest, a fierce and bloody engagement ensued, in

which the king overthrew and took Eustace de Ribaumont, a man of remarkable strength and valour, with his own hand.

In this manner, the war between the English and French was carried on with mutual animosity; a war which at once thinned the inhabitants of the invaded country, while it drained that of the invaders. But a destruction still more terrible than that of war contributed, at this time, to desolate the wretched provinces of Europe. A pestilence, more dreadful than any mentioned in the annals of history, which had already made great havock in Asia and Africa, came to settle upon the western world with increased malignity. It is said to have taken its origin in the great kingdom of Cathay, where it rose from the earth with the most horrid and sulphureous stench, destroying all the inhabitants, and even marking plants and minerals with its malignity. The fourth part of the people were cut off; and it particularly raged with such violence in London, that in one year's space there were buried [A. D. 1349. in the Charter-House churchyard above fifty thousand persons. It was in the midst of this terrible infliction from nature that the ambition of Edward and Philip was exerted for new conquests, and was adding to the calamities of mankind. Yet these ravages were silently repaired by commerce and industry: these arts, which were then despised by princes, were laying the seeds of future opulence and increased population. The arts of peace had for some time revived in Italy, and were gradually travelling westward; the refinements and the pleasures of sense every day began to improve, although intellectual refinements were almost entirely unknown. Sensual enjoyments must ever be carried to some height, before mankind can find leisure or taste for entertainments of a more exquisite nature.

Nor was England free from internal wars during this dreary period. While Edward was reaping victories upon the continent, the Scots, ever willing to embrace opportunities of rapine and revenge, invaded the frontiers with a numerous army, headed by David Bruce, their king. This unexpected invasion, at such a juncture, alarmed the English, but was not capable of intimidating them. Lionel, Edward's son, who was left guardian of England during his father's absence, was yet too young to take upon him the command of an army; but the victories on the continent seemed to inspire even women with valour: Philippa, Edward's queen, took upon her the conduct of the field, and prepared to repulse the enemy in person. Accordingly, having made lord Percy general under her, she met the Scots at a place called Neville's Cross, near Durham, and offered them battle. The Scottish king was no less impatient to engage; he imagined that he might obtain an easy victory against undisciplined troops headed by a woman. But he was miserably deceived; his army was quickly routed and driven from the field; fifteen thousand of his men were cut to pieces; and himself, with many of his nobles and knights, were taken prisoners, and carried in triumph to London.

This victory diffused universal joy through the nation; a captive king was an object that flattered their pride, and they soon had new reasons for exultation. Philip, who was surnamed the Fortunate upon coming to the crown of France, ended his life under the accumulation of every misfor- [A. D. 1350. tune that could render a king unhappy. John, his son, succeeded him on the throne, which was but ill-supported by Philip, and still worse by him. This weak, yet virtuous prince, upon coming to the crown, found himself at the head of an exhausted nation, and a divided and factious nobility. France at that time resembled England under the reign of a prince of the same name. The parliament consisted of barons who were despotic over their own hereditary possessions; and they obliged John their king to sign a charter very much resembling the Magna Charta which had formerly been signed by his namesake of England. The warlike resources, therefore, of France and England were at this time very unequal. John was at the head of a nobility that acknowledged no subordination among each other; they led their dependents slaves to battle, and obeyed their superiors only as it suited their inclination. Their king might more justly be said to command a number of small armies under distinct leaders, than one vast machine operating with uniformity and united efforts. The French barons paid their own soldiers, punished their transgressions, and rewarded their fidelity. But the forces of Eng-

land were under a very different establishment; the main body of the English army was composed of soldiers indiscriminately levied throughout the nation, paid by the king, and regarding him alone as the source of preferment or disgrace. Instead of personal attendance, the nobility contributed supplies in money; and there was only such a number of nobles in the army as might keep the spirit of honour alive, without injuring military subordination.

It was in this state of things that a short truce, which had been concluded between Edward and Philip, was dissolved by the death of the latter; and Edward, well pleased with the factions that then prevailed in France, resolved to seize the opportunity of increasing its distresses. Accordingly, the Black Prince was sent into France with his army, on board a fleet of two hundred A. D. 1355.] sail; and landing in Gascony, carried his devastations into the heart of the country. On the other hand, Edward himself made an irruption on the side of Calais, at the head of a numerous army, and ravaged all the open country. In the mean time, John, who was yet unprepared to oppose the progress of the enemy, continued a quiet spectator of their insults; nor was it till the succeeding summer's campaign that he resolved to attack the Black Prince, whose army was by this time reduced to a body of about twelve thousand men. With such a trifling force had this young warrior ventured to penetrate into the heart of France, with a design of joining his troops to those of the duke of Lancaster. But he soon found that his scheme was impracticable; the country before him was too well guarded to permit his advance; and all the bridges behind him were broken down; which effectually barred a retreat. In this embarrassing situation, his perplexity was increased, by being informed that the king of France was actually marching at the head of sixty thousand men to intercept him. He had at first thought of retreating; but, soon finding it impossible, he determined calmly to wait the approach of the enemy, and, notwithstanding the disparity of force, to commit all to the hazard of a battle.

It was at a place called Maupertuis, near Poictiers, that both armies came in sight of each other. The French king might very easily have starved the English into any terms he thought proper to impose; but such was the impatient valour of the French nobility, and such their certainty of success, that it might have been equally fatal to attempt repressing their ardour to engage. In the mean time, while both armies were drawn out, and expecting the signal to begin, they were stopped by the appearance of the cardinal of Perigord, who attempted to be a mediator between them. However, John, who made himself sure of victory, would listen to no other terms than the restitution of Calais; with which the Black Prince refusing to comply, the onset was deferred till the next morning, for which both sides waited in anxious suspense.

It was during this interval that the young prince shewed himself worthy of conquest: he strengthened his post by new entrenchments: he placed three hundred men in ambush, with as many archers, who were commanded to attack the enemy in flank during the heat of the engagement. Having taken these pre- Sept. 19, 1356.] cautions, and the morning beginning to appear, he ranged his army in three divisions; the van being commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, and the main body by himself. In like manner the king of France arranged his forces in three divisions; the first commanded by the duke of Orleans; the second by the dauphin, attended by his younger brothers; while himself led up the main body, seconded by his youngest and favourite son, then about fourteen years of age. As the English were to be attacked only by marching up a long narrow lane, the French suffered greatly from their archers, who were posted on each side behind the hedges. Nor were they in a better situation upon emerging from this danger, being met by the Black Prince himself, at the head of a chosen body of troops, who made a furious onset upon their forces, already in great disorder. A dreadful overthrow ensued: those who were as yet in the lane recoiled upon their own forces; while the English troops who had been placed in ambush took that opportunity to increase the confusion, and confirm the victory. The dauphin, and the duke of Orleans, were among the first that fled. The king of France himself made the utmost efforts to retrieve by his valour what his rashness had forfeited; but his single courage was unable to

stop that consternation which had now become general through his army; and his cavalry soon flying, he found himself totally exposed to the enemy's fury. He saw his nobles falling round him, valiantly fighting in his defence, and his youngest son wounded by his side. At length, spent with fatigue, and despairing of success, he thought of yielding himself a prisoner, and frequently cried out, that he was ready to deliver himself to his cousin, the prince of Wales. The honour of taking him, however, was reserved for a much more ignoble hand; he was seized by Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly from his country for murder.

This success was, in a great measure, owing to the valour and conduct of the Black Prince; but his moderation in victory was a nobler triumph than had ever graced any conqueror. He came forth to meet the captive monarch with an air of pitying modesty; he remonstrated with him in the most humble manner, when he began to complain of his misfortunes, that he still had the comfort left of reflecting, that, though unsuccessful, he had done all that deserved to ensure conquest; he promised, that a submissive deference to his dignity should never be wanting to soften his captivity; and at table he actually refused to sit down, but stood among the number of his prisoner's attendants, declaring that it did not become him, as a subject, to sit down in the presence of a king.

In the following spring, the prince conducted his royal prisoner [A. D. 1357. through London, attended by an infinite concourse of people of all ranks and stations. His modesty upon this occasion was not less than before: the king of France was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty; while the prince himself rode by his side upon a mean little horse, and in very plain attire.

Two kings prisoners in the same court, and at the same time, were considered as glorious achievements; but all that England gained by them was only glory. Whatever was won in France, with all the dangers of war and the expense of preparation, was successively, and in a manner silently, lost without the mortification of a defeat. It may be easily supposed, that the treaties which were made with the captive kings were highly advantageous to the conquerors; but these treaties were no longer observed than while the English had it in their power to enforce obedience. It is true, that John observed his engagements as far as he was able; but by being a prisoner he lost his authority, and his misfortunes had rendered him contemptible at home. The dauphin, and the states of France, rejected the treaties he had been induced to sign, and prepared, in good earnest, to repel the meditated invasions of the conqueror. All the considerable towns were put in [A. D. 1359. a posture of defence; and every thing valuable in the kingdom was secured in fortified places. It was in vain, therefore, that Edward tried to allure the dauphin to hazard a battle, by sending him a defiance; it was impossible to make that cautious prince change the plan of his operations: it was in vain that Edward alleged the obligation of the treaties which had been signed at London, and plundered the country round to provoke an engagement. He at length thought fit to listen to equitable terms of peace, which was concluded upon condition that king John should be restored to liberty, on paying a ransom of about a million and a half of our money. It was [A. D. 1360. stipulated, that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the kingdom of France, and should only remain possessed of the territories of Poictou, Saintonge, l'Agenois, Perigord, the Limosin, Quercy, Rouergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France: some other stipulations were made in favour of the allies of England; and forty hostages were sent to England, as a security for the execution of these conditions.

Upon John's return to his dominions, he found himself unable to comply with the terms of peace that had been just concluded. He was without finances, at the head of an exhausted state; his soldiers without discipline, and his peasants without subordination. These had risen in great numbers; and one of the chiefs of the banditti assumed the title of the Friend of God and the Terror of Man. A citizen of Sens, named John Gouge, also got himself

by means of his robberies, to be acknowledged king; and he soon caused as many calamities by his devastations as the real king had brought on by his misfortunes. Such was the state of that wretched kingdom upon the return of its captive monarch; and yet, such was his absurdity, that he immediately prepared for a crusade into the Holy Land, before he was well replaced on the throne. Had his exhausted subjects been able to equip him for this chimerical project, it is probable he would have gone through with it: but their miseries were such, that they were even too poor to pay his ransom. This was a breach of treaty that John would not submit to; and he was heard to express himself in a very noble manner upon the occasion: "Though," says he, "good faith should be banished from the rest of the earth, yet she ought still to retain her A. D. 1364.] habitation in the breast of kings." In consequence of this declaration he actually returned to England, and yielded himself a prisoner, since he could not be honourably free. It is said by some, that his passion for the countess of Salisbury was the real cause of this journey; but we want at this time the foundation for such an injurious report. He was lodged in the Savoy, the palace where he had resided during his captivity: and, soon after, he closed an unfortunate reign by his death, which happened in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

Charles, surnamed the Wise, succeeded his father on the throne of France; and this monarch, merely by the force of a finely conducted policy, and even though suffering some defeats, restored his country to tranquillity and power. He quelled and dissipated a set of banditti who had associated themselves under the name of Companions, and who had long been a terror to the peaceable inhabitants. He had them enrolled into a body, and led them into the kingdom of Castile against Peter, surnamed the Cruel, whom his subjects had dethroned, and who, by means of an alliance with the English, endeavoured to get himself reinstated upon the throne. In consequence of these alliances, the English and French again came to an engagement; one army being commanded by the Black Prince, the other by Henry of Transtamare, and Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the most consummate generals and accomplished characters of the age in which he lived. However, the usual good fortune of the English prince prevailed; Henry lost about twelve thousand men, while April 3, 1367.] only four knights and forty private men on the side of the English were slain.

Nevertheless, these victories were attended with very few good effects. The English, by their frequent supplies, had been nearly exhausted, and were unable to continue an army in the field. Charles, on the other hand, cautiously forbore coming to any decisive engagement, but was contented to let his enemies waste their strength in attempts to plunder a fortified country. When A. D. 1369.] they had retired, he then was sure to sally forth, and possess himself of such places as they were not strong enough to defend. He first fell upon Ponthieu; the citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to him; those of St. Valeri, Rue, and Crotoy, imitated the example; and that part of the country was, in a little time, reduced to submission. The southern provinces were, in the same manner, invaded by his generals with equal success; while the Black Prince, destitute of supplies from England, and wasted by a cruel and consumptive disorder, was obliged to return to his native country, leaving the affairs of the south of France in a most desperate condition.

In this exigence, the resentment of the king of England was excited to the utmost pitch; and he seemed resolved to take signal vengeance on his enemies on the continent. But the fortunate occasion seemed now elapsed; and all A. D. 1372.] his designs were marked with ill success. The earl of Pembroke, and his whole army, were intercepted at sea, and taken prisoners by Henry, king of Castile. This nobleman in person attempted to embark with an army for Bourdeaux; but was detained by contrary winds, and obliged to lay aside the expedition. Sir Robert Knolles, one of his generals on the continent, at the head of thirty thousand men, was defeated by Bertrand du Guesclin; while the duke of Lancaster, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, had the mortification of seeing his troops diminished one half by flying parties, without ever coming to a battle. Such was the picture that presented itself to this victorious monarch in the decline of life; and this might well serve as

a lesson to the princes of the age, that more permanent advantages are obtained by wisdom than by valour. In addition to other grounds of uneasiness, he had the mortification to see his authority despised at home. It was in vain that he sought refuge, in his age, from the complaints of his subjects, in the arms of a favourite mistress, whose name was Alice Pierce: this only served to exasperate his people the more against him, and to turn their indignation into contempt. But what, of all other things, served to gloom the latter part of this splendid reign, was the approaching death of the Black Prince, whose constitution shewed but too manifestly the symptoms of a speedy dissolution. This valiant and accomplished prince died [A. D. 1376. in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him a character without a single blemish, and a degree of sorrow among the people that time could scarcely alleviate. His affability, clemency, and liberal disposition, have been celebrated by different historians. Though born in an age in which military virtues alone were held in esteem, he cultivated the arts of peace, and seemed ever more happy in deserving praise than in obtaining it.

The king was most sensibly affected with the loss of his son, and tried every art to remove his uneasiness. He had banished his concubine some time before from his presence; but took her again, in hopes of finding some consolation in her company. He removed himself entirely from the duties and burdens of the state, and left his kingdom to be plundered by a set of rapacious ministers. He did not survive the consequences of his bad conduct; but died about a year after the prince, at Shene, in Surrey, deserted by all his courtiers, even by those who had grown rich by his bounty. He expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign; a prince more admired than loved by his subjects, and more [June 21, 1377. an object of their applause than their sorrow.

The reign of Edward was rather brilliant than truly serviceable to his subjects. If England, during these shining triumphs on the continent, gained any real advantage, it was only that of having a spirit of elegance and honour diffused among the higher ranks of the people. In all conquests, something is gained in civil life from the people subdued; and as France was at that time evidently more civilized than England, the imitative islanders, as they were then called, adopted the arts of the people they overcame. The meanest soldier in the English army now began to follow his leader from love, and not compulsion; he was brave from sentiment alone, and had the honour of his country beating in his breast, even though in the humblest station. This was the time when chivalry was at its highest pitch; and many of the successes of England were owing to that romantic spirit which the king endeavoured to diffuse, and of which he was the most shining example. It was this spirit that in some measure served to soften the ferocity of the age; being a mixture of love, generosity, and war. Instead of being taught the sciences, the sons of the nobility were brought into the field as soon as they were able, and instructed in no other arts but those of arms; such as the method of sitting on horseback, of wielding the lance, running at the ring, flourishing at a tournament, and addressing a mistress. To attain these, was considered as the sum of all human acquirements; and though war formed their only study, the rules of tactics, encampments, stratagems, and fortifications, were almost totally disregarded.

It was in this reign that the order of the Garter was instituted; [A. D. 1349. the number received into which was to consist of twenty-four persons, besides the king. A vulgar story prevails, but unsupported by any ancient authority, that the countess of Salisbury, at a ball, happening to drop her garter, the king took it up, and presented it to her with these words, "Honi soit qui mal y pense:" Evil to him that evil thinks. This accident is said to have given rise to the order and the motto; it being the spirit of the times to mix love and war together, and for knights to plume themselves upon the slightest tokens that their mistresses were pleased to bestow.

Edward left many children by his queen Philippa of Hainault; his eldest son, the Black Prince, died before him, but left a son, named Richard, who succeeded to the throne; Edward's second son was Lionel, duke of Clarence; the third son was called John of Gaunt, from the place of his birth, and was

afterwards created duke of Lancaster; the fourth was Edmund, earl of Cambridge, afterwards duke of York; the fifth was Thomas, duke of Gloucester, the most ambitious and enterprising of all his family. There were several daughters also; but, as there is nothing material in their history, we shall pass over their names without notice.

CHAP. XVI.

RICHARD II.—A. D. 1377 to 1399.

RICHARD II. came to the throne of his grandfather when as yet but eleven years of age, and found the people discontented and poor, the nobles proud and rebellious. A spirit of profusion had entered into the kingdom with the spirit of gallantry; which, while it produced indolence and rapacity among the higher orders, produced want and disobedience among the poor.

As the king was a minor, the government was vested in the hands of his three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester; the difference of whose dispositions, it was supposed, would serve to check the defects of each other. Lancaster, though experienced during the late reign in government, was neither popular nor enterprising; York was indolent and weak; Gloucester, turbulent, popular, and ambitious. Under the secret influence of these, without any regency being appointed, the whole system of government was kept together for some years, the authority established during the former reign still continuing to operate in this.

But though government was carried on, yet it was not without many commotions, arising either from the impatience of the people or the ambition of the great: as the late king had left the realm involved in a dangerous and expensive war, which demanded large and constant supplies, the murmurs of the people increased in proportion. Nor were they lessened by the manner of carrying on expeditions; which, in general, were languid, and upon the whole unsuccessful. The duke of Lancaster laid claim to the crown of Castile, and made a fruitless expedition; the war with France produced no enterprise of lustre, and that with Scotland was rather unsuccessful. The expenses, however, of the armaments, to face the enemy on every side, and a want of economy in the administration, entirely exhausted the treasury; and a new tax of three groats, on every person above fifteen, was granted by parliament as a supply. The indignation of the people had been for some time increasing; but a tax so inequitable, in which the rich paid no more than the poor, kindled the resentment of the latter into a flame.

Notwithstanding the numbers who by war, by a residence in towns, and by other means, had become free, there were still multitudes in the country who had lands in villanage, that were only slaves to the lords from whom they held. These had seen the advantages of liberty, from its effects upon those of equal rank who had gone to live in towns; and they panted for a participation of those advantages. Several of these had become opulent enough to purchase their freedom; but, by an unjust act of parliament in this reign, these purchases were declared of no validity. This act the peasants considered as an infraction of the laws of humanity; and such, indeed, it must be allowed to have been. But it had long been the prescriptive manner of reasoning, to have no regard for the rights of a certain class of men who were supposed too low for justice. The seeds of discontent were still more cultivated by the preaching of several men, who went about the country inculcating the natural equality of mankind, and consequently the right that all had to an equal participation of the goods of nature. Hitherto we have seen popular insurrections only in towns; but we now find the spirit of freedom gaining ground in the country. Our citizens soon began to perceive their own strength; but it was a considerable time before the peasantry who had been annexed to the soil, claimed a share in those advantages. We, in this first instance, find a knowledge of the rights of humanity diffusing itself even to the very lowest of the people, and exerting itself in rude and terrible efforts for freedom.

The minds of the peasants being thus prepared for insurrection, the manner
A. D. 1381.] of collecting this unjust poll-tax soon furnished them with a pre-

text for beginning the revolt. It began in Essex, where a report was industriously spread, that the peasants were to be destroyed, their houses burned, and their farms plundered. A blacksmith, well known by the name of Wat Tyler, was the first that excited them to arms. The tax-gatherers, coming to this man's house while he was at work, demanded payment for his daughter, which he refused, alleging that she was under the age mentioned in the act. One of the brutal collectors insisted on her being a full-grown woman, and immediately attempted giving a very indecent proof of his assertion. This provoked the father to such a degree, that he instantly struck him dead with a blow of his hammer. The by-standers applauded his spirit, and, one and all, resolved to defend his conduct. He was considered as a champion in the cause, and appointed the leader and spokesman of the people. It is easy to imagine the disorders committed by this tumultuous rabble: the whole neighbourhood rose in arms; they burned and plundered wherever they came, and revenged upon their former masters all those insults which they had long sustained with impunity. As the discontent was general, the insurgents increased in proportion as they approached the capital. The flame soon propagated itself into Kent, Hertfordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. They were found to amount to above a hundred thousand men by the time they arrived at Blackheath; whence they sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower, desiring a conference with him. With this message Richard was desirous of complying, but was intimidated by their fierce demeanor. In the mean time they had entered the city, burning and plundering the houses of such as were obnoxious from their power, or remarkable for their riches. They broke into the Savoy palace, belonging to the duke of Lancaster, and put several of his attendants to death. Their animosity was particularly levelled against the lawyers, to whom they shewed no mercy. Such was the vehemence of their fury, that the king began to tremble for his own safety; and, knowing that the Tower was not capable of standing against an assault, he went out among them, and desired to know their demands. They now made a very humble remonstrance, requiring a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market-towns, and a fixed rent, instead of those services required by the tenure of villanage. As these requests were reasonable, the king soon complied; and charters were accordingly made out, ratifying the grant. In the mean time, another body of these insurgents had broken into the Tower, and murdered the primate and the treasurer, with some other persons of distinction. They then divided themselves into bodies, and took up their quarters in different parts of the city. At the head of one of these was Wat Tyler, who led his men into Smithfield, where he was met by the king, who invited him to a conference, under a pretence of hearing and redressing his grievances. Tyler, ordering his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, boldly ventured to meet the king in the midst of his retinue; and accordingly began the conference. The demands of this demagogue are censured by all the historians of the time, as insolent and extravagant; and yet nothing can be more just than those they have delivered for him. He required that all slaves should be set free; that all commonages should be open to the poor as well as the rich; and that a general pardon should be passed for the late outrages. Whilst he made these demands, he now and then lifted up his sword in a menacing manner; which insolence so raised the indignation of William of Walworth, then mayor of London, attending on the king, that, without considering the danger to which he exposed his majesty, he stunned Tyler with a blow of his mace; while one of the king's knights, riding up, despatched him with his sword. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves to take revenge; and their bows were now bent for execution; when Richard, though not fifteen years of age, rode up to the rebels, and with, admirable presence of mind, cried out, "What, my people, will you then kill your king? Be not concerned for the loss of your leader; I myself will now be your general; follow me into the field, and you shall have whatever you desire." The awed multitude immediately desisted; they followed the king, as if mechanically, into the fields; and there he granted them the same charter that he had before given to their companions.

These grants, for a short time, gained the king great popularity; and it is probable that it was his own desire to have them continued; but the nobles had long tasted the sweets of power, and were unwilling to admit any other to a participation. The parliament soon revoked these charters of enfranchisement and pardon; the low people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before, and several of the ringleaders were punished with capital severity. The insurrections of the barons against their kings are branded in our history with no great air of invective; but the tumults of the people against the barons are marked with all the virulence of reproach.

The cruelty which was exercised against the popular leaders upon this occasion, created no small enmity against the king. He at first granted them a charter, which implied the justice of their demands; and he was soon, soon after, weak enough to revoke what he had before allowed the justice of. It is probable also, that his uncles were not backward in increasing this general dislike against him, as by such means they were more like to continue in their present authority. His own capricious conduct, indeed, might very well countenance them in the restrictions they placed upon him; as he very soon testified an eager desire to govern, without any of the requisites to fit him for such a difficult undertaking; and he soon discovered an attachment to favourites, without any merit on their side to entitle them to such flattering distinctions. Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man whose person was faultless, but whose morals were debauched, had acquired an entire ascendant over him. This nobleman was first created marquis of Dublin, and then duke of Ireland, with the entire sovereignty, during life, of that island. He gave him his own cousin in marriage; and soon after permitted him to repudiate her for another lady, of whom he was enamoured. He soon became the channel through which all royal favour passed to the people; and he possessed all the power, while the king had only the shadow, of royalty.

A partiality, in princes, ever produces animosity among their subjects. Those noblemen who were either treated with disrespect by the favourite, or who thought that they had themselves better pretensions to favour, instantly took the alarm, and combined against him. At the head of this association, were, Mowbray, earl of Nottingham; Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel; Percy, earl of Northumberland; Montacute, earl of Salisbury; and Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. These, uniting, resolved on the destruction of the favourite; and they began by marking out Michael de la Pole, who was then chancellor, and A. D. 1386.] Oxford's chief friend and supporter, as the first object of their vengeance. He was accordingly impeached in parliament; and, although nothing material was alleged against him, such was the interest of the conspiring barons, that he was condemned, and deprived of his office.

From punishing his ministers, they soon after ventured to attack the king in person. Under a pretence that he was as yet unable to govern, although he was at that time twenty years of age, they appointed a commission of fourteen persons, to whom the sovereign power was to be transferred for a year. This was, in fact, depriving the king of all power, and oppressing the kingdom with a confirmed aristocracy. This measure was driven forward by the duke of Gloucester; and only those of his own faction were admitted as members of the committee. It was not without a struggle that the king saw himself thus totally divested of authority: he endeavoured first to gain over the parliament to his interest, by influencing the sheriffs of each county, who were then the only returning officers. This measure failing, he applied to A. D. 1387.] the judges; and they, either from motives of interest or from conviction, declared, that the commission which had deprived him of his authority was unlawful, and that those who procured or advised it, were punishable with death. This sentence was quickly opposed by declarations from the lords: the duke of Gloucester saw his danger if the king should prevail; and, secretly assembling his party, he appeared in arms at Haringay Park, near Highgate, at the head of a body of men, more than sufficient to intimidate the king and all his adherents. These insurgents, sensible of their own power, were now resolved to make use of the occasion, and began by demanding of the king, the names of those who had advised him to his late rash measures. A few days after, they appeared armed in his presence,

and accused, by name, the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and sir Robert Tresilian, one of the judges, who had declared in his favour, together with sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the state. It was now too late for the opposite party to attempt any other vindication of their conduct than by arms. The duke of Ireland fled into Cheshire, where he attempted to raise a body of forces; but was quickly obliged to retire into Flanders, on the arrival of the duke of Gloucester with a superior army. Soon after, the king was obliged to summon a parliament: an accusation was drawn up against five of his counsellors; of these only sir Nicholas Brembré was present; and he was quickly found guilty, condemned, and executed, together with sir Robert Tresilian, [A. D. 1388. who had been discovered and taken during the interval. But the blood of one or two was not sufficient to satiate the resentment of the duke of Gloucester; lord Beauchamp of Holt was shortly after condemned and executed; and sir Simon Burley, who had been appointed the king's governor, shared the same fate, although the queen continued for three hours on her knees before the duke, imploring his pardon.

It might be supposed, that after such a total subversion of the royal power, there would be no more struggles, during this reign, between the prince and his nominal subjects; but, whether from the fluctuation of opinions among the people, or from the influence of a military force which had been lately levied against France, we find Richard once more resolved to shake off that power which had long controlled him, and actually bringing the parliament to second his resolutions.

In an extraordinary council of the nobility, assembled after [A. D. 1389. Easter, he, to the astonishment of all present, desired to know his age; and being told that he was turned of two-and-twenty, he alleged, that it was time for him to govern without help, and that there was no reason why he should be deprived of those rights which the meanest of his subjects enjoyed. The lords answering, in some confusion, that he had certainly an indisputable right to take upon himself the government of the kingdom, "Yes," replied he, "I have long been under the government of tutors; and I will now first shew my right to power by their removal." He then ordered Thomas Arundel, whom the commissioners had lately appointed chancellor, to give up the seal, which he next day delivered to William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester. He next removed the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Warwick, and other lords of the opposition, from the council. The bishop of Hereford lost his office of treasurer; the earl of Arundel was deprived of the post of high-admiral; all the great officers of the household, as well as the judges, were changed; and all the offices felt the influence of this extraordinary revolution.

The king, being thus left at liberty to conduct the business of government at discretion, began by shewing many marks of moderation towards those who before had endeavoured to depress his power: he seemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles; and, by remitting some subsidies which had been granted him, he acquired for a time the affections of the people. But he wanted those arts that are usually found to procure a lasting respect: he was fond of luxurious pleasures and idle ostentation; he admitted the meanest ranks to his familiarity; and his conversation was not adapted to impress them with a reverence for his morals or abilities. His military talents, on which mankind then placed the greatest value, were seldom exerted, and never with any great success. The French war was scarcely heard of; and some successful inroads of the Scots, particularly that which brought on a disputed victory at Otterbourne, were only opposed by those barons whose possessions lay along the frontier. He gained, indeed, some reputation for arms in Ireland; but his successes there were too insignificant to give him a decisive character. Hence the small regard which the public bore his person, disposed them to murmur against his administration, and to receive with avidity every complaint which discontent or ambition suggested to his prejudice.

Whether the duke of Gloucester was secretly displeased with this mean disposition in his royal nephew, or wanted to make himself king by fomenting

These grants, for a short time, gained the king great popularity; and it is probable that it was his own desire to have them continued; but the nobles had long tasted the sweets of power, and were unwilling to admit any other to a participation. The parliament soon revoked these charters of enfranchisement and pardon; the low people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before, and several of the ringleaders were punished with capital severity. The insurrections of the barons against their kings are branded in our history with no great air of invective; but the tumults of the people against the barons are marked with all the virulence of reproach.

The cruelty which was exercised against the popular leaders upon this occasion, created no small enmity against the king. He at first granted them a charter, which implied the justice of their demands; and he was soon, soon after, weak enough to revoke what he had before allowed the justice of. It is probable also, that his uncles were not backward in increasing this general dislike against him, as by such means they were more like to continue in their present authority. His own capricious conduct, indeed, might very well countenance them in the restrictions they placed upon him; as he very soon testified an eager desire to govern, without any of the requisites to fit him for such a difficult undertaking; and he soon discovered an attachment to favourites, without any merit on their side to entitle them to such flattering distinctions. Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man whose person was faultless, but whose morals were debauched, had acquired an entire ascendant over him. This nobleman was first created marquis of Dublin, and then duke of Ireland, with the entire sovereignty, during life, of that island. He gave him his own cousin in marriage; and soon after permitted him to repudiate her for another lady, of whom he was enamoured. He soon became the channel through which all royal favour passed to the people; and he possessed all the power, while the king had only the shadow, of royalty.

A partiality, in princes, ever produces animosity among their subjects. Those noblemen who were either treated with disrespect by the favourite, or who thought that they had themselves better pretensions to favour, instantly took the alarm, and combined against him. At the head of this association, were, Mowbray, earl of Nottingham; Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel; Percy, earl of Northumberland; Montacute, earl of Salisbury; and Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. These, uniting, resolved on the destruction of the favourite; and they began by marking out Michael de la Pole, who was then chancellor, and A. D. 1386.] Oxford's chief friend and supporter, as the first object of their vengeance. He was accordingly impeached in parliament; and, although nothing material was alleged against him, such was the interest of the conspiring barons, that he was condemned, and deprived of his office.

From punishing his ministers, they soon after ventured to attack the king in person. Under a pretence that he was as yet unable to govern, although he was at that time twenty years of age, they appointed a commission of fourteen persons, to whom the sovereign power was to be transferred for a year. This was, in fact, depriving the king of all power, and oppressing the kingdom with a confirmed aristocracy. This measure was driven forward by the duke of Gloucester; and only those of his own faction were admitted as members of the committee. It was not without a struggle that the king saw himself thus totally divested of authority: he endeavoured first to gain over the parliament to his interest, by influencing the sheriffs of each county, who were then the only returning officers. This measure failing, he applied to A. D. 1387.] the judges; and they, either from motives of interest or from conviction, declared, that the commission which had deprived him of his authority was unlawful, and that those who procured or advised it, were punishable with death. This sentence was quickly opposed by declarations from the lords: the duke of Gloucester saw his danger if the king should prevail; and, secretly assembling his party, he appeared in arms at Haringay Park, near Highgate, at the head of a body of men, more than sufficient to intimidate the king and all his adherents. These insurgents, sensible of their own power, were now resolved to make use of the occasion, and began by demanding of the king, the names of those who had advised him to his late rash measures. A few days after, they appeared armed in his presence,

said accused, by name, the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and sir Robert Tresilian, one of the judges, who had declared in his favour, together with sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the state. It was now too late for the opposite party to attempt any other vindication of their conduct than by arms. The duke of Ireland fled into Cheshire, where he attempted to raise a body of forces; but was quickly obliged to retire into Flanders, on the arrival of the duke of Gloucester with a superior army. Soon after, the king was obliged to summon a parliament: an accusation was drawn up against five of his counsellors; of these only sir Nicholas Brembré was present; and he was quickly found guilty, condemned, and executed, together with sir Robert Tresilian, [A. D. 1388. who had been discovered and taken during the interval. But the blood of one or two was not sufficient to satiate the resentment of the duke of Gloucester; lord Beauchamp of Holt was shortly after condemned and executed; and sir Simon Burley, who had been appointed the king's governor, shared the same fate, although the queen continued for three hours on her knees before the duke, imploring his pardon.

It might be supposed, that after such a total subversion of the royal power, there would be no more struggles, during this reign, between the prince and his nominal subjects; but, whether from the fluctuation of opinions among the people, or from the influence of a military force which had been lately levied against France, we find Richard once more resolved to shake off that power which had long controlled him, and actually bringing the parliament to second his resolutions.

In an extraordinary council of the nobility, assembled after [A. D. 1389. Easter, he, to the astonishment of all present, desired to know his age; and being told that he was turned of two-and-twenty, he alleged, that it was time for him to govern without help, and that there was no reason why he should be deprived of those rights which the meanest of his subjects enjoyed. The lords answering, in some confusion, that he had certainly an indisputable right to take upon himself the government of the kingdom, "Yes," replied he, "I have long been under the government of tutors; and I will now first shew my right to power by their removal." He then ordered Thomas Arundel, whom the commissioners had lately appointed chancellor, to give up the seal, which he next day delivered to William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester. He next removed the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Warwick, and other lords of the opposition, from the council. The bishop of Hereford lost his office of treasurer; the earl of Arundel was deprived of the post of high-admiral; all the great officers of the household, as well as the judges, were changed; and all the offices felt the influence of this extraordinary revolution.

The king, being thus left at liberty to conduct the business of government at discretion, began by shewing many marks of moderation towards those who before had endeavoured to depress his power: he seemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles; and, by remitting some subsidies which had been granted him, he acquired for a time the affections of the people. But he wanted those arts that are usually found to procure a lasting respect: he was fond of luxurious pleasures and idle ostentation; he admitted the meanest ranks to his familiarity; and his conversation was not adapted to impress them with a reverence for his morals or abilities. His military talents, on which mankind then placed the greatest value, were seldom exerted, and never with any great success. The French war was scarcely heard of; and some successful inroads of the Scots, particularly that which brought on a disputed victory at Otterbourne, were only opposed by those barons whose possessions lay along the frontier. He gained, indeed, some reputation for arms in Ireland; but his successes there were too insignificant to give him a decisive character. Hence the small regard which the public bore his person, disposed them to murmur against his administration, and to receive with avidity every complaint which discontent or ambition suggested to his prejudice.

Whether the duke of Gloucester was secretly displeased with this mean disposition in his royal nephew, or wanted to make himself king by fomenting

jealousies against him, must remain for ever unknown; but certain it is, that he used every art to increase the aversion of the nation against him, and to
A. D. 1396.] establish his own popularity. He represented the peace which had been just then concluded with France as the result of the king's pusillanimity, and plausibly appeared to lament that Richard should have degenerated so far from the heroic virtues of his father. He frequently spoke with contempt of the king's person and government, and deliberated concerning the lawfulness of throwing off all allegiance to him. These were insults that deserved to be chastised in any subject, but which called aloud for punishment in him, whose popularity was dangerous, and who, more than once, had testified a disposition to rebel. As all his conduct was secretly observed by the king's emissaries, Richard at length formed a resolution of ridding himself entirely both of him and his faction, sensible that he then had the parliament entirely at his disposal. He accordingly ordered Gloucester to be immediately
A. D. 1397.] arrested, and sent over to Calais, at which place there was no danger of a rescue from his numerous adherents. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time; and a parliament was summoned at Westminster, which the king knew to be obedient to his will. This parliament, as he was apprised, passed whatever acts he thought proper to dictate; they annulled for ever the commission of fourteen, which had usurped upon his authority; they repealed all those acts which had condemned his former ministers; and revoked the general pardon which the king had granted, upon his taking the reins of government into his own hands. In consequence of this, several of the party of Gloucester were impeached, condemned, and executed. Fitz-Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, was banished the kingdom, and his temporalities were sequestered. The earl of Arundel vainly attempted to plead the king's general pardon to stop his execution; the earl of Warwick, shewing signs of contrition, had his life spared, but was banished to the Isle of Man. The greatest criminal yet remained; and a warrant was accordingly issued to the earl mareschal, governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Gloucester, to take his trial as the rest had done. It is probable that this nobleman would have shared the same fate with the rest of his party; but he was privately despatched in prison, being smothered (as it afterwards appeared) between two pillows, by his keepers.

The death of a nobleman so popular as the duke, did not fail to increase those animosities which had already taken deep root in the kingdom. The aggrandizement of some new favourites contributed still more to make the king odious; but though he seemed resolved, by all his actions, to set his subjects against him, it was accident that gave the occasion for his overthrow. After the destruction of the duke of Gloucester, and the heads of that party, a mis-
A. D. 1398.] understanding broke out among those noblemen who had joined in the prose-cution. Henry duke of Hereford appeared in parliament, and accused the duke of Norfolk of having spoken seditious words against his majesty in a private conversation. Norfolk denied the charge; gave Hereford the lie; and offered to prove his innocence by single combat. As proofs were wanting for legal trial, the lords readily acquiesced in that mode of determination; the time and place were appointed; and the whole nation waited with anxious suspense for the event. At length the day arrived on which this duel was to be fought; and as combats of this kind were then very prevalent, it may not be amiss to describe the ceremonies on that occasion. Hereford, the challenger, first appeared on a white charger, gaily caparisoned, armed at all points, and holding his drawn sword. When he approached the lists, the mareschal demanded his name and business; to which he replied, "I am Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, come hither according to my duty, against Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, a false traitor to God and the king, the realm and me." Then taking the oath that his quarrel was just and true, he desired to enter the lists; which being granted, he sheathed his sword, pulled down his beaver, crossed himself on the forehead, seized his lance, passed the barrier, alighted, and sat down in a chair of green velvet placed at one end of the lists. He had scarce taken his seat when the king came into the field with great pomp, attended by the lords, the count de St. Pol, who came from France on purpose to see this famous trial, and ten thousand men

at arms, to prevent tumults and disturbances. His majesty being seated in his chair of state, the king at arms proclaimed that none but such as were appointed to marshal the field should presume to touch the lists, upon pain of death. Then another herald proclaimed aloud, "Behold here Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, who has entered the lists to perform his devoir against Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, on pain of being counted false and recreant." Just then the duke of Norfolk appeared in arms, mounted upon a barbed horse, with a coat of arms of crimson velvet, embroidered with lions of silver and mulberry trees; and, having taken his oath before the constable and mareschal, entered the field, exclaiming aloud, "God defend the right!" Then alighting from his horse, he placed himself in a chair of crimson velvet opposite to his antagonist, at the other end of the lists. After which the mareschal, having measured their lances, delivered one to the challenger, and sent a knight with the other to the duke of Norfolk; and proclamation was made that they should prepare for the combat. Accordingly, mounting their horses, and closing their beavers, they fixed their lances in rest, and the trumpets sounded the charge. Hereford began his career with great violence; but before he could join his antagonist, the king threw down his warder, and the heralds interposed. By the advice and authority of his parliamentary commissioners, he stopped the combat, and ordered both the combatants to leave the kingdom. The duke of Norfolk he banished for life, but the duke of Hereford only for ten years. Thus, one was condemned to exile without being charged with any offence, and the other without being convicted of any crime. The duke of Norfolk was overwhelmed with grief and despondence at the judgment awarded against him; he retired to Venice, where, in a little time after, he died of a broken heart. Hereford's behaviour on this occasion was resigned and submissive; which so pleased the king, that he consented to shorten the date of his banishment four years; and he also granted him letters patent, ensuring him the enjoyment of any inheritance which should fall to him during his absence. But nothing could be more fluctuating than Richard's promises of friendship. Hereford, retiring into Flanders, and thence to Paris, found there a very favourable reception from the French king. He even opened a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the king of France; but was prevented from completing the alliance by the interest of Richard, who, dreading the increasing power of the banished duke, sent over the earl of Salisbury to Paris, with instructions to break off the match. Such an unexpected injury could not fail to aggravate the resentment of Hereford; but he had still more cogent reasons for anger, upon the death of his father, the duke of Lancaster, which happened shortly after. Richard, as we before observed, had given him letters patent, empowering him to possess any successions that should fall to him while abroad: but, being now afraid of strengthening the hands of a man whom he had injured, he revoked those letters, and retained the possession of the Lancaster estate to himself.

Such complicated injuries served to inflame the resentment of Hereford against the king; and although he had hitherto concealed them, he now set no bounds to his indignation, but even conceived a desire of dethroning a person who had shewn himself so unworthy of power. Indeed, no man could be better qualified for an enterprise of this nature than the earl of Hereford: he was cool, cautious, discerning, and resolute. He had served with distinction against the infidels of Lithuania, and had thus joined to his other merits those of piety and valour. He was the idol of the soldiery, and the favourite of the people: he was immensely rich, and, by blood or alliance, connected with all the great families of the nation. On the other hand, the king, finding himself above all restraint, gave himself up to a soft effeminate life, regardless of his own safety, and of the good of the public. His ministers, following the example of their sovereign, gave little attention to business, but saw, without any concern, the honour of the nation sinking into contempt. In this situation all people naturally turned their eyes upon the banished earl, as the only person from whom they could expect relief or redress. He was stimulated by private injuries, and had alliances and fortune sufficient to give weight to his measures. The malcontents only waited for the absence of the

king to put their schemes into execution; and for these an opportunity was quickly offered.

The earl of March, presumptive heir to the crown, having been appointed the king's lieutenant in Ireland, was slain in a skirmish with the natives of that country; which so incensed Richard, that, unmindful of his precarious situation at home, he resolved with a numerous army to revenge his death A. D. 1399.] in person. The duke of Lancaster (for that was the title which Hereford assumed upon the death of his father) being informed of Richard's departure for Ireland, instantly embarked at Nantz in Bretagne, with a retinue of sixty persons, in three small vessels, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. The earl of Northumberland, who had long been a malcontent, together with Henry Percy, his son, who, for his ardent valour, was surnamed Hotspur, immediately joined him with their forces. After this junction, the concourse of people coming to enlist under his banner was so great, that, in a few days, his army amounted to threescore thousand men.

The duke of York had been left guardian of the realm during Richard's absence; but his efforts were ineffectual, as the most powerful persons who espoused the king's interests were then actually with him in Ireland. The duke, however, assembled a body of forty thousand men at St. Alban's; but found them either quite dispirited, or more attached to the cause of the rebels than of the crown. It had been Hereford's policy, from the beginning, to hide the real motives of his expedition, and to give out that he only aimed at the recovery of his patrimony and dukedom. Upon the present occasion, therefore, he entreated the duke of York not to oppose a loyal and humble suppliant in the recovery of his just rights; but to concur in a measure that was more likely to promote the king's honour than injure his interests. York was deceived by these specious professions; he declared that he would not only approve, but assist him in his pretensions; and both armies meeting, embraced with acclamations of joy.

Whilst these things were transacting in England, Richard continued in Ireland in perfect security. Contrary winds, which at that time continued to blow for three weeks, prevented his receiving any news of the rebellion which had arisen in his native dominions. Upon the first information, therefore, he immediately imprisoned the brothers of Hereford, whom he had taken over with him, and then resolved to go immediately over to fight the enemy in person. Yet, ever wavering in his resolutions, he was persuaded to stay some time longer, till he could prepare ships to transport all his forces together. This delay completed his ruin; so that, when he landed at Milford-haven with a body of twenty thousand men, he had the mortification to find that the duke of York had already espoused the interest of his rival, and that his force was every way inferior to that of the enemy. He now saw himself in a dreadful situation, in the midst of an enraged people, without any friend on whom to rely, and forsaken by those who, in the sunshine of his power, had only contributed to fan his follies. His little army gradually began to desert him, till at last he found he had not above six thousand men who followed his standard. Thus, not knowing whom to trust to, or where to turn, he saw no other hopes of safety, but to throw himself upon the generosity of his enemy, and to gain from pity what he could not obtain by arms. He, therefore, sent word to the duke, that he was ready to submit to whatever terms he thought proper to prescribe; and that he earnestly desired a conference. For this purpose, Henry appointed him to meet at a castle within about ten miles of Chester, where he came the next day with his whole army. Richard, who the day before had been brought thither by the earl of Northumberland, descrying his rival's approach from the walls, went down to receive him; while the duke, after some ceremony, entered the castle in complete armour; only his head was bare, in compliment to the fallen king. Richard received him with that open air for which he had been remarkable, and kindly bade him welcome. "My lord the king," returned Henry, with a cool respectful bow, "I am come sooner than you appointed, because your people say, that for two-and-twenty years you have governed with rigour and indiscretion. They are very ill satisfied with your conduct; but, if it please God, I will help you to govern them better for the time to come." To this declara-

tion the king made no other answer than this: "Fair cousin, since it pleases you, it pleases us likewise."

But the duke's haughty answer was not the only mortification the unfortunate Richard was to endure. After a short conversation with some of the king's attendants, Henry ordered the king's horses to be brought out of the stable: and two wretched animals being produced, Richard was placed upon one, and his favourite, the earl of Salisbury, upon the other. In this mean equipage they rode to Chester, and were conveyed to the castle, with a great noise of trumpets, and through a vast concourse of people, who were no way moved at the sight. In this manner he was led triumphantly along, from town to town, amidst multitudes who scoffed at him, and extolled his rival. "Long live the good duke of Lancaster, our deliverer!" was the general cry; but as for the king, to use the pathetic words of the poet, "none cried, God bless him." Thus, after repeated indignities, he was confined a close prisoner in the Tower; there, if possible, to undergo a still greater variety of studied insolence, and flagrant contempt. The wretched monarch, humbled in this manner, began to lose the pride of a king with the splendours of royalty, and his spirit sunk to his circumstances. There was no great difficulty, therefore, in inducing him to sign a deed, by which he renounced his crown, as being unqualified for governing the kingdom. Upon this resignation the duke founded his principal claim: but, willing to fortify his pretensions with every appearance of justice, he called a parliament, which was readily brought to approve and confirm his claims. A frivolous charge, consisting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up, and found valid against the king; upon which he was solemnly deposed, and the duke of Lancaster elected in his stead, by the title of Henry IV. Thus began the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which, for many years after, deluged the kingdom with blood, and yet, in the end, contributed to settle and confirm the constitution.

When Richard was deposed, the earl of Northumberland made a motion in the house of peers, demanding the advice of parliament with regard to the future treatment of the deposed prince. To this they replied, that he should be imprisoned in some secure place, where his friends and partisans should not be able to find him. This was accordingly put in practice; but, while he still continued alive, the usurper could not remain in safety. Indeed, some conspiracies and commotions which followed soon after, induced Henry to wish for Richard's death; in consequence of which, one of those assassins that are found in every court, ready to commit the most horrid crimes for reward, went down to the place of this unfortunate monarch's confinement, in the castle of Pomfret, and, with eight of his followers, rushed into his apartment. The king, concluding that their design was to take away his life, resolved not to fall unrevenged, but to sell it as dearly as he could; wherefore, wresting a pole-axe from one of the murderers, he soon laid four of their number dead at his feet. But he was at length overpowered and struck dead by the blow of a pole-axe; although some assert that he was starved in prison. Thus died the unfortunate Richard, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. Though his conduct was blameable, yet the punishment he suffered was greater than his offences; and, in the end, his sufferings made more converts to his family and cause, than ever his most meritorious actions could have procured them. He left no posterity, either legitimate or otherwise.

It was during this reign that John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began to propagate his doctrines; and he has the honour of being the first person who had sagacity to see through the errors of the church of Rome, and courage enough to attempt a reformation. He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of the church of Rome, and the merit of monastic vows. He maintained that the scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the state: that the clergy ought to possess no estates; and that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety. In short, most of his doctrines were such as the wisdom of posterity thought fit to establish: and Wickliffe failed in being a reformer, only because the minds of men were not sufficiently ripened for the truths he endeavoured to inculcate. The clergy of that age did not

fail to oppose Wickliffe with fury; but, as his doctrines were pleasing to the higher orders of the laity, he found protection from their indignation. John of Gaunt was his particular friend and favourer; and when summoned to appear before the bishop of London, that nobleman attended him into the court, and defended him both from the resentment of the clergy and the rage of the populace. However, in process of time, he had the satisfaction to see the people, who were at first strongly prejudiced against him, entirely declaring in his favour; and, although he was often cited to appear before the prelates, yet, from the estimation he was held in both among the higher and lower ranks of the laity, he was always dismissed without injury. In this manner he continued, during a long life, to lessen the credit of the clergy, both by his preachings and writings; and at last died of a palsy, in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester; while the clergy took care to represent his death as a judgment from heaven for his multiplied heresies and impieties.

CHAP. XVII.

Henry IV.—A. D. 1399 to 1413.

A. D. 1399.] Numerous formalities are seldom used but to cover distrust or injustice. Henry the Fourth, knowing the weakness of his title, was, at least, determined to give his coronation all possible solemnity, and to make religion a cloak to cover his usurpation. Accordingly, particular care was taken to procure a certain oil, said to have been presented by the Virgin Mary to Thomas à Becket during his exile. The phial that contained this precious balm had fallen into the hands of a hermit, who gave it to the duke of Lancaster, assuring him that all kings anointed with that oil would become true champions of the church. On the present occasion, being seized by Henry among the other jewels of Richard, he was anointed with it in all the forms; at the same time declaring, that he had ascended the throne by the right of conquest, the resignation of Richard in his favour, and as the most direct descendant of Henry the Third, king of England. These were the formalities made use of to hide his ambition, or perhaps quiet his own fears; for the heir of the house of Mortimer, who had in the late reign been declared in parliament the true heir to the crown, was still alive, although yet but a boy of seven years of age. Him Henry detained, together with his younger brother, in an honourable custody, at Windsor castle.

But, notwithstanding these precautions for his security, Henry soon found that the throne of an usurper is ever a bed of thorns. Such violent animosities broke out among the barons in the first session of his parliament, that forty challenges were given and received, and forty gauntlets thrown down as pledges of the sincerity of their resentment. But though these commotions were seemingly suppressed by his moderation for that time, yet they soon broke out into rebellion; and a conspiracy was set on foot for seizing Henry at Windsor, and replacing Richard on the throne, who was supposed to be yet alive. This plot originated with the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and lord Spencer, whom Henry had degraded from superior titles conferred upon them by the late king. The particulars of their scheme were committed to writing, and each of the confederates had a copy signed by all the rest. Among the number of these, the duke of Aumerle was one, furnished with a paper, which he unfortunately dropped out of his bosom as he was sitting one day at dinner with his father, the duke of York. The father, perceiving something fall, privately took it up, and to his great astonishment discovered the contents; which he resolved with all diligence to disclose to the king, and accordingly rode off with the utmost expedition to Windsor, where the court resided at that juncture. In the mean time, the son, finding the sad mischance that happened, and guessing the cause of his father's expedition, was resolved, if possible, to prevent his information; and, hastening by a shorter way, discovered the whole to the king, and obtained the

royal pardon before his father could arrive; who, coming soon after, produced the paper with the names of the conspirators.

In the mean time, while Henry employed the most vigorous [A. D. 1400. efforts to dispel the rising storm, the conspirators, finding their first intentions frustrated, dressed up one of the late king's servants, named Maudlin, in royal robes, giving out that he was the deposed monarch, whom they had taken from his prison, and were willing to replace on the throne. Pity is a passion for which the English have ever been remarkable: majesty in distress was an object sufficient at once to excite their loyalty and compassion; and they accordingly flocked in great numbers round the standard of the conspirators. Their army soon became considerable, and encamped near Cirencester, while the leaders took up their head-quarters within the town; yet so careless or inexperienced were they, that they neglected to place proper guards at the gates and the avenues of the place. This was quickly perceived by the mayor of the town, who was in the interest of the king: this magistrate, assembling four hundred men in the night, secured the gates so as to exclude the army encamped without, and then he attacked the chiefs within. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were taken, after an obstinate resistance, and beheaded on the spot by the mayor's order. The earls of Huntingdon and lord Spencer escaped over the tops of the houses into the camp, in hopes of storming the town at the head of their forces: but they quickly had the mortification to find the tents and baggage abandoned by the soldiers, who, upon hearing the noise and tumult within, had concluded that a party of the king's army had entered privately to strengthen the townsmen; and, under the conviction of this, they fled with the utmost precipitation.

The two lords, perceiving that all hope was over, endeavoured to conceal themselves separately; but they were soon after taken, and lost their heads upon a scaffold, by the king's order. Their deaths were soon after followed by those of sir Thomas Blount and sir Benedict Sely; and when the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops, and thirty-two mitred abbots, joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation. In this shocking procession was seen the earl of Rutland carrying the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, in triumph, after having betrayed him. This miscreant had been long inured to blood and treachery: he was instrumental in the murder of the duke of Gloucester, to please Richard: he soon after deserted the fallen fortunes of that monarch, and joined with Henry; not long after, he entered into a conspiracy against this prince, after having sworn allegiance to him; and now, at last, betrayed those very associates whom he had seduced into this enterprise, carrying in triumph the marks of his execrable villany.

But the suppression of a single rebellion was not sufficient to give quiet to a kingdom threatened with foreign invasion, and torn by intestine discontent. The king of France had actually raised a vast armament to invade England: but a truce was soon after concluded for eight-and-twenty years; and it was agreed, that queen Isabel, who had been married to Richard, but whose marriage had not been consummated, should return to France, her native country. The Scots shortly after began to renew their ancient disturbances; and while the English army marched northward to oppose their incursions, the Welsh, on the other side, under the conduct of Owen Glendour, attacked the kingdom on the defenceless quarter. Many were the petty victories gained, and the ravages committed, on either part, in this contest. The name of Owen Glendour is respected among his countrymen to this very day; but as all his conquests procured no lasting advantages, and as all his victories only terminated in fame, they are scarcely worth a place in the page of history. It will be sufficient to observe, that, whatever honour the English lost on the side of Wales, they gained an equivalent on that of Scotland; the Welsh maintained their ground, although their chieftain Glendour was taken prisoner, while the Scots still fled before the English, and would neither submit, nor yet give them battle.

It was in a skirmish between the Scots and the English, that [A. D. 1402. Archibald, earl of Douglas, with many of the Scottish nobility, were taken

extinguished, as the clergy had the power of continuing the flame. They easily perceived, that a power of burning their enemies would revive that share of temporal power which they had possessed some centuries before; and in this they were not mistaken. They thus renewed their pristine authority, but upon very different grounds; for, as in the Saxon times they fixed their power upon the affections, they now founded it upon the terrors, of the people.

By these means Henry seemed to surmount all his troubles; and the calm, which was thus produced, was employed by him in endeavours to acquire popularity, which he had lost by the severities exercised during the preceding part of his reign. For that reason he often permitted the house of commons to assume powers which had not been usually exercised by their predecessors. In the sixth year of his reign, when they voted him the supplies, they appointed treasurers of their own, to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended; and required them to deliver in their accounts to the house. They proposed thirty very important articles for the government of the king's household, and, on the whole, preserved their privileges and freedom more entire during his reign than in that of any of his predecessors. But while the king thus laboured, not without success, to retrieve the reputation he had lost, his son Henry, prince of Wales, seemed equally bent on incurring the public aversion. He became notorious for all kinds of debauchery; and ever chose to be surrounded by a set of wretches, who took pride in committing the most illegal acts, with the prince at their head. The king was not a little mortified at this degeneracy in his eldest son, who seemed entirely forgetful of his station, although he had already exhibited repeated proofs of his valour, conduct, and generosity. Such were the excesses into which he ran, that one of his dissolute companions having been brought to trial before sir William Gascoigne, chief-justice of the king's bench, for some misdemeanour, the prince was so exasperated at the issue of the trial, that he struck the judge in open court. The venerable magistrate, who knew the reverence that was due to his station, behaved with a dignity that became his office, and immediately ordered the prince to be committed to prison. When this transaction was reported to the king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, he could not help exclaiming in a transport, "Happy is the king that has a magistrate endowed with courage to execute the laws upon such an offender; still more happy, in having a son willing to submit to such a chastisement." This, in fact, is one of the fist great instances we read in the English history, of a magistrate doing justice in opposition to power; since, upon many former occasions, we find the judges only ministers of royal caprice.

Henry, whose health had for some time been declining, did not long outlive this transaction. He was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses; and which, at last, brought on the near approach of death, at A. D. 1413.] Westminster. As his constitution decayed, his fears of losing the crown redoubled even to a childish anxiety. He could not be persuaded to sleep, unless the royal diadem were laid upon his pillow. He resolved to take the cross, and fight the cause of the pilgrims to Jerusalem, and even imparted his designs to a great council, demanding their opinions relative to his intended journey: but his disorder increasing to a violent degree, he was obliged to lay aside his scheme, and to prepare for a journey of much greater importance. In this situation, as he was one day in a violent paroxysm, the prince of Wales took up the crown and carried it away; but the king soon after recovering his senses, and missing the crown, demanded what had become of it. Being informed that the prince of Wales had carried it off: "What!" said the king, would he rob me of my right before my death?" But the prince, just then entering the room, assured his father that he had no such motives in what he had done, went and replaced the crown where he had found it, and having received his father's blessing, dutifully retired. The king was taken with his last fit while he was at his devotions before the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey; and thence he was carried to the Jerusalem Chamber. When he had recovered from his swoon, perceiving himself in a strange place, he desired to know where he was, and if the apartment had any particular name: being informed that it

was called the Jerusalem Chamber, he said, that he then perceived a prophecy was fulfilled, which declared that he should die in Jerusalem. Thus saying, and recommending his soul to his Maker, he soon after expired, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

If we consider this monarch on one side of his character, he will appear an object worthy of the highest applause; if on the other, of our warmest indignation. As a man, he was valiant, prudent, cool, and sagacious. These virtues adorned him in his private character; nor did his vices appear till ambition brought him within sight of a throne: it was then that he was discovered to be unjust, cruel, gloomy, and tyrannical; and though his reign contributed to the happiness of his subjects, yet it was entirely destructive of his own. He was twice married; by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, he had four sons,—Henry, his successor; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; and two daughters. By his second wife, he had no issue.

CHAP. XVIII.

HENRY V.—A. D. 1413 to 1422.

THE death of Henry IV. gave the people very little concern, as he had always governed them rather by their fears than their affections. But the rejoicings made for the succession of his son, notwithstanding his extravagances, were manifest and sincere. In the very height and madness of the revel, he would often give instances of the noblest disposition; and, though he did not practise the virtues of temperance, he always shewed that he esteemed them. But it was his courage which, in that martial age, chiefly won the people's affection and applause. Courage and superstition then made up the whole system of human duty; nor had the age any other idea of heroism, but what was the result of this combination.

The first steps taken by the young king confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to follow his example, and thus dismissed them from his presence, allowing them a competency to subsist upon, till he saw them worthy of higher promotion. The faithful ministers of his father, at first, indeed, began to tremble for their former justice in the administration of their duty; but he soon eased them of their fears, by taking them into his friendship and confidence. Sir William Gascoigne, who thought himself the most obnoxious, met with praises instead of reproaches, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of justice.

But Henry did not stop here; he shewed himself willing to correct not only his private errors, but those of the former reign. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, and ordered his funeral obsequies to be performed with royal solemnity. He seemed ambitious to bury all party distinctions in oblivion: the good men only of either party were dear to him; and the bad vainly alleged their loyalty as an extenuation of their vices. The exhortations as well as the example of the prince gave encouragement to virtue; all parties were equally attached to so just a prince; and the defects of his title were forgotten amidst the lustre of his admirable qualities.

In this manner, the people seemed happy in their new king; but it is not in the power of man to raise himself entirely above the prejudices of the age in which he lives, or to correct those abuses which often employ the sagacity of whole centuries to discover. The vices of the clergy had drawn upon them the contempt and detestation of the people; but they were resolved to continue their ancient power, not by reforming themselves, but by persecuting those who opposed them. The heresy of Wickliffe, or Lollardism as it was called, began to spread every day more and more, while it received a new lustre from the protection and preaching of Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, who had been one of the king's domestics, and stood high in his favour. His character, both for civil and military excellence, pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical vengeance;

and he applied to the king for permission to indict lord Cobham, as a miscreant guilty of the most atrocious heresy. But the generous nature of the prince was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion; and he determined first to try what effects the arts of reason and persuasion would produce upon this bold leader of his sect. He accordingly desired a private conference with lord Cobham; but he found that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, and determined rather to part with life than what he believed upon conviction. The king, therefore, finding him immoveable, gave him up to the fury of his enemies. Persecution ever propagates those errors which it aims at abolishing. The primate indicted lord Cobham; and, with the assistance of his suffragans, condemned him, as an heretic, to be burned alive. Cobham, however, escaping from the Tower the day before his intended execution, privately went among his party; and, stimulating their zeal, led them up to London to take
A. D. 1414.] a signal revenge of his enemies. But the king, apprised of his intentions, ordered that the city gates should be shut; and, coming by night with his guards into St. Giles's Fields, seized such of the conspirators as appeared, and afterwards laid hold of several parties that were hastening to the appointed place. Some of these were executed, but the greater number pardoned. Cobham himself found means of escaping for that time: but he was taken about four years after; and never did the cruelty of man invent, or crimes draw down, such torments as he was made to endure. He was hung up with a chain by the middle, and thus, at a slow fire, burned, or rather roasted, alive.

Such spectacles as these must naturally excite the disgust of the people, not only against the clergy, but the government itself. Henry, to turn their minds from such hideous scenes, resolved to take the advantage of the troubles in which France was at that time engaged, and pursue the advice of his dying father, who gave it as his last instructions, that he should employ his subjects in foreign expeditions, and thus give all the restless spirits occupation for their inquietude. Charles the Sixth, who was then king of France, was subject to frequent fits of lunacy, which totally disqualified him for holding the reins of government. During the paroxysms of his disease, the ambition of his vassals and courtiers had room for exertion; and they grew powerful from their sovereign's weakness. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Lewis duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John duke of Burgundy. Isabella, his queen, also had her party; and the king vainly attempted to secure one also in his favour. Each of these, as they happened to prevail, branded their captives with the name of traitors; and the gibbets were at once hung with the bodies of the accused and the accusers. This, therefore, was thought by Henry a favourable opportunity to recover from France those grants that had been formerly given up by treaty. But previously, to give his intended expedition the appearance of justice, he sent over ambassadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance, on condition of being put in possession of all those provinces which had been ravished from the English during the former reigns, and of espousing Catharine, the French king's daughter, with a suitable dowry. Though the French court was at that time extremely averse to war, yet the exorbitance of these demands could not be complied with; and Henry very probably made them in hopes of a denial. He therefore assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton; and having allured all the military men of the kingdom to attend him, from the hopes of
A. D. 1415.] conquest, he put to sea, and landed at Harfleur, at the head of an army of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers.

His first operations were against Harfleur, which, being pressed hard, promised at a certain day to surrender, unless relieved before that time. The day arriving, and the garrison, unmindful of their engagement, still resolving to defend the place, Henry ordered an assault to be made, took the town by storm, and expelled all the French inhabitants. Thence the victor advanced into the country, which had been already rendered desolate by factions, and which he now totally laid waste. Although the enemy made but a feeble resistance, yet the climate seemed to fight against the English,—a contagious dysentery carrying off a large proportion of Henry's army. In such a situa-

tion he had recourse to an expedient, common enough in that barbarous age, to inspire his troops with confidence in their general. He challenged the dauphin, who commanded in the French army, to single combat, offering to stake his pretensions on the event. This challenge, as might naturally be expected, was rejected; and the French, though disagreeing internally, at last seemed to unite at the appearance of the common danger. Fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, were by this time assembled, under the command of count Albret, and were so stationed as to threaten an interception of Henry's weakened forces on their return. The English monarch, when it was too late, began to repent of his rash inroad into a country where disease and a powerful army every where threatened destruction; he therefore began to think of retiring to Calais. In this retreat, which was at once both painful and dangerous, Henry took every precaution to inspire his troops with patience and perseverance, and shewed them in his own person the brightest example of fortitude and resignation. He was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; and whenever he attempted to pass the river Somme, over which his march lay, he saw troops on the other side ready to oppose his passage. However, he was so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, which had not been sufficiently guarded; and there he safely carried over his army.

But the enemy was still resolved to intercept his retreat; and, after he had passed the small river Ternois at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army (considerably reinforced) drawn up on the plains of Azincourt, and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. No situation could be more unfavourable than that in which he then found himself. His army was wasted with disease, the soldiers' spirits worn down with fatigue, they were destitute of provisions, and discouraged by their retreat. Their whole body scarcely amounted to half the number which had disembarked at Harfleur; and these were to sustain the shock of an enemy six times their number, headed by expert generals, and plentifully supplied with provisions. This disparity, as it depressed the English, so it raised the courage of the French in proportion; and so confident were they of success, that they began to treat for the ransom of their prisoners. Henry, on the other hand, though sensible of his extreme danger, did not omit any circumstance that could assist his situation. As the enemy were so much superior, he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected, in that position, the attack of the enemy. The constable of France was at the head of one army; and Henry himself, with Edward duke of York, commanded the other. For a time both armies, as if afraid to begin, kept silently gazing at each other, neither being willing to break their ranks by making the onset; which Henry perceiving, with a cheerful countenance cried out, "My friends, since they will not begin, it is ours to set them the example: come on, and the Blessed Trinity be our protection!" Upon this, the whole [Oct. 25, 1415.
army set forward with a shout, while the French still continued to wait their approach with intrepidity. The English archers, who had long been famous for their great skill, first let fly a shower of arrows three feet long, which did great execution. The French cavalry advancing to repel these, two hundred bowmen, who lay till then concealed, rising on a sudden, let fly among them, and produced such a confusion, that the archers threw by their arrows, and, rushing in, fell upon them sword in hand. The French at first repulsed the assailants, who were enfeebled by disease; but they soon made up the defect by their valour; and, resolving to conquer or die, burst in upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that the French were soon obliged to give way.

In the mean time, a body of English horse, which had been concealed in a neighbouring wood, rushing out, flanked the French infantry, and a general disorder began to ensue. The first line of the enemy being routed, the second line advanced to interrupt the progress of the victory. Henry, therefore, alighted from his horse, presented himself to the enemy with an undaunted countenance, and at the head of his men, fought on foot, encouraging some, and assisting others. Eighteen French cavaliers, who were resolved to kill him or die in the attempt, rushing from the ranks together, advanced, and one

of them stunned the king with a blow of his battle-axe. They then fell upon him in a body; and he was upon the point of sinking under their blows, when David Gam, a valiant Welshman, aided by two of his countrymen, came to his assistance, and soon turned the attention of the assailants from the king to themselves, till at length, being overpowered, they fell dead at his feet. Henry had by this time recovered his senses; and fresh troops advancing to his relief, the eighteen French cavaliers were slain; upon which he knighted the Welshmen who had so valiantly fallen in his defence. The heat of the engagement still increasing, Henry's courage seemed also to increase, and the most dangerous situation was where he fought in person: his brother, who was stunned by a blow, fell at his feet; and while the king was piously endeavouring to succour him, he received another blow himself, which threw him upon his knees. But he soon recovered; and leading on his troops with fresh ardour, they ran headlong upon the enemy, and put them into such disorder, that their leaders could never after bring them to the charge. The duke of Alençon, who commanded the second line, seeing it fly, resolved, by one desperate stroke, to retrieve the fortune of the day, or fall in the attempt. Wherefore running up to Henry, and at the same time crying aloud that he was the duke of Alençon, he discharged such a blow on his head, that it carried off part of the king's helmet; while, in the mean time, Henry, not having been able to ward off the blow, returned it by striking the duke to the ground, and he was soon killed by the surrounding crowd, all the king's efforts to save him proving ineffectual. In this manner the French were overthrown in every part of the field: from their number, being crowded into a very narrow space, they were incapable of either flying or making any resistance; so that they covered the ground with heaps of slain. After all appearance of opposition was over, the English had leisure to make prisoners; and having advanced with uninterrupted success to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear-guard, which still maintained a shew of opposition. At the same time was heard an alarm from behind, which proceeded from a number of peasants who had fallen upon the English baggage, and were putting those who guarded it to the sword. Henry, now seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, the number of whom exceeded even that of his army. He thought it necessary, therefore, to issue general orders for putting them to death; but, on the discovery of the certainty of his victory, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number. This severity tarnished the glory which his victory would otherwise have acquired: but all the heroism of that age is tinctured with barbarity.

This battle was very fatal to France, from the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the number of the slain were the constable of France, the two brothers of the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, and the count de Marle. An archbishop of Sens also perished fighting in this battle. The most eminent prisoners were the dukes Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont. The killed are computed on the whole to have amounted to ten thousand men; and, as the loss fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended that of these eight thousand were gentlemen. The number of prisoners were computed at fourteen thousand. All the English who were slain did not exceed forty; a number amazingly inconsiderable, if we compare the loss with the victory.

This victory, how great soever it might have been, was attended with no immediate good effects. Henry did not interrupt his retreat a moment after the battle of Azincourt, but carried his prisoners to Calais, and thence to England, where the parliament, dazzled with the splendour of his late achievement, granted him new supplies, though unequal to the expenses of a campaign.

A. D. 1417.] With these supplies, and new levies, he landed an army of twenty-five thousand men in Normandy, and prepared to strike a decisive blow for the crown of France, to which the English monarchs had long made pretensions. That wretched country was now in a most deplorable situation. The whole kingdom appeared as one vast theatre of crimes, murders, injustice, and devastation. The duke of Orleans was assassinated by the duke

of Burgundy; and the duke of Burgundy, in his turn, fell by the treachery of the dauphin. At the same time, the duke's son, desirous of revenging his father's death, entered into a secret treaty with the English; and a league was immediately concluded at Arras, between Henry and the young [A. D. 1419.
duke of Burgundy, in which the king promised to revenge the murder of the late duke; and the son seemed to insist upon no farther stipulations. Henry, therefore, proceeded in his conquests without much opposition from any quarter. Several towns and provinces submitted on his approach; the city of Rouen was besieged and taken; Pontoise and Gisors he soon became master of. He even threatened Paris by the terror of his power, and obliged the court to remove to Troye. It was at this city that the duke of Burgundy, who had taken upon him the protection of the French king, met Henry, in order to ratify that treaty, which was formerly begun, and by which the crown of France was to be transferred to a stranger. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, made him passive in this remarkable treaty; and Henry dictated the terms throughout the whole negociation. The principal articles of this treaty were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine; that king Charles should enjoy the title and dignity of king for life, but that Henry should be declared heir to the crown, and should be intrusted with the present administration of the government; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their respective laws and privileges; that Henry should unite his arms with those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy to depress and subdue the dauphin and his partisans. Such was the tenor of a treaty, too repugnant to the real interests of both kingdoms to be of long duration; but the contending parties were too much blinded by their resentments and jealousies to see that it is not in the power of princes to barter kingdoms, contrary to the real interests of the community.

It was not long after this treaty that Henry married the prin- [A. D. 1420.
cess Catharine; after which he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and took formal possession of that capital. There he obtained, from the estates of the kingdom, a ratification of the late compact; and then turned his arms, with success, against the adherents of the dauphin, who, in the mean time, wandered about a stranger in his own patrimony, and to his enemies' successes only opposed fruitless expostulations.

Henry's supplies were not provided in such plenty as to enable [A. D. 1421.
him to carry on the war without returning in person to prevail upon his parliament for fresh succours; and upon his arrival in England, though he found his subjects highly pleased with the splendour of his conquests, yet they seemed somewhat doubtful as to the advantage of them. A treaty which, in its consequences, was likely to transfer the seat of the empire from England, was not much relished by the parliament. They, therefore, upon various pretences, refused him a supply equal to his exigencies or his demands: but he was resolved on pursuing his schemes; and, joining to the supplies granted at home the contributions levied on the conquered provinces, he was able to assemble an army of twenty-eight thousand men, and with these he landed safely at Calais.

In the mean time, the dauphin, a prince of great prudence and activity, omitted no opportunity of repairing his ruined situation; and taking advantage of Henry's absence from France, he prevailed upon the regent of Scotland to send him a body of seven thousand men from that kingdom; and with these, and some forces of his own, he attacked the duke of Clarence, brother of Henry, and gained a complete victory.

This was the first action which turned the tide of success against the English. But it was of short duration; for Henry soon after appearing with a considerable army, the dauphin fled at his approach; while many of the places which had yielded to this prince, in the neighbourhood of Paris, surrendered to the conqueror. While Henry was thus victorious, he fixed his residence at Paris; and while Charles had but a small court, he was attended with a very magnificent one. On Whitsunday the two kings and their [A. D. 1422.
two queens, with crowns on their heads, dined together in public; Charles receiving apparent homage, but Henry commanding with absolute authority.

In the mean time, the dauphin was chased beyond the Loire, and almost totally dispossessed of all the northern provinces. He was even pursued into the south, by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction. In this exigency, he found it necessary to spin out the war, and to evade all hazardous actions with a rival who had been long accustomed to victory. His prudence was every where remarkable; and, after a train of long persecutions from Fortune, he found her at length willing to declare in his favour, by ridding him of an antagonist that was likely to become a master.

Henry, at a time when his glory had nearly reached its summit, and both crowns were just devolved upon him, was seized with a fistula; a disorder which, from the unskilfulness of the physicians of the times, soon became mortal. Perceiving his distemper incurable, and that his end was approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few other noblemen whom he had honoured with his confidence; and to them he delivered, in great tranquillity, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He recommended his son to their protection; and though he regretted the being unable to accomplish the great object of his ambition, in totally subduing France, yet he expressed great indifference at the approach of death; he devoutly waited its arrival, and expired with the same intrepidity with which he had lived, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the tenth year of his reign.

This prince possessed many virtues; but his military successes gave him credit for more than he really possessed. It is certain, however, that he had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. Yet his reign was rather splendid than profitable; the treasures of the nation were lavished on conquests, which, even if they could have been maintained, would have proved injurious to the nation. Nevertheless he died fortunate, by falling in the midst of his triumphs, and leaving his subjects in the very height of his reputation. Charles, who died two months after him, finished a wretched reign, long passed in frenzy and contempt, despised by his friends, insulted by his allies, and leaving the most miserable subjects upon earth.

Henry left by his queen, Catharine of France, only one son, not full nine months old, who succeeded him on the throne; and whose misfortunes, during the course of a long reign, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

The English triumphs at this time in France produced scarcely any good effects at home: as they grew warlike, they became savage, and, panting after foreign possessions, forgot the arts of cultivating those that lay nearer home. Our language, instead of improving, was more neglected than before; Langland and Chaucer had begun to polish it, and enrich it with new and elegant constructions; but it now was seen to relapse into its former rudeness, and no poet or historian of note was born in this tempestuous period.

CHAP. XIX.

HENRY VI. A. D. 1422 to 1461.—EDWARD IV. A. D. 1461 to 1470.—HENRY VI. RESTORED, A. D. 1470 to 1471.

HENRY VI. was not quite a year old when he succeeded his father Henry V.; and his relatives began, soon after, to dispute the administration of government during his minority. The duke of Bedford, one of the most accomplished princes of the age, and equally experienced both in the cabinet and the field, was appointed by the parliament, protector of England, defender of the church, and first counsellor to the king. His brother, the duke of Gloucester, was fixed upon to govern in his absence, while he conducted the war in France; and, in order to limit the power of both brothers, a council was named, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be carried into execution.

Things being adjusted in this manner, as the conduct of military operations was at that time considered in a much superior light to civil employments at home, the duke of Bedford fixed his station in France, to prosecute the successes of the English in that part of their dominions, and to repress the attempts of Charles VII., who succeeded his father as a nominal throne. Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation of that monarch on assuming his title to the crown. The English were masters of almost all France, and Henry VI., though yet an infant, was solemnly invested with regal power by legates from Paris. The duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army in the heart of the kingdom, ready to oppose every insurrection; while the duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with him, remained steadfast, and seconded his claims. Notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, Charles (who, though only in his twentieth year, united the prudence of age with the affability of youth) found means to break the leagues formed against him, and to bring back his subjects to their natural interests and their duty.

However, his first attempts were totally destitute of success; [A. D. 1428. wherever he endeavoured to face the enemy, he was overthrown; and he could scarcely rely on the friends next his person. His authority was insulted even by his own servants; various advantages were obtained over him; and a battle fought near Vermeuil, in which he was totally defeated by the duke of Bedford, seemed to render his affairs wholly desperate. However, from the impossibility of the English keeping the field without new supplies, Bedford was obliged to retire into England, and in the mean time his vigilant enemy began to recover from his late consternation. Dunois, one of his generals, at the head of one thousand five hundred men, compelled the earl of Warwick to raise the siege of Montargis; and this advantage, slight as it was, began to make the French suppose that the English were not invincible.

But they soon had still greater reason to triumph in their change of fortune; and a new revolution was produced by means apparently the most unlikely to be attended with success. The assistance of a female, of the humblest birth and meanest education, served to turn the tide of victory in their favour, and impress their enemies with those terrors which had hitherto rendered them unequal in the field. By this feeble aid, the vanquished became the victors; and the English, every where worsted, were at length totally expelled from the kingdom.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl, about twenty-seven years of age, called Joan of Arc. This girl had been a servant at a small inn, and in that humble station had submitted to those hardy employments which fit the body for the fatigues of war. She was of an irreproachable life, and had hitherto testified none of those enterprising qualities which displayed themselves soon after. She contentedly fulfilled the duties of her situation, and was remarkable only for her modesty and love of religion. But the miseries of her country seemed to have been one of the greatest objects of her compassion and regard. Her king expelled from his native throne, her country laid in blood, and strangers executing unnumbered rapines before her eyes, were sufficient to excite her resentment, and to warm her heart with a desire of redress. Her mind, inflamed by these objects, and brooding with melancholy steadfastness upon them, began to feel several impulses, which she was willing to mistake for the inspirations of Heaven. Convinced of the reality of her own admonitions, she had recourse to Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and informed him of her destination by Heaven to free her native country from its fierce invaders. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect; but her importunities at length prevailed: and, willing to make a trial of her pretensions, he gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

The French court were probably sensible of the weakness of her pretensions; but they were willing to make use of every artifice to support their declining fortunes. It was therefore given out, that Joan was actually inspired; that she was able to discover the king among the number of his courtiers, although he had laid aside all the distinctions of his authority; that

she had told him such secrets as were only known to himself; and that she had demanded, and minutely described, a sword in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois, which she had never seen. In this manner, the minds of the vulgar being prepared for her appearance, she was armed *cap-à-pié*, mounted on a charger, and shewn in that martial dress to the people. She was then brought before the doctors of the university; and they, tinctured with the credulity of the times, or willing to second the imposture declared that she had actually received her commission from above.

When the preparations for her mission were completely blazoned, their A. D. 1429.] next aim was to send her against the enemy. The English were at that time besieging the city of Orleans, the last resource of Charles, and every thing promised them a speedy surrender. Joan undertook to raise the siege; and to render herself still more remarkable, girded herself with the miraculous sword, of which she had before such extraordinary notices. Thus equipped, she ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out; she displayed in her hand a consecrated banner, and assured the troops of certain success. Such confidence on her side soon raised the spirits of the French army; and even the English, who pretended to despise her efforts, felt themselves secretly influenced with the terrors of her mission. A supply of provision was to be conveyed into the town; Joan, at the head of some French troops, covered the embarkation, and entered Orleans at the head of the convoy which she had safely protected. While she was leading her troops along, a dead silence and astonishment reigned among the English; and they regarded with religious awe that temerity which they thought nothing but supernatural assistance could inspire. But they were soon roused from their state of amazement by a sally from the town; Joan led on the besieged, bearing the sacred standard in her hand, encouraging them with her words and actions, bringing them up to the trenches, and overpowering the besiegers in their own redoubts. In the attack of one of the forts, she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; but instantly pulling out the weapon with her own hands, and getting the wound quickly dressed, she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy. These successes continuing, the English found that it was impossible to resist troops animated by such superior energy; and Suffolk, who conducted the attack, thinking that it might prove extremely dangerous to remain any longer in the presence of such a courageous and victorious enemy, raised the siege, and retreated with all imaginable precaution.

From being attacked, the French now in turn became the aggressors. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to besiege Jergeau, which the earl of Suffolk occupied with a detachment of his army. The city was taken; Suffolk yielded himself a prisoner, and Joan marched into the place in triumph, at the head of the army. A battle was soon after fought near Patay, where the English were worsted as before; and the generals Scales and Talbot were taken prisoners.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the Maid's promise to the king of France; the crowning him at Rheims was the other. She now declared that it was time to complete that ceremony; and Charles, in pursuance of her advice, set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men. The towns through which he passed opened their gates to receive him; and Rheims sent him a deputation, with its keys, upon his approach. The ceremony of his coronation was there performed with the utmost solemnity; and the Maid of Orleans (for so she was now called,) seeing the completion of her mission, desired leave to retire, alleging that she had now accomplished the end of her calling. But her services had been so great, that the king could not think of parting; he pressed her so earnestly to stay, that she at length complied with his request.

A tide of success followed the performance of this solemnity; Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierri, Provins, and many other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, submitted to him on the first summons. On the other hand, the English, discomfited and dispirited, fled in every quarter, unknowing whether to ascribe their misfortunes to the power of sorcery or to a celestial influence, but equally terrified at either. They now found themselves

deprived of the conquests they had gained, in the same manner as the French had formerly submitted to their power. Their own divisions, both abroad and at home, unfitted them entirely for carrying on the war; and the duke of Bedford, notwithstanding all his prudence, saw himself divested of his strong holds in the country, without being able to stop the enemy's progress. In order, therefore, to revive the declining state of his affairs, he resolved to have Henry crowned king at Paris, knowing that the natives would be allured to obedience by the splendour of the ceremony. Henry was [A. D. 1431. accordingly crowned, all the vassals who still continued under the English power swearing fealty and homage. But it was now too late for the ceremonies of a coronation to give a turn to the affairs of the English; the generality of the kingdom had declared against them, and the remainder only waited a convenient opportunity to follow the example.

An accident had previously occurred, which, though it promised to promote the English cause in France, in the end served to render it odious, and conduced to the total evacuation of that country. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of a powerful army, had laid siege to Compeigne; and the Maid of Orleans had thrown herself into the place, contrary to the wishes of the governor, who did not desire the company of one whose authority would be greater than his own. The garrison, however, rejoiced at her appearance, and believed themselves invincible under her protection. But their joy was of short duration; for, Joan having, the day after her arrival, headed a sally, and twice driven the enemy from their entrenchments, was at last obliged to retire, placing herself in the rear, to protect the retreat of her forces. But in the end, attempting to follow her troops into the city, she found the gates shut, and the bridge drawn up, by order of the governor, who is said to have long wished for an opportunity of delivering her up to the enemy.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the besiegers, in having taken a person who had been so long a terror to their arms. The service of Te Deum was publicly celebrated on this occasion; and it was hoped that the capture of this extraordinary person would restore the English to their former victories and successes. The duke of Bedford was no sooner informed of her being taken, than he purchased her of the count Vendome, who had made her his prisoner, and ordered her to be committed to close confinement. The credulity of both nations was at that time so great, that nothing was too absurd to gain belief that coincided with their passions. As Joan, but a little before, from her successes, was regarded as a saint, she was now, upon her captivity, considered as a sorceress, forsaken by the demon who had granted her a fallacious and temporary assistance. Accordingly, it was resolved in council to send her to Rouen, to be tried for witchcraft; and the bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the English interest, presented a petition against her for that purpose. The university of Paris was so mean as to join in the same request. Several prelates, among whom the cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed as her judges. They held their court in Rouen, where Henry then resided; and the Maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal. Her behaviour there no way disgraced her former gallantry; she betrayed neither weakness nor womanish submission; but appealed to God and the pope for the truth of her former revelations. In the issue, she was found guilty of heresy and witchcraft, and sentenced to be burned alive, the common punishment for such offences.

But, previous to the infliction of this dreadful sentence upon her, they were resolved to make her abjure her former errors; and at length so far prevailed upon her, by terror and rigorous treatment, that her spirits were entirely broken by the hardships she was obliged to suffer. Her former visionary dreams began to vanish, and gloomy distrust to take place of her late inspirations. She publicly declared herself willing to recant, and promised never more to give way to the vain delusions which had hitherto misled her and imposed on the people. This was what her oppressors desired; and, willing to show some appearance of mercy, they changed her sentence into perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water. But the rage of her enemies was not yet satiated. Perfectly satisfied of her guilt, they were

willing to know if her reformation was equally certain. Suspecting that the female dress, which she had consented to wear, was disagreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel, and watched for the effect of their temptation upon her. This cruel artifice prevailed. Joan, struck with the sight of a dress in which she had gained so much glory, immediately threw off her penitent's robes, and put on the forbidden garment. Her enemies found her equipped in this manner; and her imprudence was considered as a relapse into her former transgressions. No recantation would suffice, and no pardon would be granted to her. She was condemned to be burned alive in the market-place of Rouen; and this infamous sentence was accordingly executed upon her.

Superstition adds virulence to the natural cruelty of mankind; and this cruel sentence served only to inflame the hatred between the contending powers, without improving the cause of the invaders. One of the first misfortunes which the English felt after this punishment, was the defection of the duke of Burgundy, who had for some time seen the error of his conduct, and wished to break an unnatural connexion, that only served to involve his A. D. 1435.] country in ruin. A treaty was therefore begun and concluded between him and Charles, in which the latter made all the atonements possible for his offence; and the former agreed to assist him in driving the English out of France. This was a mortal blow to their cause; and such were its effects upon the populace in London when they were informed of it, that they killed several of the duke's subjects, who happened to be among them at that time. It might perhaps also have hastened the duke of Bedford's death, who died at Rouen soon after the treaty was concluded; and Richard, duke of York, (son to that earl of Cambridge who was executed in the beginning of the last reign,) was appointed his successor in the regency of France.

From this period the English affairs became totally irretrievable. The city of Paris returned once more to the sense of its duty. Lord Willoughby, who commanded it for the English, was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops to Normandy. Thus ground was continually, though slowly, gained by the French; and notwithstanding their fields were laid waste and their towns depopulated, yet they found protection in the weakness and divisions of the English. At length both parties began to grow weary of a war, which, though carried on but feebly, was a burden greater than either could support. But the terms of peace insisted upon by both were so wide of each A. D. 1443.] other, that no hopes of an accommodation could quickly be expected. A truce, therefore, for twenty-two months, was concluded, which left every thing on the present footing between the parties.

No sooner was this agreed upon than Charles employed himself with great industry and judgment, in repairing those numberless ills to which his kingdom, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic, had so long been exposed. He established discipline among his troops, and justice among his governors. He revived agriculture, and repressed faction. Thus being prepared once more for taking the field, he took the first favourable occasion of breaking the truce; and Normandy was at the same time invaded by four powerful armies, one commanded by Charles himself, a second by the duke of A. D. 1449.] Bretagne, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count Dunois. Every place opened its gates almost as soon as the French appeared. Rouen was the only town that promised to hold out a siege; but the inhabitants clamoured so loud for a surrender, that the duke of Somerset, who commanded the garrison, was obliged to capitulate. The battle, or rather the skirmish, of Fourmigni, was the last stand which the English made in defence of their French dominions. However, they were put to the rout by the count of Clermont, and above a thousand were slain. All Normandy and Guienne, that had so long acknowledged subjection to England, were quickly A. D. 1453.] lost; and the English at length saw themselves entirely dispossessed of countries which for three centuries they had considered as annexed to their native dominions. Calais alone remained of all their conquests; and this was but a small compensation for the blood and treasure which had been lavished in France, and only served to gratify ambition with a transient applause.

It may easily be supposed that the misfortunes in France, which began almost with young Henry's reign, produced dissensions and factions among the rulers at home. The duke of Gloucester, who had been appointed regent of England, during his brother's absence, was not so secure in his place but that he had many who envied his situation. Among the number of these was Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, great-uncle to the king, and son of John of Gaunt. This prelate, to whom the care of the king's person and education had been intrusted, was a man of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous disposition. As he aspired to the government of affairs, he had continual disputes with the duke of Gloucester, and gained frequent advantages over the open temper of that prince. It was in vain that the duke of Bedford employed all his own authority, and that of parliament, to reconcile them; their mutual animosities served for several years to embarrass the government, and to give its enemies every advantage. The sentiments of these two leaders of their party were particularly divided with regard to France. The cardinal encouraged every proposal of accommodation with that country; the duke of Gloucester was for maintaining the honour of the English arms, and winning back all that had been lost by defeats or delay. In this contest the powers seemed nearly divided: and it became incumbent on one side to call in new auxiliaries, before either party could turn the political scale. For this purpose the cardinal resolved to strengthen himself, by procuring a suitable match for Henry; and then, by bringing the new queen over to his interests, to turn the balance in his favour. Accordingly, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman whom he knew to be steadfast in his attachments, was sent over to France, apparently to settle the terms of the truce, which had been then begun; but, in reality, to procure a suitable match for the king. The duke of Gloucester had before proposed a daughter of the count d'Armagnac, but had not influence sufficient to prevail. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, but without either real power or possessions. This princess was considered as the most accomplished of the age, both in mind and person; and (it was thought) would, by her own abilities, be able to supply the defects of her consort, who appeared weak, timid, and superstitious. The treaty was therefore hastened by Suffolk; and the marriage was solemnized in England, when Henry was in his twenty-fourth year.

The cardinal being strengthened by this new alliance, (for the queen came immediately into his measures,) the duke of Gloucester soon found himself possessed of only the shadow of power, without the substance; all his measures were overruled by his powerful antagonist; and he daily found himself insulted in the most cruel manner. One of the principal steps his enemies took to render him odious, was to accuse his wife, the duchess, of witchcraft. She was charged with conversing with one Roger Bolingbroke, a priest and reputed necromancer, and also one Mary Gardemain, who was said to be a witch. It is asserted that these three in conjunction had made a figure of the king in wax, which was placed before a gentle fire; and as the wax dissolved, the king's strength was expected to waste; and upon its total dissolution his life was to be at an end. This accusation was readily attended to in that credulous age; and the more it departed from reason, the fitter it was for becoming an object of belief. The prisoners were pronounced guilty; neither the rank of the duchess, nor the innocence of the accused, could protect them; she was condemned to do penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; Bolingbroke, the priest, was hanged; and the woman was burned in Smithfield.

But this was only the beginning of the duke's distresses. The cardinal of Winchester resolved to drive his resentment to extremity, and accordingly procured a parliament to be summoned, not at London, which was too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmund'sbury, where his adherents were sufficiently numerous to overawe every opponent. As soon as he appeared, he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison; and on the day on which he was to make his defence, he was found dead in his bed, though without any signs of violence upon his body.

The death of the duke of Gloucester was universally ascribed to the cardinal of Winchester, who himself died six weeks after, testifying the utmost remorse for the bloody scene he had acted. What share the queen had in the guilt of this transaction, is uncertain; her usual activity and spirit made the public conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. Henry did not fail to share in the general disgust that was thus produced; and, as he wanted abilities, he never had the art to remove any suspicion. From this time discontent began to prevail among the people, and faction among the great. A weak prince seated on the throne of England, however gentle and innocent, seldom fails of having his authority despised, and his power insulted. The incapacity of Henry began every day to appear in a fuller light; and the foreign war being now extinguished, the people began to prepare for the horrors of intestine strife. In this period of calamity a new interest was revived, which had lain dormant in the times of prosperity and triumph.

It was now that the English were to pay the severe though late penalty for having unjustly deposed Richard the Second; another Richard, who was duke of York, beginning to think of preferring his claims to the crown. This nobleman was descended, by the mother's side, from Lionel, one of the sons of Edward the Third; whereas the reigning king was descended from John of Gaunt, a son of the same monarch, but younger than Lionel. Richard, therefore, stood plainly in succession before Henry; and he began to think the weakness and unpopularity of the present reign a favourable moment for ambition. The ensign of Richard was a white rose, that of Henry a red; and this gave name to the two factions whose animosity was now about to drench the kingdom with blood.

The cardinal of Winchester being dead, the duke of Suffolk, who had a hand in Gloucester's assassination, took the lead in public affairs; and, being secretly aided by the interest of the queen, managed all with uncontrollable authority. As this nobleman had made his way to power by murder, so he was resolved to maintain himself in it by the usual resources of bad men, by tyranny over his inferiors, and flattery to the queen. His conduct soon excited the jealousy or the hatred of the whole kingdom. The great nobility could ill brook the exaltation of a subject above them who was of inferior birth to their own. The people complained of his arbitrary measures, and the immense acquisitions which he had made in office; and the blame of every odious and unsuccessful measure was instantly given to him. Suffolk was not ignorant of the hatred of the people; but supposed his crimes were such as could not be proved against him, or that, if proved, he could readily evade punishment: he endeavoured, therefore, to overawe his enemies, by boldly presenting himself to the charge; and he called upon them to shew an instance of his guilt. This was what the house of commons had long wished for; and they immediately opened their charge against him, of corruption, tyranny, and treason. He was accused of being the cause of the loss of France; of persuading the French king, with an armed force, to invade England; and of betraying in office the secrets of his department. This accusation might have been false; but the real motive, which was Suffolk's power and the cruel use he made of it, was left unmentioned, although it was true. It was no easy matter for any one man's strength, how great soever, to withstand the united resentment of a nation; so that the court was obliged to give up its favourite; and the king, to shield him as much as possible from popular resentment, banished him the kingdom for five years. This was considered by some as an escape from justice: the captain of a vessel was therefore employed by his enemies to intercept him in his passage to France; he was seized near Dover, his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea. There is little in the transactions of these times to interest us on the side of either party; we see scarcely any thing but crimes on both sides, without one shining character or one virtue to animate the narrative.

A. D. 1450.] By the death of the duke of Suffolk, Richard of York saw himself rid of a potent enemy, and was pleased to see the discontents of the nation daily increase. Among the number of complaints to which the un-

popularity of the government gave rise, there were some which even excited insurrection; particularly that headed by John Cade, which was of the most dangerous nature. This man was a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly over into France for his crimes; but seeing the people upon his return prepared for violent measures, he assumed the name of Mortimer, and, at the head of twenty thousand Kentish men, advanced towards the capital, and encamped at Blackheath. The king, being informed of this commotion, sent a message to demand the cause of their assembling in arms; and Cade, in the name of the community, answered, that their only aim was to punish evil ministers, and procure a redress of grievances for the people. The king's council deeming these demands seditious, a body of fifteen thousand men were levied to oppose the insurgents; while Henry himself marched at their head towards Blackheath. At his approach Cade retired, as if he had been afraid of an engagement, and lay in ambush in a wood, not doubting that he should be pursued by the king's whole army; but the king was content with sending a detachment after the fugitives, and returning himself to London. This was what Cade desired to see; and sallying out from his ambuscade, he cut the detachment in pieces.

The citizens of London soon after opened their gates to the victor; and Cade for some time maintained great order and discipline among his followers. He always led them out into the field during the night-time; and published severe edicts against plunder and violence of every kind.

Next day, being informed that the treasurer, lord Say, was in the city, he caused him to be apprehended and beheaded, without any form of trial; and in the evening returned to Southwark. Thus for some days he continued the practice of entering the city in the morning, and quitting it at night; but at length, being unable to keep his followers within bounds, the citizens resolved to shut their gates against him. Cade endeavouring to force his way, an engagement ensued between him and the citizens, which was not discontinued until night put an end to the engagement. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed of the situation of affairs, found means to draw up the same night an act of amnesty, which was privately dispersed among the rebels. This had the desired effect. Cade saw himself in the morning abandoned by most of his followers, and, retreating to Rochester, was obliged to fly alone into the wolds of Kent; where, a price being set upon his head by proclamation, he was discovered and slain by one Alexander Iden, who, in recompense for this service, was made governor of Dover castle.

In the mean time, the duke of York secretly fomented these [A. D. 1451. disturbances; and, pretending to espouse the cause of the people, wrote to the king, advising a reformation in the ministry; and the house of commons was brought over to second his request. An address was presented against the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, sir John Sutton, and lord Dudley, praying the king to remove them for ever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. Though the king was willing enough to oppose so violent and arbitrary an attack upon his favourites, yet he endeavoured to soften the general animosity against them, by promising to banish a part of the obnoxious ministry from court for the space of a year.

But partial concessions in government are generally bad palliatives. The duke of York, who found the people strongly attached to him, resolved to avail himself of his power; and, raising a body of ten thousand men, marched towards London, demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerset from all his power and authority. He had hopes from the beginning that the citizens would have thrown open their gates to him; but was much mortified when he found that he was refused admission. Upon his retreat into Kent, a parley ensued between the king and him, in which the duke still insisted on the dismission of Somerset; with which the king seemed at length willing to comply. The duke of York was, therefore, persuaded to pay his respects to Henry in his tent; but on repeating his charge against the duke of Somerset, he was surprised to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer to justify his innocence;

York now perceived his danger, and repressed the impetuosity of his accusation. As soon as he left the presence, the king commanded him to be apprehended; but such was this nobleman's authority, or such the timidity of the king's council, that they suffered him to retire to his seat at Wigmore, upon promising strict obedience for the future.

A reconciliation thus extorted could be of no long duration. York still secretly aspired to the crown; and though he wished nothing so ardently, yet he was for some time prevented by his own scruples from seizing it. What [A. D. 1454.] his intrigues failed to bring about, accident produced to his desire. The king falling into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility, that it even rendered him incapable of maintaining the appearance of royalty, York was appointed lieutenant and protector of the kingdom, with powers to hold and open parliament at pleasure. This was a fatal blow to the house of Lancaster; all the adherents of that party were dismissed from court, and the duke of Somerset was sent to the Tower.

York, being thus invested with a plenitude of power, continued in the enjoyment of it for some time; but at length the unhappy king recovered from his lethargic complaint; and, as if awaking from a dream, perceived, with surprise, that he was stripped of all his authority. Margaret, his queen, also did all in her power to rouse him to a sense of his unworthy situation, and prevailed upon him to remove the duke of York from his power; in consequence of which that nobleman had instant recourse to arms. The impotent monarch, thus obliged to take the field, was dragged after his army to [A. D. 1455.] St. Alban's, where both sides came to an engagement, in which the Yorkists gained a complete victory, and the duke of Somerset was slain. The king himself being wounded, and taking shelter in a cottage near the field of battle, was made prisoner, and treated with great respect and tenderness. Thence he was, shortly after, led in triumph to London; and the duke of York, permitting him still to enjoy the name of king, reserved to himself the title of protector, in which consisted all the real power of the crown.

Henry was now but a prisoner treated with the splendid forms of royalty; yet, indolent and sickly, he seemed pleased with his situation, and did not regret that power which was not to be exercised without fatigue. But it was otherwise with Margaret, his queen. She, naturally bold, active, and endued with masculine courage, could not be content with the appearance of that authority which her enemies alone permitted her to exercise; she continued to excite the wretched monarch to a vindication of his royal dignity, and to spur him on to independence. He was, therefore, once more induced to assert his prerogative; and the duke of York was obliged to retire, to be in readiness to oppose any designs against his liberty and life. At first a negociation for peace was entered upon by both parties; but their mutual distrusts soon brought them into the field, and the fate of the kingdom was [Sept. 23, 1459.] given up to be determined by the sword. Their armies met at Bloreheath, on the borders Staffordshire, and the Yorkists gained some advantages. But when a more general action was about to ensue, the night before the intended engagement, sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a body of veterans for the duke of York, deserted with all his men to the king; and this so intimidated the Yorkists, that they separated the next day without striking a single blow. The duke of York fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, one of his boldest and ablest supporters, escaped to Calais, with the government of which he had been intrusted during the late protectorship; and all the party, thus suppressed, concealed their intentions for a more favourable opportunity. Nor was this opportunity long wanting; Warwick, [A. D. 1460.] having met with some successes at sea, landed in Kent; and being there joined by some other barons, he marched up to London amidst the acclamations of the people. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and his troops increasing on every day's march, he soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. Never was there a more formidable division of interests, or greater inveteracy between the chiefs of either party, than the present. Warwick was one of the most celebrated generals of his age, formed for times of trouble, extremely artful, and incontestably brave, equally skilful in council and

the field, and inspired with a degree of hatred that nothing could suppress. On the other side, the queen seemed the only acting general: she ranged the army in battalia, and gave the necessary orders, while the poor king was brought forward, an involuntary spectator of those martial preparations. Both armies met on a plain near Northampton. The queen's forces were considerably inferior in number to those of the earl; but she was not discouraged. While she went about from rank to rank, the king remained in his tent, awaiting the issue of the combat, with female doubts and apprehensions. The battle continued for five hours, with the utmost obstinacy; but at length the good fortune and the numbers of Warwick were seen to prevail. The queen's army was overthrown; and she had the misfortune to see the king once more made a prisoner, and brought back to his capital in triumph

The cause of the Yorkists being thus confirmed by the strongest arguments, those of power, a parliament was called to give it their formal sanction. The duke of York, whose prospects began to widen as he rose, from being contented with the protectorship, now began to claim the crown. It was now, for the first time, that the house of lords seemed to enjoy an unbiassed deliberative authority; the cause of Henry, and that of the duke of York, were solemnly debated, each side producing their reasons without fear or control. This was the first time that a spirit of true rational liberty ever appeared to exert itself in England, and in which recent conquest did not supersede all deliberation. The duke, though a conqueror, could not entirely gain his cause: it was determined that Henry should possess the throne during his life; and that the duke should be appointed his successor, to the utter exclusion of the prince of Wales, who, yet but a child, was insensible of the injury that was done him.

The queen, to all appearance, now seemed utterly destitute of every resource; her armies were routed, her husband taken prisoner, and the parliament disclaimed her cause. Yet though she had lost all, she still retained her native intrepidity and perseverance; she was a woman of a great mind and some faults, but ambition seemed to be the leading passion in all her conduct. Though a fugitive, distant from the capital, opposed by a victorious army and a consummate general, she still tried every resource to repair her disastrous circumstances. She flew into Wales; there endeavoured to animate her old friends, and to acquire new. The nobility of the north, who regarded themselves as the most warlike of the kingdom, were moved with indignation to find the southern barons dispose of the crown, and settle the government. They began to consider the royal cause as unjustly oppressed; and the queen soon found herself at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, ready to second her pretensions. She and her old enemy, the duke of York, once more met upon Wakefield- [Dec. 30, 1460. Green, near the castle of Sandal: and victory, on this occasion, declared itself in favour of the queen. The duke of York was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown, in derision of his pretended title. His son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was taken prisoner and killed in cold blood by lord Clifford, in revenge for his father's death, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's.

Margaret, being victorious, marched towards London, in order to give the king liberty; but the earl of Warwick, who now put himself at the head of the Yorkists, commanded an army in which he led about the captive king, to give a sanction to his attempts. Upon the approach of the Lancastrians, he conducted his forces, strengthened by a body of Londoners, who were very affectionate to his cause, and gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's. While the armies were warmly engaged, Lord Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of Yorkists, treacherously withdrew from the combat; and this decided the victory in favour of the queen. Above two thousand of the Yorkists perished in the battle, and the person of the king again fell into the hands of his own party,—to be treated with apparent respect, but real contempt. Lord Bonneville, to whose care he had been intrusted, continued with him after the defeat, upon an assurance of pardon; but Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, ordered his head to be struck off.

It now only remained that the city of London should declare in the queen's favour: but Warwick had previously secured it in his interest; and the citizens, who dreaded her tumultuous army, refused to open their gates to her summons. In the mean time, young Edward, the eldest son of the late duke of York, began to repair the losses his party had lately sustained, and to give spirit to the Yorkists. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, his bravery, and popular deportment, advanced towards London with the remainder of Warwick's army, and, obliging Margaret to retire, entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people. Perceiving his own popularity, he supposed that now was the time to assert his claim to the crown; and his friend Warwick, assembling the citizens in St. John's Fields, pronounced an harangue, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and the usurpation of the house of Lancaster. He then demanded whether they chose Henry for their king; to which the people crying, "A York! a York!" he quickly called an assembly of lords and bishops at Baynard's Castle, and these ratified their choice. The young duke was proclaimed king by the title of Edward IV., and then conducted, with great ceremony, to the palace where Henry used to lodge when within the walls of the city.

But the miseries of civil war were not yet completed; and Margaret resolved to strike another blow. Upon her retiring to the north, great numbers flocked to her standard, and she was able, in a few days, to assemble an army of sixty thousand men in Yorkshire. On the other side, the earl of Warwick conducted young Edward at the head of forty thousand men to
Mar. 29, 1461.] oppose her. Both sides met near Towton, in the county of York, to decide the fate of empire; and never was England depopulated by so terrible an engagement. It was a dreadful sight to behold a hundred thousand men of the same country engaged against each other; and all to satisfy the empty ambition of the weakest or the worst of mankind. While the army of Edward was advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of snow, which, driving full in the faces of the enemy, blinded them; and this advantage, seconded by an impetuous onset, decided the victory in their favour. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and a bloody slaughter ensued, in which thirty-five thousand of the Lancastrians were slain. Edward entered York victorious; and taking down the heads of his father and the earl of Salisbury, that were placed over the city gates, put up that of the earl of Devonshire in their stead.

In the mean time, Margaret, hearing the fate of her army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford her protection, fled with Henry and her son to Scotland. But no calamity was able to repress her perseverance: though so often overcome, yet she was resolved once more to enter
A. D. 1462.] England with five thousand men granted her by the French king; and the unfortunate Henry was led onward, by his presence to enforce her claims. But even here her former ill-fortune attended her; and her little fleet was dispersed by a tempest, while she herself escaped with some
A. D. 1464.] difficulty by entering the mouth of the Tweed. A defeat, which her few forces suffered at Hexham, seemed to render her cause desperate; and the cruelty which was practised upon all her adherents, rendered it still more dangerous.

The loss of this battle appeared to deprive her of every resource: she and her husband were obliged to seek for safety in a separate flight, without attendants, and without even the necessaries of life. The weak unfortunate king, always imprudent, and always unsuccessful, thought he could remain concealed in England; but his error was soon attended with the obvious consequences; being taken prisoner, carried to London with ignominy, and confined in the Tower. Margaret was rather more fortunate. She, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was set upon during the darkness of the night by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. But she found more respectful treatment from one of those lawless men, who, knowing her station, resolved to procure her safety at the hazard of his own: and at last conducted her to the sea-coast, whence

she made her escape to her father in Flanders, who, though very poor, strove as well as he could to supply her with the necessaries of life. To the same court the dukes of Somerset and Exeter retired; and they, literally speaking, felt all the miseries of want. Philip de Comines, the French historian, says, he saw the duke of Exeter following the duke of Burgundy's equipage barefooted, and serving for his livelihood as a footman. This was a strange situation for a lord, who had conducted armies, and was allied to kings and princes: but those enjoyments which served to distinguish the great from the little, were not so apparent then as at present.

Edward being now, by means of the earl of Warwick, fixed upon the throne, reigned in peace and security, while his title was recognized by parliament, and universally submitted to by the people. He began, therefore, to give a loose to his favourite passions; and a spirit of gallantry, mixed with cruelty, was seen to prevail in his court. In the very same palace which one day exhibited a spectacle of horror, was to be seen the day following a masque or a pageant; and the king would at once gallant a mistress, and inspect an execution. In order to turn him from these pursuits, which were calculated to render him unpopular, the earl of Warwick advised him to marry; and, with his consent, went over to France to procure Bona of Savoy as queen; and the match was accordingly concluded. But whilst the earl was hastening the negociation in France, the king himself rendered it abortive at home, by marrying Elizabeth Woodville, lady Grey, (widow of sir John Grey, slain fighting on the Lancastrian side,) with whom he had fallen in love, and whom he had vainly endeavoured to debauch. Having thus given Warwick real cause of offence, he resolved to widen the breach, by driving him from the council. Every incident tended to increase the jealousy between the king and this powerful subject; the favour shewn the queen's party, and the contempt which was thrown upon the earl, manifested an open rupture. Warwick, whose prudence was equal to his bravery, soon made use of both to assist his revenge; he seduced the duke of Clarence, brother to the king, and, to confirm that nobleman in his interest, gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was formed against Edward and his ministry; and an accident that followed soon after, contributed to fan the flame. The inhabitants about St. Leonard's hospital, in Yorkshire, com- [A. D. 1469.
plained that the duties levied for that institution, which were orignally allotted for pious uses, were now secreted by the managers: and they refused to contribute their part. They soon after rose in a body to oppose the ecclesiastical severities that were levelled against them by the earl of Pembroke. It is thought that the earl of Warwick had some hand in fomenting these disorders; and although this rebellion was quieted by a pardon from Edward, yet some others, that broke out shortly after, appeared favourable to Warwick's designs. Vengeance seemed to be the only motive this nobleman had in view; and that he pursued with unabating assiduity. Plots, treasons, stratagems, and negociations, followed each other in rapid succession: but at last fortune seemed to favour Warwick's aims, and the king, as we are told, fell into his power, by accepting an invitation which the earl gave him in order to betray him. Be this as it may, Edward had soon the good fortune to see himself at the head of a numerous army, and in a condition to take satisfaction for the treachery of his powerful opponent. Resolving, therefore, to take advantage of the enemies' weakness, after hav- [A. D. 1470.
ing defeated a party commanded by lord Wells, and cut off his head, he marched to give them battle. In this exigency, Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, had no other resource but to quit the kingdom; and embarking for Calais, they seized upon some Flemish vessels, which they found lying along that coast, with which they entered one of the ports of France. Here they entered into an union with Margaret, which was dictated by necessity; both sides being willing to forget their mutual animosity, in order to second their revenge. Lewis XI., king of France, prepared a fleet to escort them; and seizing the opportunity, they landed at Dartmouth with a small body of troops, while Edward was in the north suppressing an insurrection which had lately appeared there. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the success of Warwick upon this occasion. The spirit of discontent with which many

were infected, and the general instability of the English nation, conspired with his ambition; and in less than six days such multitudes flocked to his standard, that he saw himself at the head of an army of three-score thousand men.

It was now become Edward's turn to fly from the kingdom. He had just time to escape an attempt made upon his person in the night by the marquis of Montague, and to embark on board a small fleet, which lay off Lynn in Norfolk. Nor were his dangers lessened at sea, where he was chased by some ships belonging to the Hanse-towns, who were then at war both with France and England. But at length he landed safely in Holland, where he received a cool reception from the duke of Burgundy, with whom he had some time before entered into an alliance.

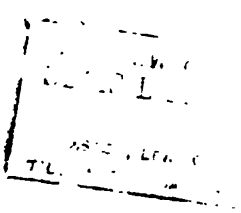
In the mean time, Warwick, with his resistless army, advanced to London; and once more the poor passive king Henry was released from prison, to be placed upon a dangerous throne. A parliament was called, which confirmed Henry's title with great solemnity; and Warwick was himself received among the people under the title of the King-maker. All the attainders of the Lancastrians were reversed; and every one was restored, who had lost either honours or fortune by his former adherence to Henry's cause. All the considerable Yorkists either fled to the continent, or took shelter in sanctuaries, where the ecclesiastical privileges afforded them protection.

But Edward's party, though repressed, was not destroyed. Though an exile in Holland, he had many partisans at home; and, after an absence of some months, being seconded by a small body of forces granted him by the duke A. D. 1471.] of Burgundy, he made a descent at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. Though at first he was coolly received by the English, yet his army increased upon its march, while his moderation and feigned humility still added to the number of his partisans. London, at that time ever ready to admit the most powerful, opened her gates to him; and the wretched Henry was once more plucked from his throne, to be sent back to his former mansion.

Thus Warwick began to experience the instability of fortune, and to find his party declining; but what gave the most dreadful blow to his hopes, was the defection of his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, who went over to Edward, and threw all his weight into the opposite scale. Nothing now remained to Warwick, but to cut short a state of anxious suspense by hazarding a battle; and though he knew his forces to be inferior to those of Edward, yet he placed his greatest dependence upon his own generalship. With this resolution he marched from St. Alban's, where he was stationed, and advancing towards Barnet, within ten miles of London, there he resolved to wait for Edward, who was not slow in marching down to oppose him. Warwick and Edward were at that time considered as the two most renowned generals of the age; and now was to be struck the decisive blow that was either to fix Edward on the throne, or to overthrow his pretensions for ever. The unfortunate Henry also was dragged along to be a spectator of the engagement; happy in his natural imbecility, which seemed as a balm to soothe all his afflictions.

April 14, 1471.] The battle began early in the morning, and lasted till noon; and never did two armies fight with greater obstinacy and bravery, not honour but life depending on the issue of the contest. The example of Warwick inspired his troops with more than common resolution, and the victory for a while seemed to declare in his favour. But an accident at last threw the balance against him: from the mistiness of the morning, a part of his army, happening to mistake a body of their own forces for the enemy, fell furiously upon them, and this error turned the fortune of the day. Warwick did all that experience, valour, or conduct, could suggest, to retrieve the mistake; but it was now too late: no art could repair the error; wherefore, finding all hopes gone, he was resolved to sell the conquerors a dear-bought victory. He had, contrary to his usual practice, engaged that day on foot; and leading a chosen body of troops into the thickest of the slaughter, he there fell in the midst of his enemies, covered with wounds. His brother underwent the same fate; and six thousand of his adherents were slain, Edward having ordered that no quarter should be given.

Margaret, who had been ever fruitful in resources, was at that time re-




HENRY VIII
RICHARD III
HENRY VII
EDWARD V

turning with her son from France, where she had been negociating for fresh supplies. She had scarcely time to refresh herself from the fatigues of her voyage, when she received the fatal news of the death of the brave Warwick, and the total destruction of her party. Though she had hitherto boldly withstood all the attacks of fortune, the present information was too violent a blow for nature to support. Her grief, for the first time, found way in a torrent of tears; and yielding to her unhappy fate, she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire.

She had not been long in this melancholy abode before she found some few friends still willing to assist her fallen fortunes. Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, the lords Wenlock and St. John, with other men of rank, exhorted her still to hope for success, and offered to assist her to the last. A dawn of hope was sufficient to revive the courage of this magnanimous woman; and the recollection of her former misfortunes gave way to the flattering prospect of another trial. The duke of Somerset headed her army; a man who had shared her dangers, and had ever been steady in her cause. He was valiant, generous, and polite; but rash and headstrong. When Edward first attacked him in his entrenchments, he repulsed him with such vigour, that the enemy retired with precipitation; upon which the duke, supposing them routed, pursued, and ordered lord Wenlock to support his charge. But unfortunately this lord disobeyed his orders; and Somerset's forces were soon overpowered by numbers. In this dreadful exigency, the duke, finding that all was over, became ungovernable in his rage; and beholding Wenlock inactive, on the very ground where he had first drawn up his men, he gave way to his fury, ran upon the coward with his heavy battle-axe in both hands, and with one blow dashed out his brains.

The queen and the prince were taken prisoners after the battle, and brought into the presence of Edward. The young prince appeared before the conqueror with undaunted majesty; and being asked, in an insulting manner, how he dared to invade England without leave, the young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his ruined fortune, replied, "I entered the dominions of my father, to revenge his injuries, and redress my own." The barbarous Edward, enraged at his intrepidity, struck him on the mouth with his gauntlet; and this served as a signal for farther brutality; the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, and other courtiers, rushing on the unarmed youth at once, stabbed him to the heart with their daggers. To complete the tragedy, Henry himself, who had long been the passive spectator of all these horrors, was now thought unfit to live. The duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard the Third, entering his chamber alone, murdered him in cold blood. Of all those who were taken, few were suffered to survive but Margaret herself. Edward perhaps expected that she would be ransomed by the king of France; and in this point he was not deceived, as that monarch paid fifty thousand crowns for her freedom. This extraordinary woman, after having sustained the cause of her husband in twelve battles, after having survived her friends, fortunes, and children, died a few years after in privacy in France, very miserable indeed; but with few claims to our pity, except her courage and her distresses.

CHAP. XX.

EDWARD IV.—A. D. 1471. to 1483.

OF all people, the English are the most truly compassionate; and a throne raised upon cruelty never wanted enemies among them. Nothing could have been more ill-judged than any attempts to govern such a people by the hands of the executioner; and the leaders of either faction seemed insensible of this truth. Edward, being now freed from great enemies, turned to the punishment of those of less note; so that the gibbets were hung with his adversaries, and their estates confiscated to his use. The bastard Falconbridge, among others, having advanced to London at the head of a small body of forces, was repulsed; and, being taken prisoner, was immediately executed.

While Edward was thus rendering himself terrible on the one hand, he was immersed in abandoned pleasures on the other. Nature, it seems, was not unfavourable to him in that respect, as he was universally allowed to be the most beautiful man of his time. His courtiers also seemed willing to encourage those debaucheries in which they had a share; and the clergy, as they themselves practised every kind of lewdness with impunity, were ever ready to lend absolution to all his failings. The truth is, enormous vices had been of late so common, that adultery was held but as a very slight offence. Among the number of his mistresses was the wife of one Shore, a merchant in the city, a woman of exquisite beauty and good sense, but who had not virtue enough to resist the temptations of a handsome man and a monarch.

England now enjoying a temporary calm, Edward thought that the best way to ingratiate himself with his subjects would be to assert his right to his dominions in France, which the insurrections of his father had contributed to alienate during the former reign. An attempt of this kind would serve to give vent to the malignant disposition of his enemies, and would be sure to please the vulgar, who are ever more fond of splendid than of useful acquisitions. To prosecute this scheme, the king sent off to his ally, the duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1475.] a reinforcement of three thousand men, and soon after passed over himself at the head of a numerous army. Lewis was, not without reason, alarmed at this formidable invasion, which, as he was unable to resist, he strove to obviate by treaty. This succeeded more effectually than arms: the two kings had an interview at Pecquigni; and, upon the promise of a stipulated sum, Edward agreed to lead his forces back to England. This monarch wanted to return home to his mistresses, to spend upon them the money he expected to receive from France; and the French monarch hoped soon to put himself in a posture to refuse giving the sums which he had only made a promise to pay.

Upon the conclusion of this expedition, which thus ended without effect, Edward appeared no less actuated by private passions, unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman, than jealous of all who seemed to despise his conduct. Among the detail of private wrongs, which are too minute for history, an act of tyranny, of which he was guilty in his own family, deserves the detestation of posterity. The duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to recover the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. A pretext was, therefore, sought to ruin him; and the openness of his hasty temper soon gave the wished-for occasion. The king hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, a creature of the duke's, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to that insult. For this trifling exclamation Burdet was tried for his life, and publicly executed at Tyburn. The duke of Clarence, upon the death of his friend, vented his grief in renewed reproaches against his brother, and exclaimed against the iniquity of the sentence. The king, highly offended with this A. D. 1478.] liberty, or using that as a pretext against him, had him arraigned before the house of peers, and appeared in person as his accuser. In those times of confusion, every crime alleged by the prevailing party was fatal: the duke was found guilty; and being allowed to choose the manner in which he would die, he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey, in the Tower: a whimsical choice, implying that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor.

The rest of this monarch's life was spent in riot and debauchery; in gratifications that are pleasing only to the narrow mind; in useless treaties with France, in which he was ever deceived, and in empty threats against the monarch who had deceived him. His parliament, become merely the ministers of his will, consented, at his request, to a war with France, at a time when his alliances upon the continent were so broken that it was impossible for it to succeed. The people seemed equally pleased with the prospect of an expedition, which, without serving, could only tend to impoverish, the nation; and great hopes were revived of once more conquering France. While all were thus occupied with hope or private distrust, and while Edward was

employed in making preparations for that enterprise, he was [April 9, 1483. seized with a distemper, of which he expired, in the forty-first year of his age, and (counting from his first usurpation) in the twenty-third of his reign. The character of this prince is easily summed up. His best qualities were courage and beauty; his bad, a combination of all the vices. Besides five daughters, he left two sons: Edward, prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard, duke of York, in his ninth year.

CHAP. XXI.

EDWARD V.—A. D. 1483.

UPON the death of Edward, the kingdom was divided into two new factions. The queen's family, who during the last reign had grown into power, was become obnoxious to the old nobility, who could not bear to act in subordination to persons whom they considered as inferiors. The king, during his lifetime, had been able to overawe these animosities; and on his death-bed he endeavoured to guard against their future increase. He expressed a desire that his brother, the duke of Gloucester, should be intrusted with the regency, and recommended peace and unanimity during the minority of his son. But the king was no sooner dead, than the parties broke out with all their former resentment; and the duke of Gloucester, a crafty, wicked, and ambitious prince, resolved to profit by their mutual contentions.

His first aim was to foment the discontents of the old nobility, by insinuating that the queen wanted to hide the meanness of her original in a multitude of new promotions; at the same time he redoubled his professions of zeal and attachment to that princess, and thus entirely gained her confidence. Having succeeded thus far, he gained over the duke of Buckingham, and some other lords, to his interest; and prevailed upon them to second him in his attempts to obtain the guardianship of the young king, with the custody of his person.

Being sure of the assistance of these noblemen, he resolved to take the king out of the custody of the earl of Rivers, his uncle by the mother's side; and having ordered that nobleman to be arrested, he met young Edward in person, and offered to conduct him to London, with the most profound demonstrations of respect. Having thus secured the person of the king, his next step was to get the charge of the king's brother, a boy of about nine years old, who, with the queen, his mother, had taken sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. The queen, who had foreseen from the beginning the dangers that threatened her family, was reluctantly persuaded to deliver up her child; but, at the intercession of the primate and the archbishop of York, she was at last induced to comply; and clasping the child in her arms, with a last embrace, took leave of him with a shower of tears. The young king, finding that he was to have the pleasure of his brother's company, was greatly rejoiced at the queen's compliance, not considering the fatal intent of these preparations; for, in a few days after, the duke of Gloucester, who had been made protector of the realm, upon a pretence of guarding their persons from danger, conveyed them both to the Tower.

Having thus secured the persons of those he intended to destroy, his next step was to spread a report of their illegitimacy, and, by pretended obstacles, to put off the day appointed for the young king's coronation. Lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the first to disclose his fears of the protector's ill designs; and communicated his suspicions to lord Hastings, who long had been firmly attached to the king's family. Hastings would at first give the surmise no credit; and probably his wishes that such a project might not be true, influenced his judgment, and confirmed his security. But he was soon undeceived; for Catesby, a vile instrument of the protector, was sent to sound him, and to try whether he could not be brought over to assist the projected usurpation. Hastings treated the proposal with horror; he professed himself immoveable in his adherence to the king; and his death was, therefore, resolved on by the protector.

In the mean time, orders had been despatched to execute lord Rivers, sir Richard Grey, and sir Thomas Vaughan, who had been confined in Pontefract castle, and whose only crime was their attachment to the young king. On the very day on which they were beheaded, the protector summoned a council in the Tower, whither lord Hastings, amongst others, repaired, no way suspecting that his own life was in danger. The duke of Gloucester was capable of committing the most bloody and treacherous murders with the utmost coolness and indifference. He came thither at nine o'clock in the morning, with the most cheerful countenance, saluting the members with the utmost affability, and demonstrations of unusual good humour. He complimented the bishop of Ely on his early strawberries, and begged to have a dish of them. He then left the council, as if called away by other business; but desired that his absence might not interrupt the debates. In about a quarter of an hour he returned quite altered in look, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and shewing, by a frequent change of countenance, the signs of some inward perturbation. A silence ensued for some time; and the lords looked upon each other, not without reason, expecting some horrid catastrophe. At length, he broke the dreadful silence: "My lords," cried he, "what punishment do they deserve who have conspired against my life?" This question redoubled the astonishment of the assembly; and the silence continuing, lord Hastings at length made answer, that whoever did so, deserved to be punished as a traitor. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his mistress, with others their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcrafts." Upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. The amazement of the council seemed to increase at this terrible accusation; and lord Hastings again said, "If they have committed such a crime, they deserve punishment." —"If!" cried the protector, with a loud voice: "dost thou answer me with Ifs? I tell thee, that they have conspired my death; and that thou, traitor, art an accomplice in their crime!" He then struck the table twice with his hand; and the room was instantly filled with armed men. "I arrest thee," continued he, turning to Hastings, "for high treason; and at the same time gave him in charge to the soldiers. In the mean time, the council-room was filled with tumult and confusion; and though no rescue was offered, yet the soldiers caused a bustle, as if they apprehended danger. One of them narrowly missed cleaving lord Stanley's head with a battle-axe; but he fortunately escaped, by shrinking under the table. In all probability the fellow had orders for that attempt; and should Stanley be killed, his death might be ascribed to the tumult caused by an intended rescue. However, though he escaped the blow, he was arrested by order of the protector, who was well apprised of his loyal attachment to the young king. As for lord Hastings, he was obliged to make a short confession to the next priest that was at hand; the protector crying out, by St. Paul, that he would not dine till he had seen his head taken off. He was accordingly hurried out to the little green before the Tower chapel, and there beheaded on a log of wood that accidentally lay in the way. Two hours after, a proclamation, very well drawn up, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and palliating the suddenness of his punishment. It was remarked, however, by a merchant among the auditors, that the proclamation was certainly drawn up by a spirit of prophecy.

The protector, having thus got rid of those whom he most feared, was willing to please the populace by punishing Jane Shore, the late king's mistress. This unfortunate woman was an enemy too humble to excite his jealousy; yet, as he had accused her of witchcraft, of which all the world saw she was innocent, he thought proper to make her an example, for those faults of which she was really guilty. Jane Shore had been formerly deluded from her husband, who was a goldsmith in Lombard-street, and continued to live with Edward, the most guiltless mistress in his abandoned court. She was ever known to intercede for the distressed, and was usually applied to as a mediator for mercy. She was charitable, generous, and of a most pleasing conversation; her wit being said to be as irresistible as her beauty. As she was blameless in other respects, the protector ordered her to be sued for incontinence, as having left her husband to live in adultery with another. It

is very probable that the people were not displeased at seeing one again reduced to former meanness, who had for a while been raised above them, and enjoyed the smiles of a court. The charge against her was too notorious to be denied; she pleaded guilty, and was accordingly condemned to walk barefoot through the city, and to do penance in St. Paul's church in a white sheet, with a wax taper in her hand, before thousands of spectators. She lived above forty years after this sentence, reduced to the utmost wretchedness; and Sir Thomas More, in the succeeding reign, assures us, that he saw her gathering herbs in a field near the city for her nightly repast; an extraordinary example of the ingratitude of courts, and the reverses of fortune.

The protector now began to throw off the mask, and to deny his pretended regard for the sons of the late king, thinking it high time to aspire at the throne more openly. He had previously gained over the duke of Buckingham, a man of talents and power, by bribes and promises of future favour. This nobleman, therefore, used all his arts to infuse into the people an opinion of the bastardy of the late king, and also that of his children. Doctor Shaw, a popular preacher, was hired to harangue the people from St. Paul's cross to the same purpose; where, after having displayed the incontinence of the queen, and insisting on the illegality of the young king's title, he enlarged on the virtues of the protector. "It is the protector," cried he, "who carries in his face the image of virtue, and the marks of a true descent. He alone can restore the lost honour and glory of the nation." It was hoped upon this occasion, that some of the populace would have cried out, "Long live king Richard!" but the audience remaining silent, the duke of Buckingham undertook to persuade them in his turn. His speech was copious upon the calamities of the last reign, and the bastardy of the present race; he saw only one method of shielding off the miseries that threatened the state, which was, to elect the protector; but he seemed apprehensive that he would never be prevailed on to accept of a crown, accompanied with such difficulty and danger. He next asked his auditors, whether they would have the protector for their king; but was mortified to find that a total silence ensued. The mayor, who was in the secret, willing to relieve him in this embarrassment, observed, that the citizens were not accustomed to be haranged by a person of such quality, and would only give an answer to their recorder. This officer, therefore, repeated the duke's speech; but the people continuing still silent, "This is strange obstinacy!" cried the duke; "we only require of you, in plain terms, to declare whether or not you will have the duke of Gloucester for your king; as the lords and commons have sufficient power without your concurrence." After all these efforts, some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's servants, raising a feeble cry of "God save king Richard!" the mob at the door, a despicable class of people, ever pleased with novelty, repeated the cry, and throwing up their caps, repeated, "A Richard! a Richard!"

In this manner the duke took advantage of this faint approbation; and the next day, at the head of the mayor and aldermen, went to wait upon the protector, at Baynard's Castle, with offers of the crown. When Richard was told that a great multitude was waiting at the door, with his usual hypocrisy, he appeared to the crowd in a gallery, between two bishops, and at first seemed quite surprised at such a concourse of people. But when he was informed that their business was to offer him the crown, he declared against accepting it; alleging his love for the late king, his brother, his affection for the children under his care, and his own insufficiency. Buckingham, seeming displeased with this answer, muttered some words to himself, but at length plainly told him, "that it was needless to refuse, for the people were bent on making him king; that they had now proceeded too far to recede; and therefore, in case of his refusal, were determined to offer the crown where it would meet a more ready acceptance." This was a resolution which the protector's tenderness for his people would not suffer him to see effected. "I perceive," said he in a modest tone, "that the nation is resolved to load me with preferments, unequal to my abilities or my choice; yet, since it is my duty to obey the dictates of a free people, I will, though reluctantly, accept their petition.

I therefore, from this moment, enter upon the government of England and France, with a resolution to defend the one and subdue the other." The crowd being thus dismissed, each man returned home, pondering upon the proceedings of the day, and making such remarks as passion, interest, or party, might suggest.

CHAP. XXII.

RICHARD III.—A. D. 1483 to 1485.

ONE crime ever draws on another; justice will revolt against fraud, and usurpation requires security. As soon, therefore, as Richard was seated on the throne, he sent orders to the governor of the Tower to put the two young princes to death: but this brave man, whose name was Brackenbury, refused to be made the instrument of a tyrant's will; and submissively answered, that he knew not how to imbrue his hands in innocent blood. A fit instrument, however, was not long wanting; sir James Tyrrel readily undertook the office, and Brackenbury was ordered to resign to him the keys for one night. Tyrrel choosing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he remained without. They found the young princes in bed, fallen into a sound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolsters and pillows, they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel; who ordered them to be buried at the stair-foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. These facts appeared in the succeeding reign, being confessed by the perpetrators; who, however, escaped punishment for the crime. The bodies of the princes were afterwards sought by Henry VII., but could not be found: however, in the reign of Charles II., the bones of two persons answering their ages, were discovered in the very spot where it was said they were buried: they were interred in a marble monument, by order of the king, in Westminster Abbey.

Richard had now waded through every obstacle to the throne; and began, after the manner of all usurpers, to strengthen his ill-gotten power by foreign connexions. Sensible also of the influence of pageantry and show upon the minds of the people, he caused himself to be crowned first at London, and afterwards at York. The clergy he endeavoured to secure by great indulgences; and his friends, by bestowing rewards on them in proportion as they were instrumental in placing him on the throne.

But while he thus endeavoured to establish his power, he found it threatened on a quarter where he least expected an attack. The duke of Buckingham, who had been too instrumental in placing him on the throne, though he had received the greatest rewards for his services, yet continued to wish for more. He had already several posts and governments conferred upon him; but that nobleman, whose avarice was insatiable, making a demand of the confiscated lands belonging to the earldom of Hereford, to which his family had an ancient claim, Richard either reluctantly complied with his request, or but partially indulged it, so that a coolness soon ensued; and no sooner had Buckingham supposed himself injured, than he resolved to dethrone a monarch whose title was founded in injustice. At first, however, this aspiring subject remained in doubt, whether he should put up for the crown himself, or set up another; but the latter resolution prevailing, he determined to declare for Henry, earl of Richmond, who was at that time an exile in Bretagne, and was considered as the only surviving branch of the house of Lancaster.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was at that time detained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Bretagne. He was one of those who had the good fortune to escape the numerous massacres of the preceding reigns; but as he was a descendant of John of Gaunt by the female line, he was for that reason obnoxious to those in power. He had long lived in exile; and was, at one time, delivered up to the ambassadors of Edward, who were

preparing to carry him over to England, when the prince who delivered him repented of what he had done, and took him from the ambassadors just as they were leading him on ship-board. This was the youth on whom the duke of Buckingham cast his eyé, to succeed to the crown; and a negotiation was begun between them for that purpose. Henry's hereditary right to the throne was doubtful; but the crimes of the usurper served to strengthen his claims. However, to strengthen his title, a marriage was projected between him and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late king, and the queen dowager was prevailed on to accede to the measure.

Richard, in the mean time, either informed by his creatures, or kept distrustful by conscious guilt, began to suspect Buckingham's fidelity; and the secret informations which he daily received, left him no room to doubt of the truth of his suspicions. Impressed with this jealousy, he formed a resolution of sending for him to court; and the duke's refusing to obey the summons confirmed him in his fears. But he soon had the plainest proofs of Buckingham's enmity; intelligence arriving that this nobleman was at the head of a large body of men in arms, and marching towards the western shore. Richard, whose courage no danger could allay, immediately put himself in a posture of defence, by levying some troops in the north, and prepared to meet the insurgent with his usual expedition. But fortune seemed his friend on the present occasion, and rendered all his preparations unnecessary. As Buckingham was advancing by hasty marches towards Gloucester, where he designed to cross the Severn, he found that river swollen to such a degree, that the country on both sides was deluged, and even the tops of some hills were covered with water. This inundation continued for ten days; during which Buckingham's army, composed of Welshmen, could neither pass the river, nor find subsistence on their own side; they were therefore obliged to disperse and return home, notwithstanding all the duke's efforts to prolong their stay. In this helpless situation, the duke, after a short deliberation, took refuge at the house of one Banister, who had been his servant, and who had received repeated obligations from his family. But the wicked seldom find, as they seldom exert, friendship. Banister, unable to resist the temptation of a large reward that was set upon the duke's head, betrayed him to the sheriff of Shropshire, who, surrounding the house with armed men, seized the duke, in the habit of a peasant, and conducted him to Salisbury, where he was instantly tried, condemned, and executed, according to the summary method practised in those ages.

In the mean time, the earl of Richmond appeared on the coast of England; but, finding his hopes frustrated by the failure of Buckingham, he hastily set sail again, and returned to Bretagne. Thus every concurrence seemed to promise Richard a long possession of the crown: however, the authority of parliament was still wanting to give sanction to the injustice of his proceedings; but in those times of ignorance and guilt, that was easily procured. An act was passed, confirming the illegitimacy of Edward's chil- [A. D. 1484.
dren; an act of attainder was also confirmed against Henry, earl of Richmond; and all the usurper's wishes seemed to be the aim of their deliberations. One thing was wanting to complete Richard's security, which was the death of his rival: to effect this, he sent ambassadors to the duke of Bretagne, seemingly upon business of a public nature; but, in reality, to treat with Landois, that prince's minister, to deliver up the earl. The minister was base enough to enter into the negotiation; but Richmond, having had timely notice, fled into France, and just reached the confines of that kingdom, when he found that he was pursued by those who intended to give him up to his rival.

Richard, thus finding his attempts to seize his enemy's person unsuccessful, became every day more cruel as his power grew more pre- [A. D. 1485.
carious. Among those who chiefly excited his jealousy, was the lord Stanley, who was married to the mother of Henry; and to keep him steadfast in obedience, he took his son as a hostage for the father's behaviour. He now also resolved to get rid of his present queen, Anne, to make room for a match with his niece, the princess Elizabeth, by whose alliance he hoped to cover the injustice of his claims. The lady whom he wished to get rid of

was the widow of the young prince of Wales, whom he had murdered with his own hands at Tewkesbury; and it is no slight indication of the barbarity of the times, that the widow should accept for her second lord the murderer of her former husband. But she was now rewarded for that instance of inhumanity, as Richard treated her with so much pride and indifference, that she died of grief, according to his ardent expectation. However, his wishes were not crowned with success in his applications to Elizabeth: the mother, indeed, was not averse to the match; but the princess herself treated his vile addresses with contempt and detestation.

Amidst the perplexity caused by this unexpected refusal, he received information that the earl of Richmond was once more making preparations to land in England, and assert his claims to the crown. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and had given commissions to several of his creatures, to oppose the enemy wherever he should land. The accounts received of Richmond's preparations were not ungrounded; he set out from Harfleur in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thousand persons; and, after a voyage of six days, arrived at Milford-haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition. Sir Rice ap Thomas and sir Walter Herbert, who were intrusted to oppose him in Wales, were both in his interests; the one immediately deserted to him, and the other made but a feeble opposition. Upon news of this descent, Richard, who was possessed of courage and military conduct, his only virtues, instantly resolved to meet his antagonist, and decide their mutual pretensions by a battle. Richmond, on the other hand, being reinforced by sir Thomas Bourchier, sir Walter Hungerford, and others, to the number of about six thousand, boldly advanced with the same intention; and in a few days both armies drew near Bosworth field, in Leicestershire, to determine a contest that had now for thirty years filled the kingdom with civil commotions, and deluged its plains with blood.

The army of Richard was above double that of Henry; but the chief confidence of the latter lay in the friendship and secret assurances of lord Stanley, who, with a body of seven thousand men, hovered near the field of battle, and declined engaging on either side.

Aug. 23, 1485.] Richard, perceiving his enemy advance, drew up his army, consisting of about thirteen thousand men, in order of battle; he gave the command of the van-guard to the duke of Norfolk, while he led the main body himself, with the crown on his head, designing by this either to inspire the enemy with awe, or to render himself conspicuous to his own army. The van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by John earl of Oxford; sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing, sir John Savage the left; while the earl himself, accompanied by his uncle, the earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Lord Stanley, in the mean time, posted himself on one flank, between the two armies, while his brother took his station on the other. Richard, seeing him thus in a situation equally convenient for joining either army, immediately sent him orders to unite himself to the main body; which the other refusing, he gave instant orders for beheading lord Stanley's son, whom he still kept as a hostage. He was persuaded, however, to postpone the execution till after the fight; and attending to the more important transactions of the day, he directed the trumpets to sound to battle. The two armies approaching each other, the battle began with a shower of arrows, and soon the adverse fronts were seen closing. This was what lord Stanley had for some time expected, who immediately profiting by the occasion, joined the line of Richmond, and thus turned the fortune of the day. This measure, so unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportioned effect on both armies; it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers, and threw Richard's into confusion. The intrepid tyrant, perceiving the danger of his situation, spurred his horse into the thickest of the fight, while Richmond quitted his station behind, to encourage his troops by his presence in the front. Richard, perceiving him, was desirous of ending all by one blow; and with irresistible fury flew through thousands to attack him. He slew sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer, who attempted to stop his career. Sir John Cheyne, having taken Brandon's place,

was thrown by him to the ground. Richmond, in the mean time, stood firm to oppose him; but they were separated by the interposing crowd. Richard, thus disappointed, went by his presence to inspire his troops at another quarter; but at length perceiving his army every where yielding or flying, and now finding that all was gone, he rushed with a loud shout into the midst of the enemy, and there met a better death than his crimes and cruelties deserved. After the battle, his body was found stripped among a heap of slain, covered with wounds, and the eyes frightfully staring: it was thrown across a horse, the head hanging down on one side and the legs on the other, and thus carried to Leicester. It lay there two days exposed to public view, and then was buried without farther ceremony.

Richard's crown, being found by one of Henry's soldiers on the field of battle, was immediately placed upon the head of the conqueror; while the whole army, as if inspired with one voice, cried out, "Long live king Henry!"

Thus ended the bloody reign of Richard; and by his death, the race of the Plantagenet kings, who had been in possession of the crown during the space of three hundred and thirty years, became extinct. Thus ended also the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which most of the ancient families of the kingdom were extinguished, and more than a hundred thousand men lost their lives, either by the sword or the executioner.

These dissensions had for some time reduced the kingdom to a state of savage barbarity. Laws, arts, and commerce, which had before emitted some feeble gleams, were entirely neglected for the practice of arms; and to be a conqueror was sufficient, in the eyes of the brutal people, to stand for every other virtue. The English had as yet but little idea of legal subordination; nor could they give any applause to those who attempted to cultivate the arts of peace, the whole of their study and education being turned for war. The ferocity of the people to each other was incredible. However, the women, whatever part they took in disturbances of the government, were exempted from capital punishments; nor were they ever put to death, except when convicted of witchcraft or poisoning. As for the clergy, they were entirely distinct from the laity, both in customs, laws, and learning. They were governed by the code of civil law, drawn up in the times of Justinian; while the laity were held by the common law, which had been traditional from times immemorial in the country. The clergy, whatever may be said to the contrary, understood and wrote Latin fluently; while the laity, on the other hand, understood nothing of Latin, but applied themselves wholly to the French language, when they aspired at the character of a polite education. The clergy, as a body distinct from the state, little interested themselves in civil polity; and perhaps they were not displeased to see the laity, whom they considered less as fellow-subjects than rivals for power, weakening themselves by continual contests, and thus rendering themselves more easily manageable. In short, as there was no knowledge of government among the individuals, but what totally resulted from power, the state was like a feverish constitution, ever subject to ferment and disorder. France, indeed, had served for some time as a drain for the peccant humours; but when that was no longer open, the disorders of the constitution seemed daily to increase, and vented themselves at last in all the horrors of a long-continued civil war.

CHAP. XXIII.

HENRY VII.—A. D. 1485 to 1509.

AFTER having presented the reader with a frightful train of treasons, stratagems, murders, and usurpations, we are beginning to emerge into a time of greater importance and glory. We are now to view the conduct of a monarch, who, if not the best, was at least the most useful of any that ever sat upon the English throne. We are now to behold a nation of tumult reduced to civil subordination; an insolent and factious aristocracy humbled,

wise laws enacted, commerce restored, and the peaceful arts made amiable to a people, for whom war alone heretofore had charms. Hitherto we have only beheld the actions of a barbarous nation, obeying with reluctance, and governed by caprice; but henceforward we may discover more refined politics, and better-concerted schemes; human wisdom, as if roused from her lethargy of thirteen hundred years, exerting all her efforts to subdue the natural ferocity of the people, and to introduce permanent felicity.

Henry's first care upon coming to the throne, was to marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth; and thus he blended the interests of the houses of York and Lancaster, so that ever after they were incapable of distinction. Nevertheless, being apprehensive that the people might suppose he claimed the crown in right of this union, he deferred the queen's coronation till two years after; by which he hoped, with selfish vanity, to make the priority of his own claim incontestable. His reign also happily commenced with an obedience to the forms of law, of which England had hitherto seen few examples. An act had been passed in the preceding reign for the attainder of his friends and followers, which continued still in force; and the names of many members of that house, by which it was to be repealed, were expressly mentioned in the attainder. To suffer these to join in repealing that statute, would be admitting them as judges in their own cause; but to this Henry prudently objected, obliging them to leave the house till an act was passed for reversing their attainder.

Before this reign, it had been usual for the king, after the execution of an attainted person, to give away his estates to any of the court favourites that happened to be most in confidence. Henry wisely perceived that this severity had two bad effects: the cruelty of the measure, in the first place, excited indignation; and it also made the favourite too powerful for subjection. In order to remedy these inconveniences, he made a law to deprive those who were found in arms, of their estates and effects, and sequestered them for the benefit of the crown.

A great part of the miseries of his predecessors proceeded from their poverty, which was mostly occasioned by riot and dissipation. Henry saw that money alone could turn the scale of power in his favour; and therefore hoarded up all the confiscations of his enemies with the utmost frugality. Hence he has been accused by historians of avarice; but that avarice which tends to strengthen government, and repress sedition, is not only excusable but praiseworthy. Liberality in a king is too often a misplaced virtue. What is thus given is generally extorted from the industrious and needy, to be lavished as rewards on the rich, the insidious, and the fawning, upon the sycophants of a court, or the improvers of luxurious refinement. Henry shewed himself very different from his predecessors in these respects, as he gave very few rewards to the courtiers about his person, and none except the needy shared his benefactions. He released all prisoners for debt in his dominions, whose debts did not amount to forty shillings; and paid their creditors from the royal coffers. Thus his economy rendered him not only useful to the poor, but enabled him to be just to his own creditors, both abroad and at home. Those sums which he borrowed from the city of London, or any of his subjects, he repaid at the appointed day with the utmost punctuality; and in proportion as he was esteemed in his own dominions, he became respectable abroad.

With regard to the king's servants, he was himself the only acting minister; and as for the rest, he did not choose his under agents from among the nobility, as had been most usual; but pitched upon John Morton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and secret counsels. They had shared with him in all his former dangers and distresses; and he now took care that they should participate in his good fortune; the one being soon after created bishop of Ely, the other bishop of Exeter. He perhaps supposed, that as clergymen were naturally more dependent on him than the nobility, so they would be more submissive to his commands, and more active in their services.

A. D. 1486.] Immediately after his marriage with Elizabeth, he issued a general pardon to all such as chose to accept it; but those lords who had been the

favourites of the last reign, and long accustomed to turbulence, refused his proffered tenderness, and flew to arms. Lord Lovel, together with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, placed themselves at the head of this insurrection; but Henry sent the duke of Bedford to oppose them, with orders to try what might be done by offering a pardon, before he made any attempts to reduce them. The duke punctually obeyed his instructions; and a general promise of pardon was made to the rebels, which had a greater effect on the leaders than on their followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprise that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fears of desertion among his troops, that he suddenly withdrew himself; and, after lurking some time in Lancashire, made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the duchess of Burgundy. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon: but it appearing that this church had not the privilege of giving protection, they were taken thence; the elder Stafford was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he was misled by his brother, obtained his pardon. The rebel army, now without a leader, submitted to the mercy of the king, and were permitted to disperse without punishment.

But the people were become so turbulent and factious by a long course of civil war, that no governor could rule, nor any king please them; so that one rebellion seemed extinguished only to give rise to another. The king, in the beginning of his reign, had given orders that the son of the duke of Clarence, whom we have already mentioned as being drowned in a wine-butt, should be taken from the prison where he had been confined by Richard, and brought to the Tower. This unfortunate youth, who was stylod the earl of Warwick, was, by long confinement, so unacquainted with the world, that, as we are told, he could not tell the difference between a duck and a hen. However, the unhappy youth, harmless as he was, was made an instrument to deceive the people. There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who, possessing some subtlety and more rashness, trained up one Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, to counterfeit the person of the earl of Warwick; and he was previously instructed by his tutor to talk upon many facts and occurrences, as having happened to him in the court of Edward. But as the impostor was not calculated to bear a close inspection, it was thought proper to shew him first at a distance; and Ireland was judged the fittest theatre for him to support his assumed character. The plot unfolded to their wishes; Simnel was received with the utmost joy, and proclaimed king of Ireland; he was conducted by the magistates and the populace of Dublin, with great pomp, to the Castle, where he was treated conformably to his supposed birth and distinction.

Henry could not help feeling more uneasiness at this barefaced imposture than it seemed to deserve: but the penetrating monarch saw that his mother-in-law was at the bottom of it; and he dreaded the fierce inquietude of her temper. He was resolved therefore to take the advice of his council upon this occasion; and they, after due deliberation, determined upon confining the old queen to a monastery; but, to wipe off the imputation of treason from one so nearly allied to the crown, it was given out that she was thus punished for having formerly delivered up the princess, her daughter, to Richard. The people, as usual, murmured at the severity of her treatment: but the king, unmindful of their idle clamours, persisted in his resolution; and she remained in confinement till her death, which did not happen till several years after. The next measure was to shew Warwick to the people. In consequence of this he was taken from the Tower, and led through the principal streets of London; after which he was conducted in solemn procession to St. Paul's, where great numbers were assembled to see him. Still, however, they proceeded in Dublin to honour their pretended monarch; and he was crowned with great solemnity, in presence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the other officers of state. Such impositions upon the people were very frequent at that time, in several parts of Europe. Lorrain, Naples, and Portugal, had their impostors, who continued to deceive for a long time without detection. In fact, the inhabitants of every country were so much confined within their own limits, and knew so little of what was passing in the rest of

the world, that any distant story might be propagated, how improbable soever. In this manner king Simnel, being now joined by lord Lovel and other A. D. 1487.] malcontents of distinction, resolved to pass over into England; and accordingly landed in Lancashire, whence he marched to York, expecting that the country would rise and join him as he marched along. But in this he was deceived: the people, unwilling to unite with a body of German and Irish troops, by whom he was supported, and kept in awe by the king's reputation, remained in tranquillity, or gave all their assistance to the royal cause. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, a disaffected lord, to whom the command of the rebel army was given, finding no hopes but in speedy victory, was determined to bring the contest to a short issue. The opposite armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was more bloody, and more obstinately disputed, than could have been expected from the inequality of their forces. But victory at length declared in favour of the king, and it proved decisive. Lincoln perished in the field of battle; and Lovel being never more heard of, it was supposed he shared the same fate. Simnel and his tutor Simon were made prisoners; and four thousand of the common men fell in battle. Simon, being a priest, could not be tried by the civil power, and was only committed to close confinement. Simnel was too contemptible to excite the king's fears or resentment; he was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, in which mean employment he died.

Things being thus quietly settled at home, Henry began to turn his thoughts toward his continental connexions, and to establish some degree of understanding with the neighbouring states. He was too wise a prince not to perceive the fatality of conquests upon the continent, which could at best produce no other reputation than the empty one of military glory. Yet, while he internally despised such pernicious triumphs, he was obliged, in order to gain popularity, to countenance them. He, therefore, frequently boasted that he was determined to ravish his kingdom of France from the usurpers, who had long possessed it; and that he would lay the whole country in blood. But these were the distant threats of a crafty politician; there was nothing more distant from his heart. As far as negotiations went, he did all in his power to keep the interests of that kingdom so nearly balanced, as to prevent any from growing too powerful; but as for succours of men and money, he too well knew the value of both, to lavish them, as his predecessors had done, upon such fruitless projects.

About this time, the nobles of Bretagne, being disgusted with their minister, Peter Landois, rose in conspiracy against him, and put him to death. A. D. 1488.] Willing to defend one crime by another, they called in the aid of the French monarch, Charles VIII. to protect them from the resentment of their own sovereign. Charles quickly obeyed the call; but instead of only bringing the nobles assistance, he overran and took possession of the greatest part of the country. The aid of Henry was implored by the distressed Bretons; but this monarch appeared more willing to assist them by negotiations than by arms. But though determined to maintain a pacific conduct, as far as the situation of his affairs would permit, he knew too well the warlike disposition of his subjects, and their desires to engage in any scheme that promised the humiliation of France. He resolved, therefore, to take advantage of this propensity; and to draw some supplies of money from the people, on pretence of giving assistance to the duke of Bretagne. He ac- A. D. 1489.] cordingly summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, and easily persuaded them to grant a considerable supply. But money was, at that time, more easily granted than levied in England. A new insurrection began in Yorkshire, the people resisting the commissioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The earl of Northumberland attempted to enforce the king's command; but the populace, being by this taught to believe that he was the adviser of their oppressions, flew to arms, attacked his house, and put him to death. The mutineers did not stop here; but by the advice of one John à Chambre, a seditious fellow of mean birth, they chose sir John Egremont for their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. The king, upon hearing this rash proceeding, immediately levied a force, which he put

under the earl of Surrey; and this nobleman, encountering the rebels, dissipated the tumult, and took their leader prisoner. John à Chambre was shortly after executed; but sir John Egremont fled to the court of the duchess of Burgundy, the usual retreat of all who were obnoxious to government in England.

As Henry had gone thus far in preparations for a war with France, he supposed that it would be too flagrant an imposition upon the credulity of the nation, not to put a part of his threats into execution. The [A. D. 1491. French were, by this time, in possession of all Bretagne; and a marriage had been lately concluded between the French monarch, and the duchess of the last named territory. This accession of power, in a rival state, was formidable not only to Henry but to Europe. He therefore prepared to make a descent upon France; and accordingly landed at Calais with [A. D. 1492. an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford. But, notwithstanding this appearance of an hostile disposition, there had been secret advances made towards a peace three months before, and the commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Bretagne an equivalent for any sum, readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged to pay Henry nearly two hundred thousand pounds sterling, as a reimbursement for the expenses of this expedition; besides which, he stipulated to pay a yearly pension to him and his heirs, of twenty-five thousand crowns.

Henry, having thus made an advantageous peace, had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of long tranquillity: but he was mistaken; he had still enemies who found means to embroil him in fresh difficulties and dangers. One would have imagined, from the ill success of Simnel's imposture, that few would be willing to embark in another of a similar kind: however, the old duchess of Burgundy, rather irritated than discouraged by the failure of her past enterprises, was determined to disturb that government which she could not subvert. She first procured a report to be spread, that the young duke of York, said to have been murdered in the Tower, was still living; and finding the rumour greedily received, she soon produced a young man who assumed his name and character. The person pitched upon to sustain this part, was one Osbeck, or Warbeck, the son of a converted Jew, who had visited England during the reign of Edward IV. where he had this son, named Peter, but corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his other amorous adventures, had a secret correspondence with Warbeck's wife, which might account for a striking resemblance between young Perkin and that monarch. Perkin, following the fortunes of his father, had travelled for many years from place to place; so that his birth and circumstances became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures might have contributed to assist the natural sagacity and versatility of his disposition; as he seemedto be a youth capable of sustaining any part, or any assumed character. The duchess of Burgundy found this youth entirely suited to her purposes; and her lessons, instructing him to personate the duke of York, were easily learned and strongly retained by a youth of such quick apprehension. In short, his graceful air, his courtly address, his easy manners, and elegant conversation, were capable of imposing upon all but such as were conscious of the imposture.

The kingdom of Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was pitched upon as the proper place for Perkin's first appearance, as it before had favoured the claims of Simnel. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to himself numerous partisans among the credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Desmond and Kildare inviting them to join his party; he dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from his uncle Richard's cruelty; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of their discourse, and even the object of their favour. From Ireland his fame soon spread over into France; and Charles sent Per-

kin an invitation to his court, where he received him with all the marks of consideration that were due to his supposed dignity. The youth, no way dazzled by his elevation, supported the prepossession that was spread abroad in his favour; so that England itself soon began to give credit to his pretensions; while sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and above a hundred other gentlemen, went to Paris to pay him homage, and make an offer of their services. Upon the peace being shortly after concluded between France and England, the impostor was obliged to make his residence at the court of his old patroness, the duchess of Burgundy; and the interview between these conscious deceivers was truly ridiculous. The duchess affected the utmost ignorance of his pretensions, and even put on the appearance of distrust, having, as she said, been already deceived by Simnel. She seemed to examine all his assertions with the most scrupulous diffidence, put many particular questions to him, affected astonishment at his answers, and at last, after long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his delivery, acknowledging him as her nephew, as the true image of Edward, and legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suitable to his pretensions; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the White Rose of England.

A. D. 1493.] The English, prone to revolt, gave credit to all these absurdities; while the young man's prudence, conversation, and deportment, served to confirm what their disaffection and credulity had begun. All such as were disgusted with the king prepared to join him; and even some of those who had been in favour with Henry, and had contributed to place him on the throne, thinking their services could never be sufficiently repaid, now privately abetted the imposture, and became heads of the conspiracy. These were joined by numbers of the inferior class, some greedy of novelty, some blindly attached to their leaders, and some induced by their desperate fortunes to wish for a change.

Among those who secretly abetted the cause of Perkin, were lord Fitzwalter, sir Simon Montfort, sir Thomas Thwaites, and sir Robert Clifford. But the person of the greatest weight, and the most dangerous opposition, was sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, and brother to the famous lord Stanley, who had so effectually contributed to place Henry on the throne. This personage, either moved by a blind credulity, or more probably by a restless ambition, entered into a regular conspiracy against the king; and a correspondence was settled between the malcontents in England, and those in Flanders.

While the plot was thus carrying on in all quarters, Henry was not inattentive to the designs of his enemies. He spared neither labour nor expense to detect the falsehood of the pretender to his crown; and was equally assiduous in finding out who were his secret abettors. For this purpose, he despatched his spies through all Flanders, and brought over, by large bribes, some of those whom he knew to be in the enemies' interests. Among these sir Robert Clifford was the most remarkable, both for his consequence, and the confidence with which he was trusted. From this person Henry learned the whole of Perkin's birth and adventures, together with the names of all those who had secretly combined to assist him. The king was pleased with the discovery; but the more trust he gave to his spies, the higher resentment did he feign against them.

At first he was struck with indignation at the ingratitude of many of those about him; but concealing his resentment for a proper opportunity, he almost at the same instant arrested Fitzwalter, Montfort, and Thwaites, together with William d'Aubigni, Robert Radcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas A. D. 1494.] Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason. Montfort, Radcliffe, and d'Aubigni, were immediately executed; the rest received pardon. But the principal delinquent yet remained to be punished, whose station, as lord chamberlain, and whose connexions with many of the principal men in the kingdom, seemed to exempt him from censure. To effect this, Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to accuse Stanley in person; which he did. to the

seeming astonishment of all present. Henry affected to receive the intelligence as false and incredible; but, Clifford persisting in his accusation, Stanley was committed to custody, and soon after examined before the council. Finding his guilt but too clearly proved, he did not attempt to conceal it, supposing that an open confession might serve as an atonement, or trusting to his former services for pardon and security. In this he was mistaken; after a delay of six weeks, during which time the king affected to deliberate upon his conduct, he was brought to trial, when he was con- [A. D. 1495. demned, and shortly after beheaded. Through the whole of this reign, the king seemed to make a distinction in the crimes of those who conspired against him: whenever the conspirator took up arms against him from a conscientious adherence to principle, and a love of the house of York, he generally found pardon; but when a love of change, or an impatience of subordination, inspired the attempt, the offender was sure to be treated with the utmost rigour of the law.

While the adherents of Perkin were thus disappointed in England, he himself attempted landing in Kent; the gentlemen of which county gathered in a body to oppose him. Their aim was to allure him on shore by proffers of assistance, and then seize his person: but the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new-levied forces, refused to commit himself into their hands; wherefore they attacked his attendants who had come ashore, of whom they took a hundred and fifty prisoners. These were tried and condemned, and all executed by order of the king, who was resolved to use no lenity to men of such desperate fortunes.

The young adventurer, finding his hopes frustrated in the attempt, went next to try his fortune in Scotland. In that country his luck seemed greater than in England. James the Fourth, the then monarch, received him with great cordiality; he was seduced to believe the story of his birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence so far, as to give him in marriage lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, and a near kinswoman of his own; a young lady eminent for virtue as well as beauty. Not content with these instances of favour, he resolved to attempt setting him on the throne of England. It was naturally expected, that upon Perkin's first appearance in that kingdom, all the friends of the house of York would rise in his favour. Upon this ground the king of Scotland entered England with a numerous army, and proclaimed the young [A. D. 1496. adventurer wherever he went. But Perkin's pretensions, attended by repeated disappointments, were now become stale, even in the eyes of the populace; so that, contrary to expectation, none were found to second them. Being disappointed in this, he returned to Edinburgh, where he continued to reside, till, upon the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, he was obliged to leave Scotland, and to seek a new protector.

In the mean time, Henry found little uneasiness at Perkin's irruption, as he was sensible it would serve him as a pretext to demand farther supplies from parliament, with which he knew they would readily comply. The vote was in fact easily enough obtained; but he found it not so easy to levy the money. The inhabitants of Cornwall were the first to refuse contributing supplies for the safety of the northern parts of the kingdom, which were so [A. D. 1497. very remote from them. Their discontents were farther inflamed by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, who had long been the spokesman of the multitude. To him was joined one Thomas Flammock, a lawyer; and, under the conduct of these two, the insurgents passed through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset, where they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman of ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and restless in his temper. Thus headed, and breathing destruction to the king's commissioners, they marched with great speed towards London, without, however, committing any devastations by the way. At length, without receiving countenance or reinforcement on their march, they pitched their camp near Eltham, not far from London. Henry, whose courage and intrepidity were never to be moved, had some time before levied an army to oppose the Scots; and this he ordered southward, to suppress the Cornish

insurrection. On other occasions it was usual with him to hasten to a decision; and it was a saying with him, that he only desired to see his enemies; but, as the present insurgents behaved in an inoffensive manner, he protracted his attack for some time, till at length it was begun by lord d'Aubigni, who, after some resistance, broke and put them to flight. Lord Audley, Flammock, and Joseph, were taken, and executed; but the rest, to the number of sixteen thousand, were suffered to disperse without punishment.

In the mean time, the restless Perkin being dismissed from Scotland, and meeting with a very cold reception from the Flemings, who now desired to be at peace with the English, resolved to continue his scheme of opposition; and once more took refuge among the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of an inactive life, he held a consultation with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen; and by their advice he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish men, whose discontents the king's late lenity had only contributed to inflame. These were a tumultuous multitude, too ignorant for gratitude; and upon their return ascribed the royal clemency to fear, inducing their countrymen to believe that the whole kingdom was ready to rise to vindicate their quarrel. It was in consequence of these suggestions, that they determined to send for Perkin to put himself at their head; and he no sooner made his appearance among them at Bodmin, than the populace, to the number of three thousand men, flocked to his standard. Elate with this appearance of success, he assumed, for the first time, the title of Richard the Fourth, king of England; and, not to suffer the spirits of his adherents to languish, he led them to the gates of Exeter. Finding the inhabitants obstinate in refusing to admit him, and being unprovided with artillery to force an entrance, he resolved to continue before it until possessed of a sufficient force to make a farther progress into the kingdom. In the mean time, Henry, being informed of his landing and his designs, expressed great joy upon the occasion, declaring that he should now have the pleasure of an interview with a person whom he had long wished to see. All the courtiers, sensible of Perkin's desperate situation, and the general suspicion there was of their own fidelity, prepared themselves to assist the king with great alacrity. The lords d'Aubigni and Broke, the earl of Devonshire, and the duke of Buckingham, appeared at the head of their respective forces, and seemed eager for an opportunity of displaying their courage and loyalty. Perkin, being informed of these great preparations, broke up the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. His followers by this time amounted to seven thousand men, and appeared ready to defend his cause: but his heart failed him; and, instead of bringing them into the field, he privately deserted them, and took sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. His wretched adherents, left to the king's mercy, found him still willing to pardon; and, except a few of the ringleaders, none were treated with capital severity. The lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the conqueror's hands, and was treated by him with all the lenity due to her sex and quality. She was placed in a reputable station near the person of the queen, and a pension was assigned to her, which she enjoyed till her death. But the manner in which Perkin himself was to be treated, appeared more doubtful. At first it was suggested by some that he should be taken forcibly from the sanctuary to which he had fled, and made a public example; but Henry thought that milder methods would answer as well. He therefore employed some persons to treat with Perkin, and to persuade him, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself up to justice, and to confess and explain all the circumstances of his imposture. His affairs being altogether desperate, he embraced the king's offer without hesitation, and quitted the sanctuary. Henry being desirous of seeing him, he was brought to court, and conducted through the streets of London in a kind of mock triumph, amidst the derision and insults of the populace, which he bore with the most dignified resignation. He was then compelled to sign a confession of his former life and conduct, which was printed and dispersed throughout the kingdom; but it was so defective and contradictory, that instead of explaining the pretended imposture, it left it still more doubtful than before; and this youth's real pre-

A. D. 1498.] tensions are to this very day an object of dispute among the

learned. However, though his life was granted him, he was still detained in custody, and keepers were appointed to watch over his conduct. But his impatience of any confinement could not be controlled; he broke loose from his keepers, and flying to the sanctuary of Shene, put himself in the hands of the prior of that monastery. He was again prevailed on to trust himself to the king's mercy; but, in order to reduce him to the lowest state of contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged to read aloud, in both places, the confession which had been formerly published in his name. From this place of scorn he was conveyed to the Tower, where it was thought the strength of his prison would be sufficient to restrain his restless, active disposition; but nothing could repress his habits of inquietude. He had insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of the lieutenant of the Tower; and by their means opened a correspondence with the unfortunate earl of Warwick, who had been confined there for many [A. D. 1499. years before, and kept in a state of utter ignorance. In all probability Perkin was permitted to enter into this correspondence with him by the connivance of the king, who hoped that his enterprising genius, and insinuating address, would engage the simple Warwick in some project that would furnish a pretext for taking away their lives; which accordingly happened. Perkin tampered with the servants, who, it is said, agreed to murder their master, and thus secure the gates of the Tower, by which the prisoners might make their escape to some secure part of the kingdom.

That the danger might appear more imminent and pressing, so as to justify the steps which Henry intended to take, another disturbance was raised at the same time in Kent, where a young man, called Ralph Wilford, the son of a cordwainer, personated the earl of Warwick, under the conduct and direction of one Patrick, an Augustine monk, who in his sermons exhorted the people to take arms in his favour. This friar, who had been used as a tool for the king's emissaries, was arrested, together with his pupil; and Wilford was hanged without ceremony, but the tutor obtained his pardon. This was the prelude to the fate of Perkin and the earl of Warwick; the former of whom was tried at Westminster, and, being convicted on the evidence of the servants of the Tower, was hanged at Tyburn with John Walter, mayor of Cork, who had constantly adhered to his cause in all the vicissitudes of his fortune. Blewet and Astwood, two of the servants, underwent the same fate; but six other persons, condemned as accomplices in the same conspiracy, were pardoned. In a few days after Perkin's execution, the wretched earl of Warwick was tried by his peers; and being convicted of high-treason, in consequence of pleading guilty to the arraignment, was beheaded on Tower Hill, and in him ended the last male branch of the house of Plantagenet. The deplorable end of this innocent nobleman, and the fate of Perkin, who, notwithstanding all that appeared against him, was, by the unprejudiced part of the nation, deemed the real son of king Edward, filled the whole kingdom with such aversion to the government of king Henry, that, to throw the odium from himself, he was obliged to lay it to the account of his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he said, scrupled his alliance while any prince of the house of York remained alive.

There had been hitherto nothing in this reign but plots, treasons, insurrections, impostures, and executions; and it is probable that Henry's severity proceeded from the continual alarms in which they held him. It is certain that no prince ever loved peace more than he; and much of the ill-will of his subjects arose from his attempts to repress their inclinations for war. The usual preface to all his treaties was, "That when Christ came into the world, peace was sung; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed." He had no ambition to extend his power, except only by treaties and by wisdom: by these he rendered himself much more formidable to his neighbours than his predecessors had by their victories; they became terrible to their own subjects, he was chiefly dreaded by rival kings.

He had all along two points principally in view; one to depress the nobility and clergy, and the other to exalt and humanise the populace. From the ambition and turbulence of the former, and from the wretchedness and credulity of the latter, all the troubles in the former reigns had taken their

original. In the feudal times, every nobleman was possessed of a certain number of subjects, over whom he had an absolute power; and, upon every slight disgust, he was able to influence them to join in his revolt or disobedience. Henry, therefore, wisely considered, that the giving these petty tyrants a power of selling their estates, which before this time were unalienable, would greatly weaken their interest. With this view he procured an act, by which the nobility were indulged with a power of disposing of their estates; a law infinitely pleasing to the commons, and not disagreeable even to the nobles, since they had thus an immediate resource for supplying their taste for prodigality, and answering the demands of their creditors. The blow reached them in their posterity alone; but they were too ignorant to be affected by such distant distresses.

His next scheme was to prevent their giving liveries to many hundreds of their dependents, who were thus retained to serve their lord, and kept like the soldiers of a standing army, to be ready at the command of their leader. By an act passed in this reign, none but menial servants were permitted to wear a livery, under severe penalties; and this law was enforced with the most punctual observance. The king, one day paying a visit to the earl of Oxford, was entertained by him with all possible splendour and hospitality. When he was ready to depart, he saw ranged upon both sides a great number of men dressed up in very rich liveries, apparently to do him honour. The king, surprised at such a number of servants, as he pretended to suppose them, asked lord Oxford whether he entertained such a large number of domestics; to which the earl, not perceiving the drift of the question, replied that they were only men whom he kept in pay to do him honour upon such occasions. At this the king started back, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I must not suffer the laws to be broken before my face: my attorney-general must talk with you." Oxford is said to have paid no less than 15,000 marks as a compensation for his offence.

We have already seen, in many instances, what a perverted use was made of monasteries, and other places appropriated to religious worship, by the number of criminals who found sanctuary and protection there. This privilege the clergy assumed as their undoubted right; and those places of pretended sanctity were now become the abode of murderers, robbers, and conspirators. Witches and magicians were the only persons that were not allowed to avail themselves of the security these sanctuaries afforded; and they whose crimes were only fictitious, were the only people who had not the benefit of such a retreat. Henry used all his interest with the pope to get these sanctuaries abolished; but was not able to succeed. All that he could procure was, that if thieves, murderers, or robbers, registered as sanctuary men, should sally out and commit fresh offences, and retreat again, in such cases they might be taken out of the sanctuary, and delivered up to justice.

Henry was not remiss in abridging the pope's power, while at the same time he professed the utmost submission to his commands, and the greatest respect for the clergy. The pope at one time was so far imposed upon by his seeming attachment to the church, that he even invited him to renew the crusades for recovering the Holy Land. Henry's answer deserves to be remembered. He assured his holiness that no prince in Christendom would be more forward to undertake so glorious and necessary an expedition; but, as his dominions lay very distant from Constantinople, it would be better to apply to the kings of France and Spain for their assistance; and in the mean time he would go to their aid himself, as soon as all the differences between the Christian princes should be brought to an end. This was at once a polite refusal, and an oblique reproach.

But while he thus employed his power in lowering the influence of the nobles and clergy, he was using every art to extend the privileges of the people. In former reigns they were sure to suffer, on whatever side they fought, when they were unsuccessful. This rendered each party desperate in a declared civil war, as no hopes of pardon remained, and consequently terrible slaughters were seen to ensue. He therefore procured an act, by which it was established, that no person should be impeached or attainted for assisting the king for the time being, or, in other words, the sovereign who should be then

actually in possession of the throne. This excellent statute served to repress the desire of civil war, as people would naturally take arms in defence of that side on which they were certain of losing nothing by a defeat; and numbers would serve to intimidate rebellion. Thus the common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were obliged to become industrious for their support. The nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number and boldness of their retainers, acquired by degrees a more civilized species of emulation; and endeavoured to excel in the splendour and elegance of their equipages, houses, and tables. In fact, the king's greatest efforts were directed to promote trade and commerce, because this naturally introduced a spirit of liberty among the people, and disengaged them from all dependence, except upon the laws and the king. Before this great æra, all our towns owed their original to some strong castle in the neighbourhood, where some powerful lord generally resided. These were at once fortresses for protection, and prisons for all sorts of criminals. In this castle there was usually a garrison armed and provided, depending entirely on the nobleman's support and assistance. To these seats of protection, artificers, victuallers, and shopkeepers, naturally resorted, and settled on some adjacent spot, to furnish the lord and his attendants with all the necessaries they might require. The farmers also, and the husbandmen in the neighbourhood, built their houses there, to be protected against the numerous gangs of robbers, called Robertsmen, that hid themselves in the woods by day, and infested the open country by night. Henry endeavoured to bring the towns from such neighbourhoods, by inviting the inhabitants to more commercial situations. He attempted to teach them frugality, and a just payment of debts, by his own example; and never once omitted the rights of the merchant, in all his treaties with foreign princes.

But it must not be concealed, that, from a long contemplation upon the relative advantages of money, he at last grew into a habit of considering it as valuable for itself alone. As he grew old, his avarice seemed to predominate over his ambition; and the methods he took to increase his treasures, cannot be justified by his most ardent admirers. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his avaricious intentions. They were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, brutal manners, and an unrelenting temper: the second better born, and better bred, but equally severe and inflexible. It was their usual practice to commit, by indictment, such persons to prison as they intended to oppress; who could rarely recover their freedom, but by paying heavy fines, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees, as the ministers became more hardened in oppression, the very forms of law were omitted; they determined in a summary way upon the properties of the subject, and confiscated their effects to the royal treasury. But the chief instruments of oppression employed by Empson and his associate, were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men.

In this manner was the latter part of this active monarch's reign employed in schemes to strengthen the power of the crown, by amassing money, and extending the power of the people. He had the satisfaction, about that time, of completing a marriage between Arthur, prince of Wales, and [A. D. 1501. the infanta Catharine of Spain, which had been projected and negociated during the course of seven years. But this marriage proved, in the event, unprosperous. The young prince sickened and died in a few months after, very much regretted by the whole nation; and the princess was obliged shortly after to marry his second son Henry, who was created prince [A. D. 1502. of Wales in the room of his brother. The prince himself made all the opposition which a youth not twelve years of age was capable of; but, as the king persisted in his resolution, the marriage was, by the pope's dispensation, shortly after solemnized.

The magnificence of these nuptials was soon after eclipsed by the accidental arrival of the archduke Philip, with Joan his consort. These personages had embarked for Spain during the winter, in order to take the advantage of an invitation from the Castilians, who wished to confer the government upon Philip. Meeting, however, with a violent tempest in their voyage, they were

obliged to take shelter in Weymouth harbour, where they were honourably received by sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county of
A. D. 1506.] Dorset. The king being soon informed of their arrival, immediately sent the earl of Arundel to compliment them on their escape, and to inform them that he intended shortly paying them a visit in person. Philip knew that this was but a polite method of detaining him; and for the sake of despatch, he resolved to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. Henry received him with all the magnificence possible, and with all seeming cordiality; but determined to reimburse himself for the expense of his pageants, by advantages that would be more substantially conducive to his own interests and those of the nation. There had been some years before a plot carried on against him by the earl of Suffolk; for which sir James Tyrrel and sir James Windham had been condemned and executed; while Suffolk, the original contriver, had made his escape into the Low Countries, where he found protection from Philip. But he was now given up, at Henry's request; and being brought over to England, he was imprisoned in the Tower. A treaty of commerce was also agreed upon between the two sovereigns; of great and immediate benefit to England, and which continues the groundwork of commercial treaties to this day.

Henry,—having thus seen England in a great measure civilized by his endeavours, his people paying their taxes without constraint, the nobles confessing a just subordination, the laws alone inflicting punishment, the towns beginning to live independent of the powerful, commerce every day increasing, the spirit of faction extinguished, and foreigners either fearing England, or seeking its alliance,—began to perceive the approaches of his end. He then resolved to reconcile himself to Heaven; and, by distributing alms, founding religious houses, and granting a general pardon to all his subjects, to make an atonement for the errors of his reign. It was in this disposition
April 21, 1509.] that he died with the gout in his stomach, having lived fifty-two years, and reigned twenty-three. Since the time of Alfred, England had not seen such another king. He rendered his subjects powerful and happy, and wrought a greater change in the manners of the people, than it was possible to suppose could be effected in so short a time. If he had any fault that deserves to be marked with reproach, it was that, having begun his reign with economy, as he grew old his desires seemed to change their object from the use of money to the pleasure of hoarding it. But he ought in this to be pardoned, as he only saved for the public; the royal coffers being then the only treasury of the state; and in proportion to the king's finances, the public might be said to be either rich or indigent.

About this time, all Europe, as well as England, seemed to rouse from the long lethargy in which it had continued for above twelve hundred years. France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, enjoyed excellent monarchs, who encouraged and protected the rising arts, and spread the means of happiness. The Portuguese sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Vasquez de Gama; and the Spaniards, under the conduct of Columbus, had made the discovery of the new world of America. It was by accident only that Henry had not a considerable share in these great naval discoveries; for Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew into England, in order to explain his projects to the king, and to crave his protection for the execution of them. Henry invited Columbus to England: but his brother, in returning, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus, in the mean time, succeeding with Isabella, happily effected his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a
A. D. 1497.] Venetian, dwelling at Bristol, and sent him westward in search of new countries. This adventurer discovered the main land of America to the north; then sailed southward, along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland and other countries; but returned without making any settlement. The king, soon after, expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the *Great Harry*. This was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the king wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient but to hire ships from the merchants.

CHAP. XXIV.

HENRY VIII.—A. D. 1509 to 1547.

No prince ever came to the throne with a conjuncture of circumstances more in his favour than Henry VIII., who, now in the eighteenth year of his age, undertook the government of the kingdom. His prudent father left him a peaceful throne, a well-stored treasury, and an undisputed succession. By his father's side he claimed from the house of Lancaster, and by his mother's from that of York. He was in friendship with all the powers of Europe, and his subjects were every day growing more powerful and more wealthy; commerce and arts had for some time been introduced into the kingdom, and the English seemed willing to give them a favourable reception. The young king himself was beautiful in person, expert in polite exercises, open and liberal in his air, and loved by all his subjects. The old king, who was himself a scholar, had him instructed in all the learning of the times: so that he was an adept in school divinity before the age of eighteen.

But favourable as these circumstances were, Henry soon shewed that they went but a short way in forming a good character; they were merely the gifts of nature, or accomplishments implanted by the assiduity of his father; but he wanted the more solid advantages, which were to be of his own formation,—a good heart, and a sound understanding. The learning he had, if it may deserve that appellation, served only to inflame his pride, but not control his vicious affections; the love of his subjects broke out in their flattery; and this was another meteor to lead him astray. His vast wealth, instead of relieving the public, or increasing his power, only contributed to supply his debaucheries, or gratify the rapacity of the ministers of his pleasures. But it would have been happy for his people if his faults had rested here: he was a tyrant; humanity takes the alarm at his cruelties; and, however fortunate some of his measures might prove in the event, every good man must revolt at his motives, and the means he took for their accomplishment.

The first action which shewed that the present reign was to be very different from the former, was the punishment of Empson and Dudley, who were obnoxious to the populace for having been the ready instruments of the late king's rapacity. They were immediately cited before the council, in order to answer for their conduct; but Empson in his defence, alleged, that so far from his actions deserving censure, they rather merited reward and approbation. Though a strict execution of the law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused; although these laws had been established by the voluntary consent of the people; notwithstanding all their expostulations, Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower, and soon after brought to their trial. As the strict discharge of their duty, in executing [A. D. 1510. the laws, could not be alleged against them as a crime, to gratify the people with their punishment they were accused of having entered into a conspiracy against the present king, and of intentions to seize by force the administration of government. Nothing could be more improbable and unsupported than such a charge; nevertheless, the jury were so far infected with popular prejudice, that they gave a verdict against them; and they were both executed some time after, by a warrant from the king.

This measure, which betrayed an unjust compliance with popular clamour, was followed by another still more detrimental to the nation, although still more pleasing to the people. Julius the Second was at that time pope, and had filled all Europe with his intrigues and ambition; but his chief resentment was levelled against Lewis the Twelfth, king of France, who was in possession of some valuable provinces of Italy, from which he hoped by his intrigues to remove him. For this purpose he entered into a treaty with Ferdinand, king of Spain, and Henry, of England; to each of whom he offered such advantages as were most likely to inflame their ambition, in case they fell upon Lewis on their respective quarters; while he undertook himself to find him employment in Italy. Henry, who had no other motives but the glory of the expedition, and the hopes of receiving the title of the most Christian king,

which the pope assured him would soon be wrested from Lewis to be con- A. D. 1512.] ferred upon him, readily undertook to defend his cause; and his parliament, being summoned, as readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the people. The spirit of chivalry and of foreign conquest was not yet quite extinguished among the English: the kingdom of France was still an object they desired to possess; and Henry, in compliance with their wishes, gave out that he intended striking for the crown. It was in vain that one of his old prudent counsellors objected, that conquests on the continent would only drain the kingdom, without enriching it; and that England, from its situation, was not fitted to enjoy extensive empire: the young king, deaf to all remonstrances, and burning with military ardour, resolved to undertake the war. The marquis of Dorset was first sent over, with a large body of forces, to Fontarabia, to assist the operations of Ferdinand; but that faithless and crafty monarch had no intentions of effectually seconding their attempts; wherefore they were obliged to return home without effect.

A considerable fleet was equipped, some time after, to annoy the enemy by A. D. 1513.] sea, and the command intrusted to sir Edward Howard; who, after scouring the Channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy lay, and challenged them to combat. As the French were unequal to the enemy, they determined to wait for a reinforcement, which they expected, under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, from the Mediterranean. But in this the gallant Howard was resolved to disappoint them; and upon the appearance of Prejeant with six galleys, who had time to take refuge behind some batteries which were planted on the rocks that lay on each side of him, he boldly rowed up with two galleys, followed by barges filled with officers of distinction. Upon coming up to Prejeant's ship, he immediately fastened upon it, and leaped on board, followed by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened both ships together, was cut by the enemy, and the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; but as he still continued to fight with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes, and perished in the sea. Upon this misfortune the fleet retired from before Brest; and the French navy for a while kept possession of the sea.

This slight repulse only served to inflame the king's ardour to take revenge upon the enemy; and he soon after sent a body of eight thousand men to Calais, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury; and another body of six thousand followed shortly after, under the conduct of Lord Herbert. He prepared to follow himself with the main body and rear; and arrived at Calais, attended by numbers of the English nobility. But he soon had an attendant who did him still more honour. This was no less a personage than Maximilian, emperor of Germany, who had stipulated to assist him with eight thousand men; but, being unable to perform his engagements, joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new-levied soldiers. He even enlisted himself in the English service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns per day, as one of Henry's subjects and captains.

Henry, being now at the head of a formidable army, fifty thousand strong, it was supposed that France must fall a victim to his ambition. But that kingdom was not threatened by him alone; the Swiss, on another quarter, with twenty-five thousand men, were preparing to invade it; while Ferdinand of Arragon, whom no ties could bind, was only waiting for a convenient opportunity of attack on his side to advantage. Never was the French monarchy in so distressed a situation; but the errors of its assailants procured its safety. The Swiss entered into a treaty with Trimouille, the French general, who gave them their own terms, satisfied that his master would rescind them all, as not having given him any powers to treat; Ferdinand continued to remain a quiet spectator, vainly waiting for some effectual blow to be struck by his allies; and Henry spent his time in the siege of towns, which could neither secure his conquests, nor advance his reputation.

The first siege was that of Terouenne, in Picardy, which kept him employed for more than a month, although the garrison scarcely amounted to two thousand men. The besieged, after some time, being in want of provisions, a

very bold and desperate attempt was made to supply them, which was attended with success. A French captain, whose name was Fontrailles, led up a body of 800 men, each of whom carried a bag of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this small force, he made a fierce and unexpected irruption into the English camp; and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the ditch of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. Then immediately returning upon the gallop, they were again so fortunate as to break through the English without any great loss in the undertaking. But the cavalry sent to cover the retreat, were not so successful. Though they were commanded by the boldest and bravest captains of the French army, yet on sight of the English they were seized with such an unaccountable panic, that they immediately fled, and had many of their best officers taken prisoners. This action was called by the French the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but by the English, the battle of Spurs, as the French, on that day, made more use of their spurs than their swords, to procure safety.

After this victory, which might have been followed with very important consequences, had the victors marched forward to Paris, Henry sat down to make sure of the little town which had made such an obstinate resistance; and found himself, when it was obliged to surrender, master of a place which neither recompensed the blood nor the delay that were expended in the siege.

From one error Henry went on to another. He was persuaded to lay siege to Tournay, a great and rich city of Flanders, which at that time was in possession of the French. This siege, though it took up little time, yet served to retard the great object, which was the conquest of France; and Henry, hearing that the Swiss had returned home, and being elated with his trifling successes, resolved to transport his army back to England, where flattery was put to the torture, to make him happy in the glory of his ridiculous expedition. A peace was concluded soon after between the two kingdoms; and Henry continued to dissipate, in more peaceful follies, those immense sums which had been amassed by his frugal predecessor for very different purposes.

The success which, during his foreign expedition, attended his arms in the north of England, was much more important and decisive. A war having been declared between the English and Scots, who ever took the opportunity to fall on when their neighbours were embroiled with France, the king of that country summoned out the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed with a body of fifty thousand men, ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay along the banks of that river. But as his forces were numerous, and the country barren, he soon began to want provisions; so that many of his men deserted, and returned to their native country. In the mean time, the earl of Surrey, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, approached the Scots, who were encamped on a rising ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the two armies, and prevented an engagement; wherefore the earl of Surrey sent a herald to the Scottish camp, challenging the enemy to descend into Flodden plain, and there to try their valour on equal ground. This offer not being accepted, he made a feint, as if he intended marching towards Berwick; which putting the Scots in motion to annoy his rear, he took advantage of a great smoke caused by firing their huts, and passed the little river which had hitherto prevented the engagement. Both armies now perceiving that a combat was inevitable, they prepared for the onset with great composure and regularity. The English divided their army into two lines: lord Thomas Howard led the main body of the first line; sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Constable the left: the earl of Surrey himself commanded the main body of the second line, assisted by lord Dacres, and sir Edward Stanley, to the right and the left. The Scots, on the other hand, presented three divisions to the enemy: the middle commanded by the king himself, the right by the earl of Huntley, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; a fourth division, under the earl of Bothwell, made a body of reserve. Lord Huntley began the onset, charging the left division of the English army with such fury, that it was immediately thrown into disorder: but it was so seasonably sup-

ported, that the men rallied, and the battle became general. Both sides fought a long time with incredible impetuosity, until the Highlanders, being galled by the English artillery, broke in, sword in hand, upon the main body commanded by the earl of Surrey; and at the head of these James fought with the most forward of the nobility. They attacked with such velocity, that the hinder line could not advance in time to sustain them, so that a body of English intercepted their retreat. James, being thus almost surrounded by the enemy, refused to quit the field while it was yet in his power; but, alighting from his horse, formed his little body into an orb, and in this posture fought with such desperate courage as restored the battle. The English, therefore, were again obliged to have recourse to their artillery and arrows, which made a terrible havock; but night separating the combatants, it was not till the day following that lord Howard perceived that he had gained a great and glorious victory. The English lost no persons of distinction; but the flower of the Scottish nobility fell. Ten thousand of the common men were cut off; and a body, supposed to be that of the king, was sent to London, where it remained unburied, as a sentence of excommunication still continued against him, for having leagued with France against the Holy See. But upon Henry's application, who pretended that James in the instant before his death had discovered some signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and the body was interred. However, the populace of Scotland still continued to think their king alive; and it was given out among them that he had secretly gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

These successes only served to intoxicate Henry; and while his pleasure, on the one hand, engrossed his time, the preparations for repeated expeditions exhausted his treasures. As it was natural to suppose that the old ministers, who had been appointed by his father as his counsellors, would not readily concur in these idle projects, Henry had, for some time, discontinued asking their advice, and chiefly confided in the counsels of Thomas, afterwards cardinal Wolsey, who seemed to second him in his favourite pursuits. Wolsey was a minister who complied with all his master's inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined. He was the son of a private gentleman, (and not of a butcher, as is commonly reported,) of Ipswich. He was sent to Oxford so early, that he was a bachelor at fourteen, and was therefore called the boy-bachelor. He arose by degrees, upon quitting college, from one preferment to another, till he was made rector of Lymington by the marquis of Dorset, whose children he had instructed. He had not long resided at this living, when one of the justices of the peace put him in the stocks for being drunk, and raising disturbances at a neighbouring fair. This disgrace, however, did not retard his promotion; for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry the Seventh; and being employed by that monarch in a secret negociation respecting his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, he acquitted himself to that king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity. That prince, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided at Brussels, was surprised in less than three days after to see Wolsey present himself before him; and, supposing that he had been delinquent, began to reprove his delay. Wolsey, however, surprised him with assurances that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. His despatch on that occasion procured him the deanery of Lincoln; and in this situation it was that he was introduced by Fox, bishop of Winchester, to the young king's notice, in hopes that he would have talents to supplant the earl of Surrey, who was favourite at that time: and, in this respect, the conjectures of Fox were not erroneous. Presently after being introduced at court, he was made a privy counsellor; and, as such, had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himself with the young king, as he appeared at once complying, submissive, and enterprising. Wolsey used every art to suit himself to the royal temper; he sung, laughed, and danced, with every libertine of the court; neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character as a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or tended to check, by ill-timed severities, the gaiety of his companions. To such a weak and vicious monarch as Henry, qualities of this nature were highly pleasing.

Wolsey was soon acknowledged as his favourite, and was intrusted with the chief administration of affairs. The people began to see with indignation the new favourite's mean condescensions to the king, and his arrogance to themselves. They had long regarded the vicious haughtiness and the unbecoming splendour of the clergy, with envy and detestation; and Wolsey's greatness served to bring a new odium upon that body, already too much the object of the people's dislike. His character, being now placed in a more conspicuous point of light, daily began to manifest itself the more. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded in enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and at other times lofty, elevated, and commanding; haughty to his equals, yet affable to his dependents; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; he was formed to take the ascendant in every intercourse, and vain enough not to cover his real superiority.

He had been advanced to the bishopric of Lincoln; but this he resigned on being promoted to the archbishopric of York. Upon the capture of Tournay, he had been preferred to the see of that place; but besides, he gained possession, at very low leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence by parting with a considerable share of their profits. Besides many other church preferments, he was allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and his appetite seemed to increase by the means [A. D. 1515. that were taken to satisfy it. The pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education: and whoever were distinguished by any art or science, paid court to the cardinal, and were often liberally rewarded. He was the first clergyman in England who wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles, and the trappings of his horses.

Besides these various distinctions, the pope soon after conferred upon him that of legate, designing thus to make him instrumental in draining the kingdom of money, upon pretence of employing it in a war against the Turks, but in reality with a view to fill his own coffers. In this he so well served the court of Rome, that, some time after, the post of legate was conferred upon him for life; and he now united in his person the promotions of legate, cardinal, archbishop, and prime minister.

Soon after, Warham, chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a very moderate temper, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. Wolsey instantly seized the chancellorship, and exercised the duties of that employment with great abilities and impartiality. The duke of Norfolk, finding the king's treasures exhausted, and his taste for expense still continuing, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. Fox, bishop of Winchester, who had been instrumental in Wolsey's rise, withdrew himself in disgust; the duke of Suffolk also went home with a resolution to remain private; whilst Wolsey availed himself of their discontents, and filled up their places by his creatures, or his personal assiduity. These were vast stretches of power; and yet the churchman was still insatiable. He procured a bull from the pope, empowering him to make knights and counts, to legitimate bastards, to give degrees in arts, law, physic, and divinity, and to grant all sorts of dispensations. So much pride and power could not avoid giving high offence to the nobility; yet none dared vent their indignation; so greatly were they in terror of his vindictive temper

In order to divert their envy from his inordinate exaltation, he soon entered into a correspondence with Francis the First, of France, who had taken many methods to work upon his vanity, and at last succeeded. In consequence of that monarch's wishes, Henry was persuaded by the cardinal to restore Tournay to the French; and he also agreed to an interview with [A. D. 1520. Francis. This expensive congress was held between Guisnes and Ardres,

near Calais, within the English pale, in compliment to Henry for crossing the sea. The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent erected for the purpose, where Henry proceeded to read the articles of their intended alliance. As he began to read the first words of it, "I, Henry, king," he stopped a moment, and then subjoined only "of England," without adding France, the usual style of English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed his approbation by a smile. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the nobility of both courts on this occasion. Many of them involved themselves in large debts; and the penury of a life was scarcely sufficient to reimburse the extravagance of a few days. Besides, there at first appeared something low and illiberal in the mutual distrusts that were conspicuous on this occasion: the two kings never met without having the number of their guards counted on both sides; every step was carefully adjusted; they passed each other in the middle point between both places, when they went to visit their queens; and at the same instant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. But Francis, who is considered as the first restorer of true politeness in Europe, put an end to this illiberal method of conversing. Taking one day with him two gentlemen and a page, he rode directly into Guisnes, crying out to the English guards, that they were their prisoners, and desiring to be carried to their master. Henry was not a little astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here given me the most agreeable surprise; you have shewn me the full confidence I may place in you; I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls of great value, and, putting it on Francis, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed; and, giving him a bracelet of double the value of the former, insisted on his wearing it in turn. Henry went the next day to Ardres without guards or attendants; and confidence being now sufficiently established between these monarchs, they employed the rest of their time in feasts and tournaments.

Some months before, a defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt and tourney. Accordingly, the monarchs, now gorgeously apparelled, entered the lists on horseback; Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were both at that time the most comely personages of their age, and prided themselves on their expertness in the military exercises. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry; and they put an end to the encounter whenever they thought proper. It is supposed that the crafty French monarch was willing to gratify Henry's vanity, by allowing him to enjoy a petty preeminence in these pastimes. He ran a tilt against Monsieur Grandeval, whom he disabled at the first encounter. He engaged Monsieur de Montmorency, whom, however, he could not throw from the saddle. He fought at faulchion with a French nobleman, who presented him with his courser in token of submission.

A. D. 1521.] But these empty splendours were not sufficient to appease the jealousy of the nobles at home, or quiet the murmurs of the people. Among these, the duke of Buckingham, the son of him who lost his life in the reign of Richard the Third, was the foremost to complain. He had often been heard to treat the cardinal's pride and profusion with just contempt; and carrying his resentment perhaps to an improper length, some low informers took care that Wolsey should be appriaed of all. The substance of his impeachment was, that he had consulted a fortune-teller concerning his succession to the crown, and had affected to make himself popular. This was but a weak pretext to take away the life of a nobleman, whose father had died in defence of the late king: but he was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose son had married his daughter, was created high-steward, to preside at this solemn procedure. He was condemned to die as a traitor, by a jury consisting of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons. When the sentence was pronouncing against him, and the high-steward came to

mention the word traitor, the unhappy prisoner could not contain his indignation. "My lords," cried he to the judges, "I am no traitor; and for what you have now done against me, take my sincere forgiveness: as for my life, I think it not worth petitioning for; may God forgive you, and pity me!" He was soon after executed on Tower Hill.

By this time the immense treasures of the late king were quite exhausted on empty pageants, guilty pleasures, or vain treaties and expeditions. But the king relied on Wolsey alone for replenishing his coffers; and no person could be fitter for the purpose. His first care was to get a large sum of money from the people, under the title of a benevolence, which added to its being extorted, the mortification of being considered as a free gift. Henry little minded the manner of its being raised, provided he had the enjoyment of it. However, his minister met with some opposition in his attempts to levy these extorted contributions. Having, in the first place, [A. D. 1523. exacted a considerable subsidy from the clergy, he next addressed himself to the house of commons; but they only granted him half the supplies he demanded. Wolsey was at first highly offended at their parsimony, and desired to be heard in the house; but as this would have destroyed the very form and constitution of that august body, they replied, that none could be permitted to sit and argue there, but such as had been elected members. This was the first attempt made in this reign to render the king master of the debates in parliament. Wolsey first paved the way; and, unfortunately for the kingdom, Henry too well improved upon his plans soon after.

A treaty with France, which threatened to make a breach with the emperor induced Henry to wish for new supplies; or at least he made this the pretext of his demands. But as the parliament had testified their reluctance to indulge his wishes, he followed the advice of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued out commissions to all the counties of England, for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and exacting three shillings and fourpence from the laity, nor did he attempt to cover the violence of the measure by giving it the name either of benevolence or loan. This unwarrantable stretch of royal power was quickly opposed by the people; they were unwilling to submit to impositions unknown till now; and a general insurrection threatened to ensue. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered; and declared, by circular letters to all the counties, that what was demanded was only by way of benevolence. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, was not so easily quieted; the citizens of London hesitated on the demand; and in some parts of the country insurrections were actually begun, which were suppressed by the duke of Suffolk. These imposts, which were first advised by Wolsey, not happily succeeding, he began to lose a little of his favour with the king; and this displeasure was still more increased by the complaints of the clergy, who accused him of extortion. Henry reproved Wolsey in severe terms; which rendered him more cautious and artful for the future. As an instance of his cunning, having built a noble palace, called York-place, at Westminster, for his own use, fearing now the general censure against him, he made a present of it to the king, assuring him that from the first he intended it as an offer to his majesty. Thus Wolsey's impunity only served to pave the way to greater extortions. The pride of this prelate was great; but his riches were still greater. In order to have a pretext for amassing such sums, he undertook to found two colleges, one at Ipswich, his native place, the other at Oxford; and for these he received every day fresh grants from the pope and the king. To execute this favourite scheme, he obtained a liberty of suppressing several monasteries, and converting their revenues to the benefit of his new foundations. Whatever might have been the pope's inducement to grant him these privileges, nothing could be more fatal to the pontiff's interests; for Henry was thus himself taught shortly afterwards to imitate what he had seen a subject perform with impunity.

Hitherto the whole administration was carried on by Wolsey; for the king was contented to lose, in the embraces of his mistresses, all the complaints of his subjects; and the cardinal undertook to keep him ignorant, in order to

continue his own uncontrolled authority. But now a period was approaching that was to put an end to this minister's exorbitant power. One of the most extraordinary and important revolutions that ever employed the attention of man, was now ripe for execution. This was no less a change than the Reformation; to have an idea of the rise of which, it will be proper to take a cursory view of the state of the church at that time, and to observe by what seemingly contradictory means, Providence produces the most happy events.

The church of Rome had now, for more than a thousand years, been corrupting the ancient simplicity of the Gospel, and converting into a temporality, the kingdom of another world. The popes had been frequently seen at the head of their own armies, fighting for their dominions with the arm of flesh, and forgetting, in cruelty, and detestable maxims of state, all the pretended sanctity of their characters. The cardinals, prelates, and dignitaries of the church, lived in envied splendour, and were served like voluptuous princes; and some of them were found to possess eight or nine bishoprics at once. Wherever the church governed, it exerted its power with cruelty; so that the crime of tyranny was usually added to its luxuries. As for the inferior clergy, both popish and protestant writers exclaim against their abandoned and dissolute morals. They publicly kept mistresses, and bequeathed to their illegitimate children whatever they were able to save from their pleasures, or extort from the poor. There is still to be seen a will made by a bishop of Cambray, in which he bequeathed a certain sum for the use of the bastards he already had, and those which, by the blessing of God, he might happen to have. In many parts of England and Germany, the people obliged their priests to have concubines, that the laity might preserve their wives with greater security; while the poor laborious peasant and artisan saw all the fruits of their toil go, not to clothe and maintain their own little families, but to pamper men who insulted them with lectures to which their example appeared a flat contradiction. But the vices of the clergy were not greater than their ignorance; few of them knew the meaning of their Latin mass. Their sagacity was chiefly employed in finding out witches, and exorcising the possessed; but what most increased the hatred of the people against them, was the selling pardons and absolutions for sin, at certain stated prices. A deacon or subdeacon, who committed murder, was absolved from his crime, and allowed to possess three benefices, upon paying twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might commit murder for about ten pounds of our money. Every crime had its stated value; and absolutions were given for sins not only already committed, but such as should be committed hereafter. The wisest of the people looked with silent detestation on these impositions; and the ignorant themselves, whom fortune seemed to have formed for slavery, began to open their eyes to such glaring absurdities.

These vices and impositions were now almost come to a head; and the increase of arts and learning among the laity, propagated by means of printing, which had been lately invented, began to make them resist that power which was originally founded on deceit. Leo the Tenth was at that time pope, and eagerly employed in building the church of St. Peter at Rome. In order to procure money for carrying on that expensive undertaking, he gave a commission for selling indulgences, a practice which had been often tried before. These were to free the purchaser from the pains of purgatory; and they would serve even for one's friends, if they were purchased with that intention. There were every where shops opened where they were to be sold; but in general they were to be had at taverns, brothels, and gaming-houses. The Augustine friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; but the pope's minister, supposing that they had found out illicit methods of secreting the money, transferred the lucrative employment from them to the Dominicans. Martin Luther, professor in the university of Wittenberg on the Elbe, was an Augustine monk, and one of those who resented this transfer of the sale of indulgences from one order to another. He began to shew his indignation by preaching against their efficacy; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he inveighed against the authority of the pope himself. Being driven hard by his adversaries, still, as he en-

larged his reading in order to support his tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome. The people, who had long groaned under the papal tyranny, heard his discourses with pleasure, and defended him against the authority and machinations of his enemies. Frederic, elector of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, openly protected him; the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model; and Luther, a man naturally inflexible and vehement, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, of relinquishing a sect of which he was himself the founder. It was in vain, therefore, that the pope issued out his bulls against Luther; it was in vain that the Dominican friars procured his books to be burned; he boldly abused the Dominicans, and burned the pope's bull in the streets of Wittenberg. In the mean time, the dispute was carried on by writing on each side. Luther, though opposed by the pope, the conclave, and all the clergy, supported his cause singly, and with success. As the controversy was new, his ignorance of many parts of the subject was not greater than theirs; and, ill as he wrote, they answered still worse. Opinions are inculcated upon the minds of mankind, rather by confidence and perseverance, than by strength of reasoning or beauty of diction; and no man had more confidence or more perseverance than he. In this dispute it was the fate of Henry to be a champion on both sides. His father, who had given him the education of a scholar, permitted him to be instructed in school divinity, which then was the principal object of learned inquiry. Henry, therefore, willing to convince the world of his abilities in that science, obtained the pope's permission to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden under pain of excommunication. In consequence of this, the king defended the seven sacraments, out of St. Thomas Aquinas; and shewed some dexterity in this science, though it is thought that Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him. A book being thus finished in haste, it was sent to Rome for the pope's approbation, which it is natural to suppose would not be withheld. The pontiff, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome or St. Augustine, and rewarded the author with the title of Defender of the Faith; little imagining that Henry was soon to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

Besides these causes, which contributed to render the Romish church odious and contemptible, there were still others, proceeding from political measures. Clement the Seventh had succeeded Leo; and the hereditary animosity between the emperor and the pope breaking out into a war, Clement was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and with thirteen cardinals, his adherents, kept in custody for his ransom. As the demands of the emperor were exorbitant, Henry undertook to negociate for the pope, and was procuring him a very favourable treaty; but his holiness, in the mean time, corrupting his guards, had the good fortune to procure his escape from confinement; and leaving the treaty unfinished, sent Henry a letter of thanks for his mediation. The violence of the emperor taught Henry that popes might be injured with impunity; and the behaviour of the pope manifested but little of that sanctity or infallibility to which the pontiffs pretended. Besides, as Henry had laid the pope thus under obligations, he supposed that he might, upon any emergency, expect a grateful return.

It was in this situation of the church and the pope, that a new scene was going to be opened, which was to produce endless disturbances, and to change the whole system of Europe. Henry had now been nearly twenty years married to Catharine of Arragon, who, as we have already [A. D. 1527. related, had been brought over from Spain to marry his elder brother, who died a few months after cohabitation. But, notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to the indulgence of the church, Henry's marriage with this princess did not pass without scruple and hesitation. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had solemnized the espousals when his son was but twelve years of age, gave many intimations that he intended to annul them at a proper opportunity. These intentions might have given Henry some doubts and scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage;

but as he had three children by the princess, and as her character and conduct were blameless, he for a while kept his suggestions private. But she was six years older than her husband; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed to make him desirous of another consort. However, though he felt a secret dislike to her person, yet for a long time he broke out into no flagrant act of contempt; being contented to range from beauty to beauty among the ladies of his court, and his rank always procuring him a ready compliance. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive much more powerful than the tacit suggestions of his conscience. It happened that, among the maids of honour then attending the queen, there was one Anne Boleyn, the daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman of distinction, and related to many of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in several embassies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty of Anne surpassed whatever had hitherto appeared at this voluptuous court; and her education, which had been at Paris, tended to set off her personal charms. Her features were regular, mild, and attractive; her stature elegant, though below the middle size; while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements. Henry, who had never learned the art of restraining any passion that he desired to gratify, saw and loved her; but, after several efforts to induce her to comply with his criminal desires, he found that without marriage he could have no chance of succeeding. This obstacle, therefore, he hardily undertook to remove; and as his own queen was now become hateful to him—in order to procure a divorce, he alleged that his conscience rebuked him for having so long lived in incest with the wife of his brother. In this pretended perplexity, he applied to Clement the Seventh, who owed him many obligations, desiring him to dissolve the bull of the former pope, which had given him permission to marry Catharine; and to declare that it was not in the power even of the holy see, to dispense with a law so strictly enjoined in Scripture. The unfortunate pope was now in the utmost perplexity; queen Catharine was aunt to the emperor who had lately made him a prisoner, and whose resentment he dreaded to rekindle by thus injuring so near a relation; besides, he could not in prudence declare the bull of the former pope illicit; for this would be giving a blow to the doctrine of papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend; the dominions of England were the chief resource from which his finances were supplied; and the king of France, some time before, had obtained a bull of divorce in somewhat similar circumstances. In this exigency, he thought the wisest method would be to spin out the affair by a negociation; and in the mean time sent over a commission to Wolsey, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage and the former dispensation; granting them also a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person. When this message was laid before the council in England, they prudently considered that an advice given by the pope in this secret manner might very easily be disavowed in public, and that a clandestine marriage would totally invalidate the legitimacy of any issue the king should have by such a match. In consequence of this, fresh messengers were despatched to Rome, and evasive answers returned, the pope still continuing to promise, recant, dispute, and temporize; hoping that the king's passion would never hold out during the tedious course of an ecclesiastical controversy. In this he was entirely mistaken. Henry had been long taught to dispute as well as he, and quickly found, or wrested, many texts of Scripture to favour his opinions or his passions. To his arguments he added threats, assuring the pope, that the English were already but too well disposed to withdraw from the holy see; and that, if he continued uncomplying, the whole country would readily follow the example of a monarch, who, stung by ingratitude, should deny all obedience to a pontiff by whom he had always been treated with falsehood and duplicity. The king even proposed to his holiness, whether, in case of his not being permitted to put away his present queen, he might not have a dispensation for having two wives at a time.

The pope, perceiving the eagerness of the king, at one time had thoughts of complying with his solicitations, and sent cardinal Campeggio, his legate,

to London, who, with Wolsey, opened a court for trying the [A. D. 1528.
legitimacy of the king's present marriage, and cited the king and the queen to appear before them. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name when called: but the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and, throwing herself at the king's feet, in the most pathetic manner entreated him to have pity upon her helpless situation. A stranger, unprotected, unfriended, she could only rely on him as her guardian and defender; on him alone who knew her submission and her innocence, and not upon any court in which her enemies prevailed, and would wrest the laws against her: she therefore refused the present trial, where she could expect neither justice nor impartiality. Yet, notwithstanding the queen's objections, her trial went forward; and Henry shortly hoped to be gratified in his most sanguine expectations. The principal point which came before the legates, was the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catharine, which some of his own expressions to that purpose tended to confirm. Other topics were preparing, tending to prove the inability of the pope himself to grant such a dispensation: and the business seemed now to be drawing near a period, when, to the great surprise of all, Campeggio, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences, suddenly prorogued the court, and transferred the cause before the court of Rome.

During the course of these perplexing negociations, on the issue of which Henry's happiness seemed to depend, he had at first expected to find in his favourite Wolsey a warm defender and a steady adherent; but in this he found himself mistaken. Wolsey seemed to be nearly in the same dilemma with the pope. On the one hand, he was to please his master the king, from whom he had received a thousand marks of favour; and on the other hand, he feared to disoblige the pope, whose servant he more immediately was, and who besides had power to punish his disobedience. He therefore resolved to continue neuter in this controversy; and, though of all men the most haughty, he gave way on this occasion to his colleague Campeggio in all things, pretending a deference to his skill in canon law. Wolsey's scheme of temporizing was highly displeasing to the king; but for a while he endeavoured to stifle his resentment, until it could act with more fatal certainty. He for some time looked out for a man of equal abilities and less art; and it was not long before accident threw in his way one Thomas Cranmer, a man of learning and talent, and probably of greater integrity than the cardinal. Cranmer was a doctor of divinity, and a professor at Cambridge, but had lost his office upon marrying contrary to the institutes of the canon law, which enjoined celibacy to all the clergy. He had travelled in his youth into Germany; and it was there he became acquainted with Luther's works, and embraced his doctrines. This man happening to fall one evening into company with Gardiner, secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner, the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation. He gave it as his opinion, that the readiest way to quiet the king's conscience, or to extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe upon the affair; an advice which, being brought to the king, pleased him so much, that Cranmer was desired to follow the court.

The king, finding himself provided with a person who could [A. D. 1529.
supply Wolsey's place, appeared less reserved in his resentments against that prelate. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a bill of indictment against him; and he was soon after commanded to resign the great seal. Crimes are easily found against a favourite in disgrace; and the courtiers did not fail to increase the catalogue of his errors. He was ordered to depart from his palace at Westminster; and all his furniture and plate were converted to the king's use. The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the most extravagant surmises. Of fine Holland alone there were found a thousand pieces; the walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and silver; he had a cupboard of plate of massy gold; all the rest of his riches and furniture were in proportion, and probably their greatness invited the hand of power. The parliament soon after confirmed the sentence of the court of Star-chamber against him; and he was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat which he possessed near Hamp-

ton; there to await the king's farther pleasure, with all the fluctuations of hope and apprehension. Still, however, he was in possession of the archbishopric of York, and the bishopric of Winchester; and the king gave him distant gleams of hope, by sending him a ring, accompanied with a gracious message. Wolsey, who, like every bad character, was proud to his equals, and mean to those above him, happening to meet the king's messenger on horseback, immediately alighted, and, throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that abject manner, those marks of his majesty's condescension. But his hopes were soon overturned; for, after he had remained some time at A. D. 1530.] Esher, he was ordered to remove to his see of York, where he took up his residence at Cawood, and rendered himself very popular in the neighbourhood by his affability. He was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. He was arrested by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high-treason; and preparations were made for conducting him to London, in order to his trial. He at first refused to comply with the requisition, as being a cardinal; but finding the earl bent on performing his commission, he complied, and set out, by easy journeys, for London, to appear as a criminal, where he had acted as a king. In his way he stayed a fortnight at the mansion of the earl of Shrewsbury; where one day at dinner he was taken ill, not without violent suspicions of having poisoned himself. Being thence brought forward, he with much difficulty reached Leicester abbey; where the monks coming out to meet him, he said, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and immediately ordered his bed to be prepared. As his disorder increased, an officer being placed near, at once to guard and attend him, he spoke to him, a little before he expired, to this effect: "I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty; he is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. I do assure you I have kneeled before him, for three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. He died soon after, in all the pangs of remorse, and left a life which he had all along rendered turbid by ambition, and wretched by mean assiduities. He left two natural children; one of whom, being a priest, was loaded with church preferments.

Henry being now freed from the control of a person who had for some time been an obstacle to his intentions, by Cranmer's advice he had the legality of his present marriage canvassed in the most noted universities of Europe. It was very extraordinary to see the king on one side soliciting the universities to be favourable to his passion; and on the other, the emperor pressing them with equal ardour to be favourable to his aunt. Henry liberally rewarded those doctors who declared on his side; and the emperor granted benefices to such as voted in conformity to his wishes. Time has discovered these intrigues. In one of Henry's account-books we find the disbursements he made on these occasions. To a sub-deacon he gave a crown, to a deacon two crowns; and he also gratified or rewarded the rest, in proportion to the consequence of their station or opinion. The person, however, who bribed on these occasions, excused himself by declaring that he never paid the money till after the vote was given. In this contest, the liberalities, and consequently the votes, of Henry, prevailed; his intrigues for a favourable decision being better carried on, as he was most interested in the debate. All the colleges of Italy and France unanimously declared his present marriage to be repugnant to all laws divine and human; and therefore alleged, that it was not in the power of the pope himself to grant a dispensation. The only places where this decision was most warmly opposed, were Oxford and Cambridge: but they also concurred in the same opinion at last, having furnished out the formality of a debate. But the agents of Henry were not content with the suffrages of the universities alone; the opinions of the Jewish rabbies were also demanded; and their votes were easily bought up.

Henry, being thus fortified by the suffrages of the universities, now resolved to oppose even the pope himself; and began in parliament by reviving an old law against the clergy, by which it was decreed, that all those who had submitted to the legatine authority, had incurred severe penalties. The clergy, to conciliate the king's favour, were compelled to pay a fine of a hundred and eighteen thousand pounds. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that the king was protector and supreme head of the church and the clergy of England. These concessions cut off a great part of the emoluments, and still more of the power, of the church of Rome. An act was soon after passed against levying the first-fruits, or a year's rent, of all the bishoprics that became vacant. The tie that held Henry to the church being thus broken, he resolved to keep no farther measures with the pontiff. He therefore privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke; the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and doctor Cranmer, being present at the ceremony. Soon after, finding the queen pregnant, he publicly owned his marriage; and, to colour his disobedience to the pope with an appearance of triumph, he passed with his beautiful bride through London, with a magnificence greater than had been ever known before. The streets were strewed, the walls of the houses were hung with tapestry, the conduits ran with wine, and an universal joy was diffused among the people, who were contented rather with the present festivity, than solicitous to examine the motives of it. Catharine, who had all along supported her claims with resolution, and yet with modesty, was cited to a trial; but, refusing to appear, she was pronounced contumacious; and judgment was given against the validity of her marriage with the king. At length, finding the inutility of farther resistance, she retired to Ampthill, near Dunstable, where she passed the rest of her life in privacy and peace. [A. D. 1531. [A. D. 1532.

When this intelligence was conveyed to Rome, the conclave was in a rage; and the pope, incited by the ardour of the cardinals, and frightened also by the menaces of the emperor, published a sentence, declaring queen Catharine alone to be Henry's lawful wife; and requiring him to take her again, with a denunciation of censures in case of refusal. On the other hand, Henry, finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and had willingly complied with his attempts to break off a foreign dependence, resolved no longer to continue those submissions which no power could extort. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation: care had been taken for some years to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority beyond the limits of his own diocese. The king, therefore, no longer delayed his meditated scheme of separating entirely from the church of Rome. The parliament was at his devotion; the majority of the clergy were in his interest, as they had already declared against the pope, by decreeing in favour of the divorce; and the people, above all, wished to see the church humbled, which had so long controlled them at pleasure, and grown opulent by their labours and distresses. Thus all things conspiring to co-operate with his designs, he ordered himself to be declared by his clergy the supreme head of the church; the parliament confirmed the title, abolished all authority of the pope in England, voted all tributes formerly paid to the holy see as illegal, and intrusted the king with the collation to all ecclesiastical benefices. The nation came into the king's measures with joy, and took an oath, called the oath of supremacy; all the credit of the pope, that had subsisted for ages, was now at once overthrown; and none seemed to repine at the revolution, except those who were immediately interested by their dependence on the court of Rome. [A. D. 1534.

But though Henry had thus separated from the church, he had not addicted himself to the system of any other reformer. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to him; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had removed one part of his early prejudices, he made it a point never to relinquish the rest. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrines, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of its establishments. His ministers and courtiers were of

as motley a character as his conduct, and seemed to waver, during the whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The young queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers; Thomas Cromwell, who, from being a creature of Wolsey, had, by an admirable defence of the conduct of his old master, procured the favour and confidence of the king, embraced the same views. Being a man of prudence and ability, he was very successful in promoting the Reformation, though in a concealed manner. Cranmer, who was now become archbishop of Canterbury, had all along adopted the protestant tenets, and had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the old mode of worship; and by the greatness of his rank, as well as by his talents for peace and war, he had great weight in the king's council. Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and the dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it. The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between these contending factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him by both protestants and catholics, to assume an immeasurable authority.

As the mode of religion was not yet known, and as the minds of those who were of opposite sentiments were extremely exasperated, it naturally followed that several must fall a sacrifice in the contest between ancient establishments and modern reformation. The reformers were the first who were exhibited as unhappy examples of the vindictive fury of those who were for the continuance of ancient superstitions. One James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, being accused of favouring the doctrines of Luther, had been brought before sir Thomas More, during his chancellorship; and, after being put to the torture, was condemned as a relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. Thomas Bilney, a priest, had embraced the new doctrines; but, being terrified into an abjuration, he was so stung with remorse, that he went into Norfolk, publicly recanting his former conduct, and exposing the errors of popery. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, condemned as a relapsed heretic, and burned accordingly. On the other hand, Henry was not remiss in punishing such as disowned the propriety of his late defection from Rome; and, as the monks suffered most by the Reformation, so, from their free manner of speaking, they were most obnoxious to the royal resentment.

To assist him in bringing these to punishment, the parliament had made it capital to deny his supremacy over the church; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of crime. But of those who fell a sacrifice to this stern and unjust law, none are so much to be regretted as John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and the celebrated sir Thomas More. Fisher was a prelate eminent for his learning and morals; but so firmly attached to ancient opinions, that he was thrown into prison, and deprived of his ecclesiastical revenues; so that he had scarcely even rags to cover him in his severe confinement. He was soon after indicted for denying the king's
A. D. 1535.] supremacy, condemned, and beheaded.

Sir Thomas More is entitled to greater pity, as his merits were greater. This extraordinary man, who was one of the revivers of ancient literature, and incontestably the foremost writer of his age, had, for some time, refused to act in subserviency to the capricious passions of the king. He had been created chancellor; but gave up that high office, rather than concur in the breach with the church of Rome. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had in no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper; and even in the midst of poverty and disgrace, he could preserve that natural gaiety which was probably inspired by conscious innocence. But on the present occasion, being put into confinement, no entreaties or arguments could prevail upon him to pronounce an entire acknowledgment of the justice of the king's claims. One Rich, who was then solicitor-general, was sent to confer with him; and in his presence he was invcigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was like a two-edged sword; if a person answered one way, it would confound his soul; if another, it would destroy his body. These words were sufficient for

the base informer to hang an accusation upon; and, as trials at that time were mere formalities, the jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected his fate. His natural cheerfulness attended him to the last: when he was mounting to the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up; and when I go down again, let me shift for myself." The executioner asking his forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he had put aside his beard; "for," said he, "that has never committed treason."

The concurrence which the people seemed to lend to these severities, added to the great authority which Henry, from his severe administration, possessed, induced him to proceed still farther in his scheme of innovation. As the monks had all along shewn him the greatest resistance, he resolved at once to deprive them of future power to injure him. He accordingly empowered Cromwell, secretary of state, to send commissioners into the several counties of England to inspect the monasteries, and to report, with rigorous exactness, the conduct and deportment of such as were resident there. This employment was readily undertaken by some creatures of the court, namely, Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, and Belasis, who are said to have discovered monstrous disorders in many of the religious houses;—whole convents of women abandoned to all manner of lewdness; friars accomplices in their crimes; pious frauds every where practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people; and cruel and inveterate factions maintained between the members of many of these institutions. These accusations, whether true or false, were urged with great clamour against these communities; and a general horror was excited in the nation against them.

The king now thought he might with safety, and even some degree of popularity, abolish these institutions; but, willing to proceed gently at first, he gave directions to the parliament to go no farther at present than to suppress the smaller monasteries, which possessed revenues below the value of two hundred pounds a year. By this act three hundred and seventy- [A. D. 1536. six monasteries were suppressed; and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king, besides their goods and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. But this was only the beginning of his confiscations; for, about two years after, he resolved upon the entire destruction of all monasteries whatsoever. A new visitation was therefore appointed, and fresh crimes were also produced; so that his severities were conducted with such seeming justice and success, that in less than two years he became possessed of the revenues of all the monastic foundations. These, on the whole, amounted to six hundred and forty-five, of which twenty-eight had abbots who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety collegiate institutions, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and a hundred and ten hospitals, were likewise suppressed. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds—less than a twentieth part of the national income. The loss which was sustained by the clergy upon this occasion, was by no means so great or mortifying as the cruel insults and reproaches to which they were exposed for their former frauds and avarice. The numberless relics which they had amassed to delude and draw money from the people, were now brought forward, and exposed before the populace with the most poignant contempt:—an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the spear which pierced the side of Christ; coals that had roasted St. Laurence; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; certain relics to prevent rain; others to stop the generation of weeds among corn. There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, distinguished by the appellation of the Rood of Grace, which had been long in reputation for bending, raising, rolling the eyes, and shaking the head. It was brought to London, and broken to pieces at Paul's cross; and the wheels and springs by which it was actuated were shewn to the people. At Hales, in Gloucestershire, the monks had carried on a profitable traffic with the pretended blood of Christ in a crystal phial. This relic was no other than the blood of a duck killed weekly, and exhibited to the pilgrim: if his prayers were accepted, the blood was shewn him; if supposed to be rejected, the phial

was turned; and, being on one side opaque, the blood was no longer to be seen. But the spoils of St. Thomas à Becket's shrine, at Canterbury, exceeded what even imagination might conceive. The shrine was broken down; and the gold that adorned it filled two large chests, which eight strong men could hardly carry out of the church. The king even cited the saint himself to appear, and to be tried and condemned as a traitor. He ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar, his bones to be burned, and the office for his festival to be struck out of the breviary.

Such were the violent measures with which the king proceeded against these seats of indolence and imposture; but as great murmurs were excited upon this occasion, he took care that all those who could be useful to him, or even dangerous in case of opposition, should be sharers in the spoil. He either made a gift of the revenues of the convents to his principal courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, of which the last five still continue. He also settled salaries on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or their merits: and each monk was allowed a yearly pension of eight marks for his subsistence.

But though the king had entirely separated himself from Rome, he was unwilling to follow any guide in constructing a new system. He would not therefore wholly abolish those practices by which priestcraft had been carried to such a pitch of absurdity. The invocation of saints was not yet abolished by him, but only restrained. He procured an act, or, more properly speaking, gave orders, to have the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue: but it was not permitted to be put into the hands of the laity. It was a capital crime to believe in the pope's supremacy; and yet equally heinous to be of the reformed religion, as established in Germany. His opinions were at length delivered in a law, which, from its horrid consequences, was afterwards termed the Bloody Statute, by which it was ordained, that whoever, by word or writing, should deny transubstantiation, whoever should persist in affirming that the communion in both kinds was necessary, that it was lawful for priests to marry, that vows of chastity might be broken, that private masses were unprofitable, or that auricular confession was unnecessary, should be found guilty of heresy, and burned or hanged as the court should determine. As the people were at that time chiefly composed of those who followed the opinions of Luther, and such as still adhered to the pope, this statute, with Henry's former decrees, in some measure included both, and opened a field for persecution, which soon after produced its dreadful harvests.

These severities, however, were preceded by one of a different nature, arising neither from religious nor political causes, but merely from tyrannical caprice. Anne Boleyn, his queen, had been always a favourer of the Reformation, and consequently had many enemies on that account, who only waited a convenient occasion to destroy her credit with the king; and that occasion too soon presented itself. The king's passion was by this time palled by satiety. As the only desire he ever had for her arose from that brutal appetite which enjoyment soon destroys, he had now fallen in love, if we may so prostitute the expression, with another, and languished for the possession of Jane Seymour, who had for some time been maid of honour to the queen.

As soon as the queen's enemies perceived the king's disgust, they resolved on taking the first opportunity of gratifying his inclination to get rid of her, by producing crimes against her, which his passions would quickly make real. The viscountess Rochford in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, herself a woman of infamous character, began with the most cruel insinuations against the reputation of her sister-in-law. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in an incestuous correspondence with his sister; and, not contented with this insinuation, represented all the harmless levities of the queen as favours of a criminal nature. The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief, as was supposed, to one of her minions to wipe his face, after having overheated himself in the exercise. Though this might have been very harmless, the king abruptly retired from the place, and sent orders to

have her confined to her apartment. Anne smiled at first, thinking the king was in jest; but when she found it was a very serious affair, she received the sacrament in her closet, sensible of what little mercy she had to expect from so furious a tyrant.

In the mean time, her enemies were not remiss in inflaming the accusation against her. The duke of Norfolk, from his attachment to the old religion, took care to produce several witnesses, accusing her of incontinence with some of the meaner servants of the court. Four persons were particularly pointed out as her paramours; Henry Norris, groom of the stole. Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with Mark Smeton, a musician. As these had served her with much assiduity, their respect might have been construed by suspicion into more tender attachments. The next day the queen was sent to the Tower, earnestly protesting her innocence, and sending up prayers to heaven for assistance in this extremity. She in vain begged to be admitted into the presence of the king; the lady Boleyn, her uncle's wife, who had always hated her, was ordered to continue in the same chamber, and she made a report of all the incoherent ravings of the afflicted prisoner. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow. She had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife; but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself. She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord; but she acknowledged that he once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him.

Every person at court now abandoned the unhappy queen in her distress, except Cranmer, who, though forbidden to come into the king's presence, wrote a letter to him in behalf of the queen; but his intercession had no effect. When Norris and the other prisoners were tried in Westminster-hall, Smeton was prevailed upon, by the promise of a pardon, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but he was not confronted with her: and his execution with the rest, shortly after, served to acquit her of the charge. Norris, who had been much in the king's favour, had an offer of his life, if he would confess his crime and accuse his mistress; but he rejected the proposal with contempt, and died professing her innocence and his own.

In the mean time, the queen, who saw the terrible appearance of her fortunes, attempted to soften the king by every endeavour to spare the lives of the unfortunate men whose deaths were decreed. But his was a stern jealousy festered by pride; and nothing but her removal could appease him. Her letter to him, upon this occasion, written from the Tower, is full of the tenderest expostulations, and too remarkable to be omitted here; as its manner serves at once to mark the situation of her mind, and shews to what a pitch of refinement she had, even at that time, carried the language. It is as follows:

"Sir,

"Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth and so obtain your favour) by such an one, whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have

chosen me, from a low estate, to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame: then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared: so that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am; whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto your grace, not being ignorant of my suspicion therein

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me,) mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself shall only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request: and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.—Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

ANNE BOLEYN."

It was not to be expected that eloquence could prevail on a tyrant, whose passions were to be influenced by none of the nobler motives. The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; but upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was urged against them, is unknown; the chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rochford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had declared to her attendants, that the king never had her heart; which was considered as a slander upon the throne, and strained into a breach of a late statute, by which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. The unhappy queen, though unassisted by counsel, defended herself with great judgment and presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear declaring her entirely innocent. She answered distinctly to all the charges brought against her: but the king's authority was not to be controlled; she was declared guilty, and her sentence ran, that she should be burned or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. When this terrible sentence was pronounced against her, she could not help offering up a prayer to Heaven, vindicating her innocence; and, in a most pathetic speech to her judges, averred the injustice of her condemnation. But the tyrant, not satisfied with this vengeance, was desirous also of having her daughter declared illegitimate; and, remembering the report of a contract between her and Percy earl of Northumberland, prevailed upon the queen, either by promise of life, or not executing the sentence in all its rigour, to confess such a contract. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself obliged, by this confession, to pronounce the marriage null; and Henry, in the transports of his malignant prosecution, did not see, that if her marriage had been invalid from the beginning, the sentence of adultery must have been invalid also.

She who had been once the envied object of royal favour, was now going

to give a melancholy instance of the capriciousness of fortune: upon her returning to prison, she once more sent protestations of her innocence to the king. "You have raised me," said she, "from privacy to make me a lady; from a lady you made me a countess; from a countess a queen; and from a queen I shall shortly become a saint in heaven." On the morning of her execution, she sent for Kingston, the keeper of the Tower, to whom, upon entering the prison, she said, "Mr. Kingston, I hear I am not to die till noon, and I am sorry for it; for I thought to be dead before this time, and free from a life of pain." The keeper, attempting to comfort her, by assuring her the pain would be very little; she replied, "I have heard the executioner is very expert; and (clasping her neck with her hands, laughing) I have but a little neck." When brought to the scaffold, from a consideration of her child Elizabeth's welfare, she would not inflame the minds of the spectators against her prosecutors, but contented herself with saying "that she was come to die as she was sentenced by the law." She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged; she prayed heartily for the king, called him "a most merciful and gentle prince;" declared that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and, if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over, as much more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower. Anne Boleyn seemed to be guilty of no other crime than that of having survived the king's affections; and although many crowned heads had already been put to death in England, she was the first who underwent all the forms of law, and was beheaded on a scaffold.

The people, in general, beheld her fate with pity; but still more when they discovered the cause of the tyrant's impatience to destroy her; for, the very next day after her execution, he married the lady Jane Seymour: his cruel heart being no way softened by the wretched fate of one who had been so lately the object of his warmest affections. He also ordered his parliament to give him a divorce between her sentence and execution; and thus he endeavoured to bastardize Elizabeth, the only child he had by her, as he had in the same manner formerly bastardized Mary, his only surviving child by queen Catharine.

It is easy to imagine that such various innovations and capricious cruelties were not felt by the people without indignation; but their murmurs were fruitless, and their complaints disregarded. Henry now made himself umpire between those of the ancient superstition, and the modern reformation; both looked up to him for assistance, and, at mutual enmity with each other, he took the advantage of all. Besides, he had all the powerful men of the nation on his side, by the many grants he had made them of the lands and goods of which he had despoiled the monasteries. It was easy for him, therefore, to quell the various insurrections which his present arbitrary conduct produced, as they were neither headed by any powerful man, nor conducted with any kind of foresight, but were merely the tumultuary efforts of anguish and despair. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, headed by doctor Mackrel, prior of Barling; and though this tumultuary army amounted to twenty thousand men, upon a proclamation being made with assurances of pardon, the populace dispersed; and the prior and some of his chief confederates, falling into the king's hands, were put to death. Another rising followed soon after in the north, amounting to thirty thousand men, who were preceded by priests carrying the ensigns of their functions before the army, and seemed chiefly inspired with an enmity against Cromwell, whom they considered as the instigator of the king's severities. But these also were soon dispersed, upon finding that provisions became scarce among them; after having in vain endeavoured to attack the duke of Norfolk's army, which was sent against them, and from which they were separated by a rivulet that was swollen by heavy rains. A new insurrection broke out shortly after, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; but the insurgents were dispersed and put to flight by the duke of Norfolk. Besides one Aske, who led the former insurrection in the north, Lord D'Arcy, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, sir Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley, were

thrown into prison; and most of these suffered death. Henry, enraged by multiplied revolts, resolved to put no bounds to his severities; and the birth of a prince (afterwards Edward the Sixth) and the death of the queen, who survived this joyful occasion but two days, made but a small pause in the fierce severity with which those were treated who were found to oppose his will.

A. D. 1537.] In the midst of these commotions, the fires of Smithfield were seen to blaze with unusual fierceness. Those who adhered to the pope, or those who followed the doctrines of Luther, were equally the objects of royal vengeance and ecclesiastical persecution. From the multiplied alterations in the national systems of belief, mostly drawn up by Henry himself, few knew what to think, or what to profess. They were ready enough, indeed, to follow his doctrines, how inconsistent or contradictory soever; but as he was continually changing them himself, they could hardly pursue so fast as he advanced before them. Thomas Cromwell, raised by the king's caprice from being a blacksmith's son to be a royal favourite, (for tyrants ever raise their favourites from the lowest of the people,) and Cranmer, now become archbishop of Canterbury, were both seen to favour the Reformation with all their endeavours. On the other hand, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the duke of Norfolk, were for leading the king back to his original superstition. In fact, Henry submitted to neither; his pride had long been so inflamed by flattery, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his single opinion, the religious faith of the whole nation.

A. D. 1538.] In this universal terror and degeneracy of mankind, during which the severities of one man alone seemed to be sufficient to keep millions in awe, a poor schoolmaster in London boldly stood up for the rights of humanity, and ventured to think for himself. This man's name was John Lambert, who, hearing doctor Taylor preach in support of the real presence in the sacrament, presented him with his reasons for contradicting that doctrine. The paper was handed to Cranmer and Latimer, who were then of the opinion of Luther on that head, and endeavoured to bring him over to their opinions. But Lambert remained steady in his belief; and they were mortified, when, instead of recanting, he appealed to the king himself. This was a challenge that pleased Henry's vanity; and, willing at once to exert his supremacy, and display his learning, he accepted the appeal; and public notice was given of his intended disputation. For this purpose, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience; and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty. The prelates were placed on his right hand; the temporal peers on his left. The judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned to them behind the bishops; the courtiers of the greatest distinction sat behind the peers. Poor Lambert was produced in the midst of this splendid assembly, with not one creature to defend or support him. The bishop of Chichester opened the conference by declaring, that the king, notwithstanding any slight alterations he had made in the rites of the church, was yet determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish, with the utmost severity, all departure from it. After this preamble, sufficient to terrify the boldest disputant, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of transubstantiation? When Lambert began his oration with a compliment to his majesty, Henry rejected his praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards entered upon the discussion of that abstruse question, and endeavoured to press Lambert with some arguments drawn from the Scriptures and the schoolmen. At every word the audience were ready to second him with their applause and admiration. Lambert, however, no way discouraged, was not slow to reply; but here Cranmer stepped in, and seconded the king's proofs by some new topics. Gardiner entered the lists in support of Cranmer; Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesly brought fresh aid to Tonstal. Six bishops more appeared successively in the field against the poor solitary disputant, who for five hours attempted to vindicate his doctrines, till, at last, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abashed, he was reduced to silence. The king, then returning to the charge, demanded if he was convinced; and whether he chose to gain life

by recantation, or to die for his obstinacy? Lambert, not intimidated, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: to which Henry replied, that he would never protect a heretic; and, therefore, if that was his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Lambert, not yet terrified, heard Cromwell read the sentence, by which he was condemned to be burned alive, with the utmost composure; and, as if his persecutors were resolved to try his fortitude, the executioners were ordered to make his punishment as painful as they could. He was, therefore, burned at a slow fire, his legs and thighs being first consumed; and when there appeared no end of his tortures, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts; and while he yet continued to cry out, "None but Christ! None but Christ!" he was wholly consumed by the surrounding fire.

This poor man's death seemed to be only a signal for that of many more. Adulation had inspired the king with such an opinion of his own ability, that he now resolved to punish rigorously all who should presume to differ from him in opinion, without making distinctions between Catholics and Lutherans. Soon after, no less than five hundred persons were [A. D. 1539. imprisoned for contradicting the opinions delivered in the Bloody Statute, and received protection only from the lenity of Cromwell. Doctor Barnes, who had been instrumental in Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill in parliament, without any trial, was condemned to the flames, discussing theological questions at the very stake. With Barnes were executed one Gerard and Jerome, for the same opinions. Three catholics also, whose names were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, were dragged upon the same hurdles to execution; and [A. D. 1540. declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment was, the being coupled with such heretical miscreants as were united in the same calamity.

During these horrid transactions, Henry was resolved to take another queen; and, after some negociation upon the continent, he contracted a marriage with Anne of Cleves, his aim being by her means to fortify his alliances with the princes of Germany. Nor was he led into this match without a most scrupulous examination, on his side, of the lady's personal accomplishments. He was assured by his envoy that she was of a very large person; which was the more pleasing to him, as he was at that time become very corpulent, and consequently required a similar figure in a wife. He was still farther allured by her picture, in which Holbein, who drew it, was, it seems, more a friend to his art than to truth; for he greatly flattered her. The king, upon her landing, went privately to meet her at Rochester, where he was very much damped in his amorous ardour. He found her big indeed, and tall as he could wish, but utterly devoid of grace and beauty: she could also speak but one language, her native German; so that her conversation could never recompense the defects of her person. He swore she was a great Flanders mare; and added, that he could never settle his affections upon her. However, sensible that he would greatly disoblige her brother the duke, and consequently all the German princes in his alliance, he resolved to marry her; and he told Cromwell, who was chiefly instrumental in this affair, that, since he had gone so far, he would put his neck into the yoke, whatever it cost him. The marriage was accordingly celebrated, but the king's disgust was only increased by it; he told Cromwell the next morning that he hated her more than ever; and even suspected her not to be a true maid, a circumstance in which he thought himself extremely skilful. Cromwell saw the danger he incurred by having been instrumental in forming this union; but he endeavoured, by his assiduity and humble adulation, to keep the king from coming to extremities with him.

But he should have known that a tyrant once offended is implacable. Henry's aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and he at length resolved to get rid of her and his prime minister together. The fall of this favourite was long and ardently wished for by a great part of the nation. The nobility hated a man, who, from such mean beginnings, was placed before the first persons in the kingdom; for besides being made vicar-general, which gave him almost absolute authority over the clergy, he was lord privy-seal,

lord-chamberlain, and master of the rolls. He had also obtained the order of the Garter, a dignity which had hitherto been conferred only on the most illustrious families; and to carry his exaltation still higher, he had been made earl of Essex. The protestants disliked him for his concurrence with the king's will in their persecution; and the papists detested him as the inveterate enemy of their religion. It only remained, therefore, with the king to hasten or retard the punishment of a man who had scarcely a partisan in the nation, except himself. But he had a strong cause of dislike to him for his late unpropitious alliance; and a new motive was soon added for increasing his displeasure. He had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk: and the only method of gratifying this new passion was, as in former cases, discarding the present queen, to make room for a new one. The duke of Norfolk had long been Cromwell's mortal enemy, and eagerly embraced this opportunity to destroy a man whom he considered as his rival.

He therefore made use of all his niece's arts to ruin the favourite; and when his project was ripe for execution, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell for high-treason. His disgrace was no sooner known than all his friends forsook him, except Cranmer, who wrote such a letter to Henry in his behalf, as no other man in the kingdom would have presumed to offer. However, he was accused in parliament of heresy and treason, and, without being heard in his own defence, was condemned to suffer the pains of death, as the king should think proper to direct. Cromwell's fortitude seemed to forsake him in this dreadful exigency. He wrote to the king for pardon; said, that the frail flesh incited him continually to apply to his grace for mercy; and subscribed his epistle with a heavy heart and a trembling hand, "from the king's most miserable prisoner and poor slave at the Tower, Thomas Cromwell. Mercy, mercy, mercy!"

Cromwell's letter touched the hard heart of the monarch; he ordered it to be read to him three times; and then, as if willing to gain a victory over all his softer feelings, he signed the warrant for beheading him on Tower-hill. When Cromwell was brought to the scaffold, his regard for his son hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence; he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transgressions; confessed he had often been seduced, but that he now died in the catholic faith. It was thus that Henry, not satisfied with the death of those whom he chose to punish, repressed their complaints also, and terrified the unhappy sufferers from the last consolation of the wretched, the satisfaction of upbraiding their persecutors. In this manner the unhappy sufferer, having spent some time in his private devotions, submitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a most terrible manner. A few days after his death, a number of people were executed together upon very different accusations; some for having denied the king's supremacy, and others for having maintained the doctrines of Luther.

About a month after the death of Cromwell, the king declared his marriage with Catharine Howard, whom he had some time before privately espoused. This was regarded as a very favourable incident by the catholic party; and the subsequent events for a while turned out to their wish. The king's counsels being now entirely directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants, and the law of the Six Articles was executed with rigour; so that a foreigner, who then resided in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king, with an ostentatious impartiality, reduced both parties to an equal share of subordination, and infused terror into every breast.

But the measure of his severities was not yet filled up. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage. He was so captivated with the queen's accomplishments, that he gave public thanks for his felicity, and desired his confessor to join with him in the same thanksgiving. This joy, A. D. 1541.] however, was of very short duration. While the king was at York, upon an intended conference with the king of Scotland, a man of the name of Lascelles had waited upon Cranmer at London; and from the information of this man's sister, who had been servant to the duchess dowager of Norfolk, he gave a very surprising account of the queen's incon-

tinence. He averred that she led a very lewd life before her marriage, and had carried on a very scandalous correspondence with two men, called Derham and Mannock; and that she continued to indulge herself in the same criminal pleasures since she had been raised to her present greatness. Cranmer was equally surprised and embarrassed at this intelligence, which he communicated to the chancellor, and some other members of the privy-council, who advised him to make the king acquainted with the whole affair on his return to London. The archbishop knew the hazard he ran by intermeddling in such delicate points; but he also knew the danger he incurred by suppressing his information. He therefore resolved to communicate what he had heard, by writing, in the form of a memorial; and this he shortly after delivered into the king's own hand, desiring his majesty to read it in private. Henry at first disbelieved, or pretended to disbelieve, the report; he ordered the keeper of the privy-seal to examine Lascelles, who persisted in his former narrative, and even produced his sister to confirm his account. Upon this, Derham and Mannock were arrested; and they quickly confessed their own guilt, and the queen's incontinence. They went still farther, by impeaching lady Rochford, who had formerly been so instrumental in the death of Anne Boleyn. They alleged that this lady had introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bedchamber, who staid with her from eleven at night till four in the morning. When the queen was first examined, she denied the charge; but afterwards, finding that her accomplices were her accusers, she confessed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having dishonoured the king's bed since their union. But three maids of honour, who were admitted to her secrets, still farther alleged her guilt; and some of them confessed having passed the night in the same bed with her and her lovers. The king was so affected at this discovery, that he burst into a flood of tears, and bitterly lamented his misfortune. Derham and Culpepper were convicted and executed; but he was resolved to throw the odium of the queen's death upon the parliament, who had always shewn themselves the ready ministers of all his severities. These servile creatures, upon being informed of the queen's crime and confession, quickly found her guilty, and petitioned [A. D. 1542. the king that she might be punished with death; that the same penalty might be inflicted on the lady Rochford, the accomplice of her debaucheries; and that her grandmother, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine others, as having been privy to the queen's irregularities, should participate in her punishment. With this petition the king was most graciously pleased to agree; they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which, at the same time, made it capital for all persons to conceal their knowledge of the debaucheries of any future queen. It was also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason in case she did not previously reveal her guilt. The people made merry with this absurd and brutal statute; and it was said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow. After all these laws were past, in which the most wonderful circumstance is, that a body of men could ever be induced to give their consent, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with the lady Rochford, who found no great degree of compassion, as she had herself before tampered in blood. The queen was more pitied, as she owned that she had led a dissolute life before marriage; but denied, in her last moments, and with the utmost solemnity, that she had ever been untrue since her marriage with the king. The public exclaimed so loudly against the severity of the act, which brought in so many accomplices of her guilt, that the king did not think proper to execute sentence upon them, though some of them were long detained in confinement.

Henry having thus, by various acts of tyranny, shewn that he had abandoned all ideas of justice, morals, or humanity, at last took it into his head to compose a book of religion, which was to be the code by which his subjects should for the future regulate all their belief and actions. Having procured an act of parliament for this purpose, in which all spiritual supremacy was declared to be vested in him, he published a small volume soon after, called The Institution of a Christian Man, which was received by the convocation.

and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy. All the abstruse points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers; while the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are there increased to their original number of seven, conformably to the sentiments of the catholics. But the king was not long satisfied with this code of belief; for he soon after procured a new book to be composed, called The Erudition of a Christian Man, which he published upon his own authority; and though this new creed differed a great deal from the other, yet he was no less positive in requiring assent to this than he had been to the former. In both these books he was very explicit in enforcing the doctrine of passive obedience; so that his institutions were not likely to weaken what he so powerfully enforced by his severities.

But his authority in religion was not more uncontrolled than in temporal concerns. An alderman, one Read, who had refused to assist him with a benevolence, was pressed as a private soldier, and sent to serve in an army which was levied against an incursion of the Scots. In this manner all who opposed his will were either pressed or imprisoned, happy if they escaped with such slight punishments. His parliament made a law, by which the king's proclamations were to have the same force as statutes; and, to facilitate the execution of this act, by which all shadow of liberty was totally removed, they appointed that any nine of the privy council should form a legal court for punishing disobedience to all proclamations. Thus the king was empowered to issue a proclamation to destroy the lives, or take away the properties, of any of his subjects; and the only mode of application for redress was to himself in council.

In about a year after the death of the last queen, Henry once more changed his condition, by marrying his sixth and last wife, Catharine Parr, who, ac- A. D. 1543.] cording to the humorous suggestions of the people, was in fact a widow. She was the wife of the late lord Latimer, and was considered as a woman of discretion and virtue. She had already passed the meridian of life, and managed the temper of this capricious tyrant with prudence and success. His amiable days had long been over; he was almost choked with fat, and had contracted a morose air, very far from inspiring affection. Nevertheless, this woman, sacrificing her appetites to her ambition, so far prevailed in gaining his confidence, that she was appointed regent of the kingdom dur- A. D. 1544.] ing his absence in France, whither he passed over at the head of thirty thou- sand men, to prosecute a war which had been declared between him and the French king. He there behaved, as in all his former undertakings, with ineffectual ostentation. Instead of marching into the heart of the country, he sat down before Boulogne, which was obliged to capitulate; and his ally (the emperor) making a separate peace, Henry was obliged to return with his army into England, where he found his subjects ready to offer him their accustomed adulation, and to praise him for an enterprise in which, at an infinite charge, he had made an acquisition that was of no manner of benefit.

But of all his subjects none seemed more abandoned and basely servile than the members of the two houses of parliament, who, it might be reasonably supposed, would rather have been the protectors of the people than the slaves of the crown. Upon his return from his expensive French expedition, after professions of the greatest submission and profound acknowledgment, they granted him a subsidy equal to his demands, and added to it a gift, which will make their memory odious to the most distant posterity. By one vote they bestowed upon him all the revenues of the two universities, as well as some other places of education and public worship. But, rapacious as this monarch was, he refrained from despoiling those venerable seminaries of their ancient endowments: however, they owed their safety to his lenity, and not to the protection of this base and degenerate parliament. Nor was he less just upon another occasion, with regard to the suggestions of his council, who had long conceived a hatred against Cranmer, and laboured to destroy him. This just and moderate man had all along owed his safety to his integrity; and scorning intrigue himself, was therefore the less liable

to be circumvented by the intrigues of others. The catholic party had long represented to the king that Cranmer was the secret cause of most of the divisions which tore the nation, as his example and support were the chief props of heresy. Henry, seeing the point to which they tended, and desirous of knowing how far they would carry their intrigues, feigned a compliance with their wishes, and ordered the council to make inquiry into the primate's conduct and crimes. All the world concluded that his disgrace was certain, and his death inevitable. His old friends, who from mercenary motives had been attached to him, now began to treat him with mortifying neglect: he was obliged to stand several hours among the servants at the door of the council-chamber before the members deigned to admit him; and he made his appearance among them only to be informed that they had determined to send him to the Tower. But Cranmer was not to be intimidated by their menaces; he appealed to the king; and when that was denied him, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him to make use of upon that emergency. The privy-counsellors were confounded; and still more so, when, in the presence of the king, they found themselves severely reproved, and Cranmer taken into more than former favour. Henry obliged them all to embrace, as a sign of their reconciliation; and Cranmer, from his gentle nature, rendered this reconciliation more sincere on his part than is usual in such forced compliances.

Still, however, the king's severity to the rest of his subjects continued as fierce as ever. For some time he had been incommoded by an ulcer in his leg; the pain of which, added to his corpulence and other infirmities, increased his natural irascibility to such a degree, that scarcely any even of his domestics approached him without terror. It was not to be expected, therefore, that any who differed from him in opinion should, at this time particularly, hope for pardon. Among the many whose unmerited sufferings [A. D. 1546. excite our pity and indignation, the fate of Anne Askew deserves to be particularly remembered. This lady was a woman of merit as well as beauty, and connected with many of the principal ladies at court. It is said that she kept up a correspondence with the queen herself, who secretly favoured the Reformation; and this correspondence only served to hasten this poor woman's ruin, the chancellor being known to be her enemy. However this be, she happened to differ from the established code of belief, particularly in the article of the real presence; and, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex and age, she was thrown into prison, and accused of heresy. In this situation, with courage far beyond what might be expected, she employed her time in composing prayers and discourses, and vindicating the truth of her opinions. The chancellor Wriothesly, who was much attached to the Catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her abettors at court; but she maintained the utmost secrecy, and would accuse none. In consequence of this contumacy, as it was called, the poor young lady was put to the torture; but she still continued resolute, and her silence testified her contempt of their petty cruelties. The chancellor, therefore, became outrageous, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower, who executed this punishment, to stretch the rack still harder; which he refusing to do, and, though menaced, still persisting in a refusal, the chancellor, intoxicated with religious zeal, grasped the cord himself, and drew it so violently that the woman's body was almost torn asunder. But her constancy was greater than the barbarity of her persecutors; so that, finding no other method to subdue her, she was condemned to be burned alive. She received this sentence with a transport of joy, as a release from a state of the greatest pain to the greatest felicity. As her joints had been dislocated by the rack, so that she could not stand, she was carried to the place of execution in a chair. Together with her were brought Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Lascelles, of the king's household, and John Adams, a tailor, who had all been condemned for the same crime. They were tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation informed, that their lives would be spared, if they would recant their opinions. But they refused a life that was to be gained by such prostitution; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which consumed them.

From this indiscriminate severity the queen was not herself entirely secure. She had for some time attended the king in his indisposition, and endeavoured

to soothe him by her arts and assiduity. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catharine, who was tinctured with the spirit of the times, would now and then enter into a debate with him upon many speculative tenets that were then in agitation between the Catholics and Lutherans. Henry, highly provked that she should presume to differ from him, made complaints of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. Even articles of impeachment were drawn up against her, which were brought to the king by the chancellor to be signed; but, in returning home, he happened to drop the paper. It was very lucky for the queen that the person who found it was in her interest; it was immediately carried to her, and the contents soon made her sensible of the danger to which she was exposed. In this exigence, she was resolved to work upon the king; and paying him her customary visit, he led her as usual to the subject of theology, which at first she seemed to decline, but in which she afterwards engaged, as if merely to gratify his inclinations. In the course of her conversation, however, she gave him to know, that her whole aim in talking was to receive his instructions, and not to controvert them; that it was not for her to set her opinions in opposition to those which served to direct the nation; but she alleged, she could not help trying every art that could induce the king to exert that eloquence which served, for the time, to mitigate his bodily pain. Henry seemed charmed at this discovery: "And is it so, sweet heart?" cried he: "then we are perfect friends again." Just after this reconciliation, the chancellor made his appearance, with forty pursuivants at his heels, prepared to take the queen into custody. But the king advanced to meet him, and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest terms. The queen could overhear the epithets knave, fool, and beast, which he very liberally bestowed upon that magistrate, and his being ordered to depart. When he was gone, she interposed in his defence; but the king could not help saying, "Poor soul! you know not how little entitled this man is to your good offices." Thenceforth the queen was careful not to offend Henry's humour by contradiction; she was contented to suffer the divines to dispute, and the executioner to destroy. The fires, accordingly, were kindled against the heretics of both sides, as usual; during which dreadful exhibitions, the king would frequently assemble the houses of parliament, and harangue them with florid orations, in which he would aver, that never prince had a greater affection for his people, nor ever people had a greater affection for their king. In every pause of these extraordinary orations, some of his creatures near his person would begin to applaud; and this was followed by loud acclamations from the rest of the audience.

But though his health was declining apace, yet his implacable cruelties were not less frequent. His resentments were diffused indiscriminately to all: at one time a protestant, and at another a catholic, were the objects of his severity. The duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, were the last that felt the injustice of the tyrant's groundless suspicions. The duke was a nobleman who had served the king with talents and fidelity: his son was a young man of the most promising hopes, who excelled in every accomplishment that became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercises which were then in request; he encouraged the fine arts by his practice and example; and it is remarkable, that he was the first who brought our language, in his poetical pieces, to any degree of refinement. He celebrated the fair Geraldine in all his sonnets, and maintained her superior beauty in all places of public contention. These qualifications, however, were no safeguard to him against Henry's suspicions: he had dropped some expressions of resentment against the king's ministers, upon being displaced from the government of Boulogne; and the whole family had become obnoxious from the late incontinence of Catharine Howard, the queen, who was executed. From these motives, therefore, private orders were given to arrest the father and son; and accordingly they were arrested both on the same day, and confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, there were many informers base enough to betray the intimacies of private confidence, and all the connexions of blood. The duchess dowager of Richmond, Surrey's own

sister, enlisted herself among the number of his accusers; and sir Richard Southwell also, his most intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. It would seem, that at this dreary period, there was neither faith nor honour to be found in all the nation. Surrey denied the charge, and challenged his accuser to single combat. This favour was refused him; and it was alleged, that he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which alone was sufficient to convict him of aspiring to the crown. To this he could make no reply: and indeed any answer would have been needless; for neither parliaments nor juries, during this reign, seemed to be guided by any other proofs than the will of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high-treason, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence; and the sentence was soon after executed upon him on Tower-hill. In the mean time, the duke endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and submissions; but the monster's hard heart was rarely subject to tender impressions. As soon as the parliament re-assembled, a bill of attainder was found against the duke, as it was thought he could not so easily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The only crime that his accusers could allege against him was, that he had once said that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and that the kingdom was likely to be torn between the contending parties of different persuasions. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; but retired to his seat at Croydon. However, the death-warrant was made out, and immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death, as the following morning was to be his last; but an event of greater consequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been for some time approaching fast towards his end; and for several days all those about his person plainly saw that his speedy death was inevitable. The disorder in his leg was now grown extremely painful; and this, added to his monstrous corpulency, which rendered him unable to stir, made him more furious than a chained lion. He had ever been stern and severe; he was now outrageous. In this state he had continued for near four years before his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor of himself; his courtiers having no inclination to make an enemy of him, as they were more ardently employed in conspiring the death of each other. In this manner, therefore, he was suffered to struggle, without any of his domestics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as more than once, during this reign, persons had been put to death for foretelling the death of the king. At last, sir Anthony Denny had the courage to disclose to him this dreadful secret; and, contrary to his usual custom, he received the tidings with an expression of resignation. His anguish and remorse were at this time greater than can be expressed: he desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but, before that prelate could arrive, he was speechless. Cranmer desiring him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, he squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Some kings [Jan. 28, 1647. have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt, some from being misled by favourites, and some from a spirit of party: but Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition alone; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. Our divines have taken some pains to vindicate the character of this brutal prince, as if his conduct and our Reformation had any connexion with each other. There is nothing so absurd as to defend the one by the other: the most noble designs are brought about by the most vicious instruments; for we see even that cruelty and injustice were thought necessary to be employed in our holy redemption.

With regard to foreign states, Henry made some expeditions into France, which were attended with vast expense to the nation, and brought it no kind of advantage. However, he all along maintained an intercourse of friendship with Francis, which appeared disinterested and sincere. Against the Scots he was rather more successful; his generals having worsted their incursive armies on several occasions, especially that signal victory of Flodden-

field, in which their king, and nearly ten thousand of his army, were slain. But that which gave England the greatest ascendency over that nation, was the spirit of concord which soon after seemed to prevail between the two kingdoms, and that seemed to pave the way for their being in time united under the same sovereign. There were ten parliaments summoned in this reign, and twenty-three sessions held; but the whole time in which these parliaments sat, during this long reign, did not exceed three years and a half. The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The merchants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into the other parts of Europe. These commodities, however, were generally little more than the natural productions of the country, without any manufactures; for it must be observed at this time, that foreign artificers much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality; and it is said that at one time not less than fifteen thousand artisans, of the Flemish nation alone, were settled in London.

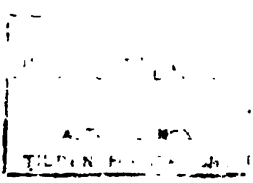
CHAP. XXV.

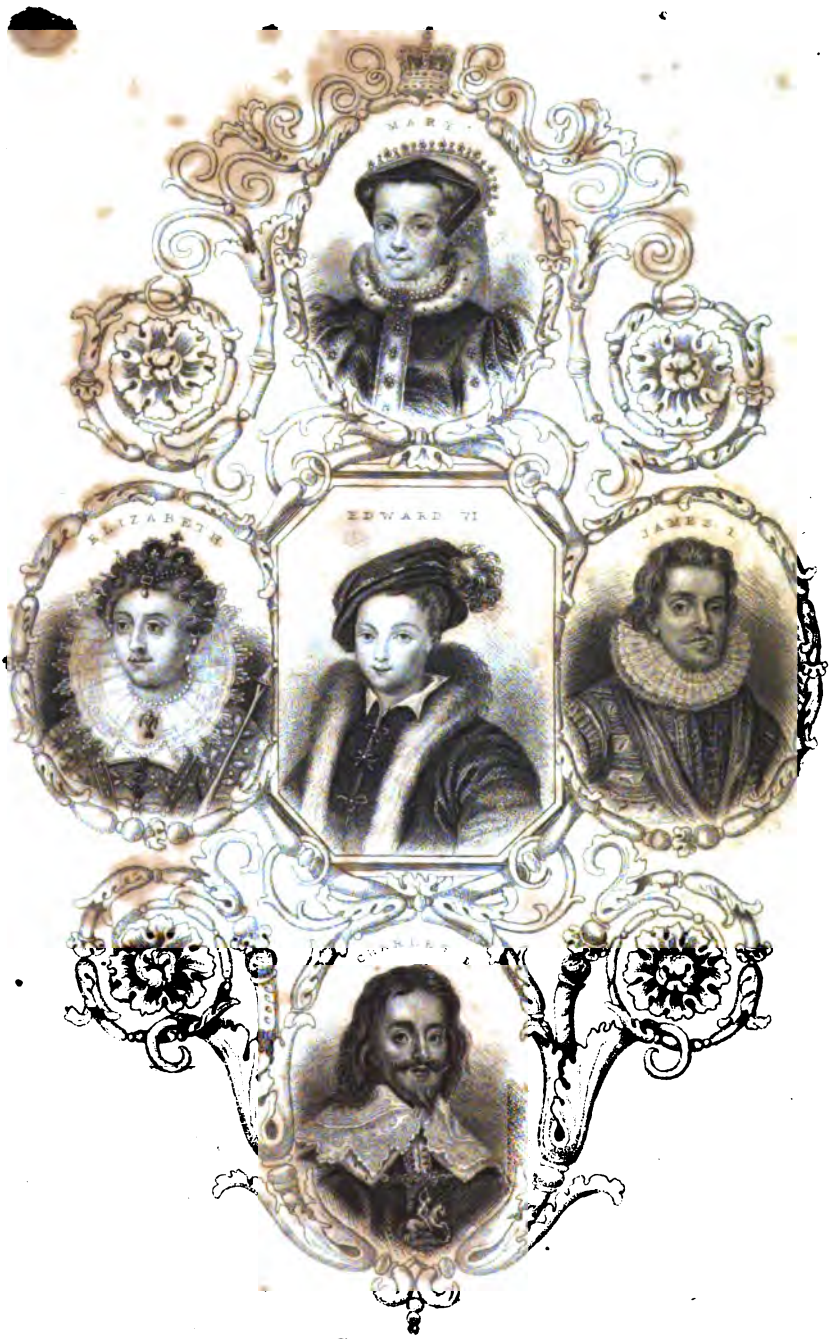
EDWARD VI.—A. D. 1547 to 1553.

HENRY the Eighth was succeeded on the throne by his only son, Edward the Sixth, then in the tenth year of his age. The late king in his will, which he expected would be absolutely obeyed, fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of the eighteenth year; and, in the mean time, appointed sixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the king and kingdom. But the vanity of his aims was soon discovered; for the first act of the executors was to choose the earl of Hertford, who was afterwards made duke of Somerset, as protector of the realm; and in him was lodged all the regal power, together with a privilege of naming whom he would for his privy-council.

This was a favourable season for those of the reformed religion; and the eyes of the late king were no sooner closed, than all of that persuasion congratulated themselves on the event. They no longer suppressed their sentiments, but maintained their doctrines openly, in preaching and teaching, even while the laws against them continued in full force. The protector had long been regarded as the secret partisan of the reformers; and, being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to express his intention of correcting all the abuses of the ancient religion, and of adopting still more the doctrines propagated by Luther. His power was not a little strengthened by his military success. He wished to compel the Scots to give their young queen, (the unfortunate Mary) in marriage to Edward; but, failing in his negociation, he attacked a part of their army, and slew about eight hundred men. The popularity which he gained upon this occasion seconded his views in the propagation of the new doctrines. But the character of Somerset did not stand in need of the mean supports of popularity acquired in this manner, as he was naturally humble, civil, affable, and courteous, to the meanest suitor, while his actions were in general directed by motives of piety and honour.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the Reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations to his own peculiar system. The person who opposed with the greatest authority any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, though he had not obtained a place at the council-board, yet from his age, experience, and capacity, was regarded by most men with some degree of veneration. Upon a general visitation of the church, which had been commanded by the primate and protector, Gardiner defended the use of images, which the protestants now openly attacked; he even wrote an apology for holy water; but he particularly alleged, that it was unlawful to make any change in religion during the king's minority. This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation





Engraved by R. Hicks.

Published by Henry Fisher, Caxton London 1825

of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet prison, where he was treated with harshness and severity.

These internal regulations were in some measure retarded by the war with Scotland, which still continued to rage with some violence. But a defeat which that nation suffered at Musselburg, in which above ten thousand perished in the field of battle, induced them to sue for peace, in order to gain time; and the protector returned to settle the business of the Reformation, which was as yet only begun. Though he acquired great popularity by this expedition, he did not fail to attract the envy of several noblemen, by procuring a patent from the young king, his nephew, to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges which had usually been granted to the uncles of kings in England. However, he still drove on his favourite schemes of reformation, and gave more consistency to the tenets of the church. The cup was restored to the laity in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; private masses were abolished; the king was empowered to create bishops by letters-patent; vagabonds were adjudged to be slaves for two years, and to be marked with a red-hot iron; an act commonly supposed to be levelled against the strolling priests and friars. It was enacted also, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted that of the pope, should, for the first offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; that for the second offence, they should incur the pain of præmunire; and for the third, be attainted of treason. Orders were issued by the council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, or palms on Palm-Sunday. These were ancient superstitious practices, which led to immoralities that it was thought proper to restrain. An order also was issued for the removal of all images from the churches; an innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a change of the established religion. The people had for some time been extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally incapable of judging of the arguments advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing they heard at church as of the greatest authority, much confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council first endeavoured to remove the inconvenience by laying some restraints upon preaching: but finding this expedient fail, they imposed a total silence upon preachers; which, however, was removed by degrees, in proportion as the Reformation gained ground among the people.

But these innovations, evidently calculated for the good of the people, were not brought about without some struggles at home, while the protector was but too busily employed against the Scots, who, united with, and seconded by, France, still pushed on their inroads with unremitting animosity. Besides, there was still an enemy that he had yet to fear more than any of the former; and this was his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral, a man of uncommon talents, but proud, turbulent, and intractable. This nobleman could not endure the distinction which the king had always made between him and his elder brother; so that they divided the whole court and the kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. By his flattery and address, he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the decease of the late king. This match was particularly displeasing to the elder brother's wife, who now saw that, while her husband had the precedency in one place, she was obliged to yield it in another. His next step was to cabal and make a party among the nobility, who, as they hated his brother, fomented his ambition. He then bribed the king's domestics to his interest; and young Edward frequently went to his house, on pretence of visiting the queen. There he ingratiated himself with his sovereign, by the most officious assiduities, particularly by supplying him with money to distribute among his servants and favourites, without the knowledge of his governor. In the protector's absence with the army in Scotland, he made it his business to redouble all his arts and insinuations; and thus obtained a new patent for admiral, with an additional appointment. Sir William Paget,

perceiving the progress he daily made in the king's affection, wrote on the subject to the protector, who finished the campaign in Scotland with all possible despatch, that he might return in time to counterwork his machinations. But before he could arrive in England, his brother had engaged in his party several of the principal nobility, and had even prevailed on the king himself to write a letter to the two houses of parliament with his own hand, desiring that the admiral might be appointed his governor; but the council, being apprised of his schemes, sent deputies to assure him, that, if he did not desist, they would deprive him of his office, send him prisoner to the Tower, and prosecute him on the last act of parliament, by which he was subject to the penalty of high treason, for attempting to disturb the peace of the government. It was not without some severe struggles within himself, and some menaces divulged among his creatures, that he thought proper to submit, and desired to be reconciled to his brother. But he still nourished the same designs in secret; and his brother, suspecting his sincerity, employed spies to inform him of all his private transactions.

It was not in the power of persuasions or menaces to shake the admiral's unalterable views of ambition. His spouse, the queen-dowager, had died in child-bed; and this accident, far from repressing his schemes, only seemed to promote them. He made his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, afterwards so revered by the English; and it is said that she listened to his insinuations, contrary to the will of her father, who had excluded her from the succession, if she should marry without the consent of the council. The admiral, however, it is observed, had formed a scheme calculated to remove that objection; and his professions seemed to give reason to believe that he intended aiming at regal authority. By promises and persuasions he brought over many of the principal nobility to his party; he neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and he computed that he could on occasion command the service of ten thousand men among his servants, tenants, and retainers. He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests sir John Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, a very corrupt man, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting.

A. D. 1548.] Somerset being well ascertained of all these alarming circumstances, endeavoured, by every expedient that his power or his near connection could suggest, to draw him from his designs. He reasoned; he threatened; he heaped new favours upon him: but all to no purpose. At length he resolved to make use of the last dreadful remedy, and to attaint his own brother of high-treason. In consequence of this resolution, and secretly advised to it by Dudley earl of Warwick, a wicked ambitious man, who expected to rise upon the downfal of the two brothers, he deprived him of his office of high-admiral, and signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and shewed reluctance to ruin one so nearly connected with himself: he offered once more to be sincerely reconciled, and to give him his life, if he would be contented to spend the remainder of his days in retirement and repentance. But finding himself unable to work on the inflexible temper of his brother by any methods but severity, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles; and the whole to be brought into parliament, which was now the instrument used by ministers for the punishment of their enemies. The charge being brought first into the house of lords, several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's con-
A. D. 1549.] duct, and his criminal words and actions. There was greater difficulty in managing the prosecution in the house of commons; but upon receiving a message from the king, requiring them to proceed, the bill passed in a very full house, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten against it. The sentence was soon after executed by beheading him on Tower-hill. His death, however, was, in general, disagreeable to the nation, who considered the lord Seymour as hardly dealt with, in being condemned upon general allegations, without having an opportunity of making a defence, or confronting his accusers. But the chief odium fell upon the protector; and it must be owned there was no reason for carrying his severity to such a length as he did.

This obstacle being removed, the protector went on to reform and regulate the new system of religion, which was now become the chief concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy for the service of the church; and this work was executed with great moderation, precision, and accuracy. A law was also enacted, permitting priests to marry; the ceremony of auricular confession, though not abolished, was left at the discretion of the people, who were not displeased at being freed from the spiritual tyranny of their instructors. The doctrine of the real presence was the last tenet of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people, as both the clergy and laity were loth to renounce so miraculous a benefit as it was asserted to be. However, at last, not only this, but all the principal opinions and practices of the catholic religion, contrary to what the scripture authorises, were abolished; and the Reformation, such as we have it, was almost entirely completed in England. In these innovations the majority of the people and clergy acquiesced; and Gardiner and Bonner were the only persons whose opposition was thought of any weight; they were, therefore, sent to the Tower, and threatened with the king's farther displeasure in case of disobedience.

But it had been well for the credit of the reformers, had they stopped at imprisonment only. They also resolved to become persecutors in turn; and although the very spirit of their doctrines arose from a freedom of thinking, they could not bear that any should controvert what they had been at so much pains to establish. A commission was granted to the primate and some others, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the new liturgy. Among the number of those who were supposed to incur guilt upon this occasion, was one Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent; who was so extremely obstinate, that the commissioners could gain nothing upon her. She had maintained an abstruse metaphysical sentiment, that Christ, as man, was a sinful man; but, as the Word, he was free from sin, and could be subject to none of the frailties of the flesh with which he was clothed. For maintaining this doctrine, which none of them could understand, this poor ignorant woman was condemned to be burned to death as a heretic. The young king, who, it seems, had more sense than his ministers, refused at first to sign the death-warrant; but, being at last pressed by Cranmer, and vanquished by his importunities, he reluctantly complied; declaring, that, if he did wrong, the sin should be on the head of those who had persuaded him to it. The primate made a new effort to reclaim the woman from her opinions; but, finding her obstinate against all his arguments, he at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, being accused of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him, and died exulting in his situation.

Although these measures were intended for the benefit of the nation, and in the end turned out entirely to the advantage of society, yet they were at that time attended with many inconveniences, to which all changes whatsoever are liable. When the monasteries were suppressed, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their subsistence by their labour; so that all kinds of business were overstocked. The lands of the monasteries also had been formerly farmed out to the common people, so as to employ a great number of hands: and the rents being moderate, they were able to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But now these lands being possessed by the nobility, the rents were raised; and the farmers, perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned all their fields into pasture. In consequence of this practice, the price of meal rose, to the unspeakable hardship of the lower class of people. Beside, as few hands were required to manage a pasture farm, a great number of poor people were utterly deprived of subsistence, while the nation was filled with murmurs and complaints against the nobility, who were considered as the sources of the general calamity. To add to these complaints, the rich proprietors of lands proceeded to enclose their estates; while the tenants, regarded as an useless burden, were expelled from their habitations. Cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery;

and a great decay of people, and diminution of provisions, were observed in every part of the kingdom. To add to this picture of general calamity, all the good coin of the kingdom was hoarded up or exported; while base metal was coined, or imported from the continent, in great abundance; and this the poor were obliged to receive in payment, but could not disburse at an equal advantage. Thus an universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every quarter.

The protector, who knew that his own power was to be founded on the depression of the nobility, espoused the cause of the sufferers. He appointed commissioners to examine whether the possessors of the church-lands had fulfilled the conditions on which those lands had been sold by the crown; and ordered all late enclosures to be laid open on an appointed day. As the object of this commission was very disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called it arbitrary and illegal; while the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redress, rose in great numbers, and sought a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed among the people. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by sir William Herbert; those of Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Grey of Wilton: the commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentle methods; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk were the most obstinate, and threatened the greatest danger. In the former of these counties, the insurgents, amounting to ten thousand men, were headed by one Humphrey Arundel, an experienced soldier; and they were still more encouraged by sermons, which gave their revolt the air of a religious confederacy. They accordingly sent a set of articles to court, which, in general, demanded an abolition of the statutes lately made in favour of the Reformation; but the ministry rejected their demands with contempt, at the same time offering a pardon to all who would lay down their arms, and return to their habitations. But the insurgents were now too far advanced to recede; and, still encouraged by the monks who were with them, they laid siege to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of their ancient superstition; but the town was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. In the mean time, lord Russel had been sent against them with a small body of forces; and being reinforced by lord Grey and others, he attacked and drove them from all their entrenchments. Great slaughter was committed upon these deluded creatures, both in the action and the pursuit. Arundel, their leader, and several others, were sent to London, where they were condemned and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law. The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish habit, with his beads at his girdle.

The sedition in Norfolk appeared still more alarming. The insurgents there amounted to twenty thousand men; and as their forces were numerous, their demands were exorbitant. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of their ancient religious ceremonies. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed a priority among them; he erected his tribunal near Norwich, under an old oak, which was termed the Oak of Reformation. He afterwards undertook the siege of Norwich; which having reduced, he imprisoned the mayor, and some of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was first sent down against them, but met with a repulse; the earl of Warwick followed soon after, at the head of six thousand men, and, coming to a general engagement, put them entirely to the rout. Two thousand of them fell in the fight and pursuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich castle, nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the insurrection, which was the last in favour of popery, was thus entirely suppressed.

But though the suppression of these insurrections seemed to be very favourable to the interests of the protector, the authority which the earl of Warwick gained in quelling that of Norfolk, terminated in Somerset's ruin. Of all the ministers at that time in the council, Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the most artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. Resolved at any rate to

possess the principal place under the king, he cared not what means were to be used in acquiring it. However, unwilling to throw off the mask, he covered the most exorbitant views under the fairest appearances. Having associated himself with the earl of Southampton, he formed a strong party in the council, who were determined to free themselves from the control the protector assumed over them. That nobleman was, in fact, now grown obnoxious to a very prevailing party in the kingdom. He was hated by the nobles for his superior magnificence and power; he was hated by the catholic party for his regard to the Reformation; he was disliked by many, for his severity to his brother: besides, the great estate he had raised at the expense of the church and the crown, rendered him obnoxious to all. The palace which he was then building in the Strand, served also, by its magnificence, and still more by the unjust methods that were taken to raise it, to expose him to the censures of the public. The parish-church of St. Mary, and three bishops' houses, were pulled down, to furnish ground and materials for the structure. Several other churches were demolished, to have their stones employed for the same purpose; and it was not without an insurrection that the inhabitants of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, prevented their church from being pulled down to make room for the new fabric.

These imprudences were soon exaggerated and enlarged upon by Somerset's enemies. They represented him as a parricide, a sacrilegious tyrant, and an unjust usurper of the privileges of the council and the rights of the king. In consequence of this, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five counsellors more, met at Ely house; and, assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they pretended to consider as the author of every public grievance. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance. They sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to concur in their measures, which they represented as the only means of saving the nation. The next day several others of the council joined the seceding members; and the protector now began to tremble, not merely for his authority, but for his life.

He had no sooner been informed of these transactions, than he sent the king to Windsor, and armed the inhabitants of Hampton and Windsor also for his security. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, and that the people did not rise at his summons; perceiving that he was in a manner deserted by all, and that all resistance was fruitless; he resolved to apply to his enemies for pardon. This gave fresh strength and confidence to the party of Warwick: they assured the king, with the humblest professions of obedience, that their only aim was to put the council on the same footing on which it had been ordained by the will of their late sovereign, and to rescue his authority from the hands of a man who had assumed all power to himself. The king, who had little regard for Somerset, gave their address a favourable reception; and the protector was sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partisans. Meanwhile, the council ordered six lords to act as governors to the king, two at a time officiating alternately. It was then, for the first time, that the earl of Warwick's ambition began to appear in full splendour; he set himself forward as the principal promoter of the protector's ruin; and the other members, without the least opposition, permitted him to assume the reins of government.

It was now concluded that Somerset's fate was fixed, as his enemies were numerous, and the charges against him were supposed to be of a very heinous nature. The chief article of which he was accused, was his usurpation of the government, and the taking all power into his own hands; several others of a slighter tint were added, to invigorate this accusation; but none of them could be said to amount to the crime of high-treason. In consequence of these, a bill of attainder was preferred against him in the house of lords; but [A. D. 1550. Somerset contrived, for this time, to elude the rigour of their sentence, by having previously, on his knees, confessed the charge before the members of the

council. This confession, which he signed with his own hand, was alleged and read against him at the bar of the house, who sent a deputation to him, to know whether the confession was voluntary or extorted. Somerset thanked them for their candour; owned that it was his voluntary act, but strenuously insisted, that he had never harboured a sinister thought against the king or the commonwealth. In consequence of this confession, he was deprived of all his offices and goods, together with a great part of his landed estate, which was forfeited to the use of the crown. This fine on his estate was soon after remitted by the king; and, contrary to the expectation of all, he recovered his liberty. He was even re-admitted into the council: happy for him if his ambition had not revived with his security!

The catholics were extremely elevated at the protector's fall; and they began to entertain hopes of a revolution in their favour. But they were mistaken in their opinion of Warwick, who now took the lead, as ambition was the only principle in his breast; and to that he was resolved to sacrifice all others. He soon gave an instance of his indifference to their party, in permitting Gardiner to undergo the penalties prescribed against disobedience. Many of the prelates, and he among the rest, though they made some compliance, were still addicted to their ancient communion. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive them of their sees; and it was thought proper to begin with him, in order to strike a terror into the rest. He had been now for two years in prison, for having refused to inculcate the duty of obedience to the king during his minority; and the council took this opportunity to send him several articles to subscribe, among which was one, acknowledging the justice of the order for his confinement. He was likewise to own that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing holidays was a part of the prerogative; and that the Common Prayer Book was a godly and commendable form. Gardiner was willing to put his hand to all the articles, except that by which he accused himself; which he refused to do, justly perceiving that their aim was either to ruin or dishonour him. For this offence he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody; his books and papers were seized; all company was denied him; and he was not even permitted the use of pen and ink. This severity, in some measure, countenanced those which this prelate had afterwards an opportunity of retaliating when he came into power.

A. D. 1551.] But the reformers did not stop here; the rapacious courtiers, never to be satisfied, and giving their violence an air of zeal, deprived, in the same manner, Day, bishop of Chichester, Heath, of Worcester, and Vessey, of Exeter. The bishops of Llandaff, Salisbury, and Coventry, came off with less disadvantage, by sacrificing the most considerable share of their ecclesiastical revenues. Not only the revenues of the church, but the libraries also, underwent a severe scrutiny. The libraries of Westminster and Oxford were ordered to be ransacked, and purged of the Romish missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes; in which search great devastation was made even in useful literature. Many volumes, clasped in silver, were destroyed for the sake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and astronomy were supposed to be magical, and met no mercy. The university, unable to stop the fury of those barbarians, silently looked on, and trembled for its own security.

Warwick was willing to indulge the nobility with these humiliations of the church; and perceiving that the king was extremely attached to the Reformation, he supposed that he could not make his court to the young monarch better than by a seeming zeal in the cause. But he was still steadfastly bent on enlarging his own power; and as the last earl of Northumberland died without issue or heirs, Warwick procured for himself a grant of his ample possessions, and obtained the title also of duke of Northumberland. The duke of Somerset was now the only person he wished to have entirely removed; for, fallen as he was by his late spiritless conduct, yet he still preserved a share of popularity that rendered him formidable to this aspirer. Indeed, Somerset was not always upon his guard against the arts of Northumberland, but could not help now and then bursting out into invectives, which were quickly carried to his secret enemy. As he was surrounded by the creatures of his adversary,

they took care to reveal all the schemes which they had themselves suggested; and Somerset soon found the fatal effects of his rival's resentment. He was, by Northumberland's command, arrested, with many more, accused of being his partisans; and he was, with his wife the duchess, thrown into prison. He was now accused of having conspired to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the trained bands on a muster-day, secure the Tower, and excite a rebellion in London. These charges he strenuously denied; but he confessed one of as heinous a nature, which was, that he had laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. He was soon after brought to a trial before the marquis of Winchester, who sat as high-steward on the occasion, with twenty-seven peers more, including Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once his judges and accusers. He was accused of an intention to secure the person of the king, and re-assume the administration of affairs; to assassinate the duke of Northumberland, and raise an insurrection in the city. He pleaded "not guilty" to the first part of the charge, and of this he was accordingly acquitted; but he was found guilty of conspiring the death of a privy counsellor, which crime had been made felony in the reign of Henry the Seventh; and for this he was condemned to death. The populace, seeing him re-conveyed to the Tower without the axe, which was no longer carried before him, imagined that he had been entirely acquitted, and in repeated shouts and acclamations manifested their joy; but this was suddenly damped, when they were better informed of his doom. Care, in the mean time, had been taken to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and, lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, while the prince was kept from reflection by a series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he appeared without the least emotion, in the midst of a vast concourse of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He spoke to them with great composure, protesting that he had always promoted the service of his king, and the interests of true religion, to the best of his power. The people attested their belief of what he said, by crying out, "It is most true." As an universal tumult was beginning to take place among them, [A. D. 1552. Somerset desired them to be still, and not to interrupt his last meditations, but to join with him in prayer: he then laid down his head, and submitted to the stroke of the executioner. Sir Ralph Vane and sir Miles Partridge were hanged; sir Michael Stanhope and sir Thomas Arundel were beheaded, as being his accomplices.

Nothing could have been more unpopular than the measure of destroying Somerset, who, though some actions of his life were very exceptionable, consulted the good of the people. The house of commons was particularly attached to him; and of this Northumberland was very sensible. He therefore advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and call another that would be more obsequious to his will. Edward was even prevailed upon to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to choose such men as he and the privy-council should recommend. With this despotic mandate the sheriffs readily complied; and the members returned fully answered Northumberland's expectations. He had long aimed at the first authority; and the infirm state of the king's health opened the [A. D. 1553. prospects of his ambition. He represented to that young prince that his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to succeed on the failure of direct heirs to the crown, had been both declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scotland was excluded by the king's will, and, being an alien also, lost all right of succeeding; that as the three princesses were thus legally excluded, the succession naturally devolved to the marchioness of Dorset (niece of Henry), whose heir was the lady Jane Grey, a lady every way accomplished for government, as well by the charms of her person, as the virtues and acquirements of her mind. The king, who had long submitted to all the politic views of this designing minister, agreed to have the succession submitted to the council, where Northumberland hoped to procure an easy concurrence.

In the mean time, as the king's health declined, the minister laboured to

strengthen his own interest and connexions. His first aim was to secure the interest of the marquis of Dorset, father to lady Jane Grey, by procuring for him the title of Duke of Suffolk, which was lately become extinct. Having thus obliged this nobleman, he then proposed a match between his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley, and the lady Jane Grey, whose interests he had been at so much pains to advance. Still bent on spreading his interests as widely as possible, he married his own daughter to lord Hastings, and had these marriages solemnized with all possible pomp and festivity. Meanwhile, Edward continued to languish; and several fatal symptoms of a consumption began to appear. It was hoped, however, that his youth and temperance might get the better of his disorder; and from their love the people were unwilling to think him in danger. It had been remarked indeed by some, that his health was visibly seen to decline from the time that the Dudleys were brought about his person. The character of Northumberland might have justly given some colour to suspicion; and his removing all, except his own emissaries, from about the king, still farther increased the disgusts of the people. Northumberland, however, was no way uneasy at their murmurs; he was assiduous in his attendance upon the king, and professed the most anxious concern for his safety, but still drove forward his darling scheme of transferring the succession to his own daughter-in-law. The judges who were appointed to draw up the king's letters-patent for that purpose, warmly objected to the measure, and gave their reasons before the council. They begged that a parliament might be summoned, both to give it force, and to free its partisans from danger; they said that the form was invalid, and would not only subject the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason. Northumberland could not brook their demurs; he threatened them with the dread of his authority; he called one of them a traitor, and said that he would fight in his shirt with any man in so just a cause as that of the lady Jane's succession. A method was therefore found out of screening the judges from danger, by granting them the king's pardon for what they should draw up; and at length, after much deliberation, and some refusals, the patent for changing the succession was completed. By this patent, Mary and Elizabeth were set aside, and the crown was settled on the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk; for the duchess herself was contented to forego her claim.

Northumberland, having thus far succeeded, thought physicians were no longer serviceable in the king's complaint; they were dismissed by his advice; and Edward was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who very confidently undertook his cure. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to a most violent degree; he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid, July 6, 1553.] and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, greatly regretted by all, as his early virtues gave a prospect of the continuance of a happy reign. What were the real qualities of this young prince's heart, there was not time to discover; but the cultivation of his understanding, if we may credit historians, was amazing. He was said to understand the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages. He was versed in logic, music, natural philosophy, and theology. Cardan, the extraordinary scholar and physician, happening to pay a visit to the English court, was so astonished at his early progress, that he extols him as a prodigy of nature. It is probable, however, that so much flattery as he received would have contributed to corrupt him, as it had formerly corrupted his father.

CHAP. XXVI.

MARY.—A. D. 1553 to 1558.

THE death of Edward only served to prepare fresh troubles for people who had hitherto greatly suffered from the depravity of their kings, or the turbulence of their nobility. The succession to the throne had hitherto been

obtained partly by lineal descent, and partly by the aptitude for government in the person chosen. Neither quite hereditary, nor quite elective, it had made ancestry the pretext of right, while the consent of the people was necessary to support all hereditary pretensions. In fact, when wisely conducted, this is the best species of succession that can be conceived, as it prevents that aristocracy which is ever the result of a government entirely elective, and that tyranny which is too often established, where there is never an infringement of hereditary claims.

Whenever a monarch of England happened to be arbitrary, and to enlarge the prerogative, he generally considered the kingdom as his property, and not himself as a servant of the people. In such a case, it was natural for him at his decease to bequeath his dominions as he thought proper, making his own will the standard of his subjects' happiness. Henry the Eighth, in conformity to this practice, made his will, in which he settled the succession merely according to his caprice. In that, Edward his son was the first nominated to succeed him; then Mary, his eldest daughter by Catharine of Spain; but with a special mark of condescension, by which he would intimate her illegitimacy. The next that followed was Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, with the same marks, intimating her illegitimacy also. After his own children, his sisters' children were mentioned: the issue of his younger sister, the duchess of Suffolk, were preferred to those of his elder sister the queen of Scotland; which preference was thought by all to be neither founded in justice, nor supported by reason. This will was now, however, set aside by the intrigues of Northumberland, by whose advice a will was made, as we have seen, in favour of lady Jane Grey, in prejudice of all other claimants. Thus, after the death of this young monarch, there were no fewer than four princesses who could assert their pretensions to the crown: Mary, who was the first upon Henry's will, but who had been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament, which had not been repealed: Elizabeth was next to succeed; and though she had been declared illegitimate, yet she had been restored to her rights during her father's life: the young queen of Scotland, grand-daughter of Henry's elder sister, was first in right, supposing the two daughters illegitimate: while lady Jane Grey might allege the will of the late king in her own favour.

Of these, however, only two put in their pretensions to the crown; Mary, relying on the justice of her cause, and lady Jane upon the support of the duke of Northumberland, her father-in-law. Mary was strongly bigoted to the popish superstitions, having been bred up among churchmen, and having been even taught to prefer martyrdom to a denial of belief. As she had lived in continual restraint, she was reserved and gloomy; she had, even during the life of Henry, the resolution to maintain her sentiments, and refused to comply with his new institutions. Her zeal had rendered her furious; and she was not only blindly attached to her religious opinions, but even to the popish clergy who maintained them. On the other hand, Jane Grey was strongly attached to the reformers; and, though yet but sixteen, her judgment had attained to such a degree of maturity as few have been found to possess. All historians agree that the solidity of her understanding, improved by continual application, rendered her the wonder of her age. Ascham, tutor to Elizabeth, informs us, that, having visited lady Jane at her father's house in Leicestershire, he found her reading Plato's works in Greek, while all the rest of the family were hunting in the park. Upon his testifying his surprise at her situation, she assured him that Plato was a higher amusement to her than the most studied refinements of sensual pleasure; and she, in fact, seemed born for philosophy, and not for ambition.

Such were the present rivals for power; but lady Jane had the start of her antagonist. Northumberland, now resolving to secure the succession, carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hope of securing the person of Mary, who, by the order of council, had been required to attend her brother during his illness; but being informed of his death, she immediately prepared to assert her pretensions to the crown. This crafty minister, therefore, finding that further dissimulation was needless, went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, to salute

lady Jane Grey, who resided there. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of all these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them. She shed a flood of tears, appeared inconsolable, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that she yielded to the entreaties of Northumberland and the duke her father. At length, however, they exhorted her to consent, and next day conveyed her to the Tower, where it was usual for the sovereigns of England to pass some days after their accession. Thither also all the members of the council were obliged to attend her, and thus were in some measure made prisoners by Northumberland, whose will they were under a necessity of obeying. Orders were also given for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but these were very remissly obeyed. When she was proclaimed in the city, the people heard her accession made public without any signs of pleasure: no applause ensued, and some even expressed their scorn and contempt.

In the mean time, Mary, who had retired, upon the news of the king's death, to Kenning-Hall in Norfolk, sent circular letters to all the great towns and nobility in the kingdom, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay. Having taken these steps, she retired to Framlingham-Castle in Suffolk, that she might be near the sea, and escape to Flanders in case of failure. But she soon found her affairs wear the most promising aspect. The men of Suffolk came to pay her their homage; and, being assured by her that she would defend the laws and the religion of her predecessor, they enlisted themselves in her cause with alacrity and affection. The people of Norfolk soon after came in; the earls of Bath and Sussex, and the eldest sons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, joined her; and lord Hastings, with four thousand men, who had been raised to oppose her, revolted to her side. Even a fleet that had been sent to lie off the coast of Suffolk to prevent her escaping, engaged in her service; and now, but too late, Northumberland saw the deplorable end of all his schemes and ambition.

This minister, with the consent of the council, had assembled some troops at Newmarket, had set on foot new levies in London, and appointed the duke of Suffolk general of the army, that he might himself continue with and overawe the deliberations of the council. But he was diverted from this mode of managing his affairs, by considering how unfit Suffolk was to head the army; so that he was obliged himself to take upon him the military command. It was now, therefore, that the council, being free from his influence, and no longer dreading his immediate authority, began to declare against him. The earl of Arundel led the opposition, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, and the exorbitancy of his ambition. Pembroke seconded him with declarations that he was ready to fight all of a contrary opinion; the mayor and aldermen, who were sent for, readily came into the same measures; the people expressed their approbation by shouts and applauses; and even Suffolk himself, finding all resistance fruitless, threw open the gates of the Tower, and joined in the general cry. Mary's claims now became irresistible: in a little time she found herself at the head of a powerful army; while the few who attended Northumberland continued irresolute; and he even feared to lead them to the encounter.

Lady Jane, thus finding that all was lost, resigned her royalty, which she had held but nine days, with marks of real satisfaction, and retired with her mother to her own habitation. Northumberland also, who found his affairs desperate, and that it was impossible to stem the tide of popular opposition, attempted to quit the kingdom; but he was prevented by the band of pensioner guards, who informed him that he must stay to justify their conduct in being led out against their lawful sovereign. Thus circumvented on all sides, his cunning was now his only resource; and he began by endeavouring to recommend himself to Mary by the most extravagant protestations of zeal in her service. He repaired to the market-place in Cambridge, proclaimed her queen of England, and was the first to throw up his cap in token of joy. But he reaped no advantage from his mean duplicity; he was the next day arrested in the queen's name by the earl of Arundel, at whose feet he fell upon his knees, begging protection with the most abject submission. Three of his sons, his brother, and some more of his followers, were arrested with him, and

committed to the Tower of London. Soon after, the lady Jane Grey, the duke of Suffolk her father, and lord Guilford Dudley her husband, were made prisoners by order of the queen, whose authority was now confirmed by universal assent.

Northumberland was the first who suffered for opposing her, and was the person who deserved punishment the most. When brought to his trial, he openly desired permission to ask two questions of the peers who were appointed to sit on his jury: "Whether a man could be guilty of treason, who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal; and whether those involved in the same guilt with himself could act as his judges?" Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that his judges were proper, as they were unimpeached, he acquiesced, and pleaded Guilty. At his execution, he owned himself a papist, and exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith, as they hoped for happiness and tranquillity. Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer, two of the infamous tools of his power, suffered with him; and the queen's resentment was appeased by the lives of three men, who had forfeited them by several former crimes. Sentence was pronounced against lady Jane and lord Guilford, but without any intention for the present of putting it in execution: the youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had completed their seventeenth year, pleaded powerfully in their favour.

Mary now entered London, and, with very little effusion of blood, saw herself joyfully proclaimed, and peaceably settled on the throne. This was the crisis of English happiness: a queen whose right was the most equitable, in some measure elected by the people, the aristocracy of the last reign almost wholly suppressed, the house of commons by this means reinstated in its ancient authority, the pride of the clergy humbled, and their vices detected, peace abroad, and unanimity at home; this was the flattering prospect on Mary's accession: but soon this pleasing phantom was dissolved. Mary was morose, and a bigot; she was resolved to give back their former power to the clergy, and thus once more to involve the kingdom in all the horrors it had just emerged from. The queen had promised the men of Suffolk, who first came to declare in her favour, that she would suffer religion to remain in the situation in which she found it. This promise, however, she by no means intended to perform; she had determined on bringing the sentiments of the people to correspond with her own; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubting her own belief, or of granting indulgence to the doubts of others. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, who had been confined, or suffered losses, for their catholic opinions, during the late reign, were taken from prison, reinstated in their sees, and their former sentences repealed. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by her prerogative, all preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular license, which she was previously determined to grant only to those of her own persuasion. Men now foresaw that the Reformation was to be overturned; and though the queen still pretended that she would grant a general toleration, yet no great favour could be expected by those who, from her inveterate prejudices, were hateful to her.

The first step that caused an alarm among the protestants was the severe treatment of Cranmer, whose moderation, integrity, and virtues, had made him dear even to most of the catholic party. A report being spread, that this prelate, in order to make his court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, he drew up a declaration, in which he entirely cleared himself of the aspersion, but incurred what was much more terrible, the queen's resentment. On the publication of this paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and tried for the part he had acted, in concurring, among the rest of the council, to exalt lady Jane, and set aside the rightful sovereign. This guilt he had in fact incurred; but as it was shared with a large body of men, most of whom were not only uncensured, but even taken into favour, the malignancy of the prosecution was easily seen through. Sentence of high-treason was, therefore, pronounced against him; but it was not then executed, as this venerable man was reserved for a more dreadful punishment. Shortly after, Peter Martyr, a German reformer, who had in the late reign been

invited over to England; seeing how things were likely to go, desired leave to return to his native country. But the zeal of the catholics, though he had escaped them, was malignantly, though harmlessly, wreaked upon the body of his wife, which had been interred some years before at Oxford: it was dug up by public order, and buried in a dunghill. The bones also of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. The greater part of the foreign protestants took early precautions to leave the kingdom; and many arts and manufactures fled with them. Nor were their fears without foundation; a parliament, which the queen called soon after, seemed willing to concur in all her measures: they at one blow repealed all the statutes with regard to religion, which had passed during the reign of her predecessor; so that the national religion was again placed on the same footing on which it stood at the death of Henry the Eighth.

While religion was thus returning to its pristine abuses, the queen's ministers, who were willing to strengthen her power by a catholic alliance, had been for some time looking out for a proper consort. The person on whom her own affections seemed chiefly placed was the earl of Devonshire; but that nobleman, either disliking her person, or having already placed his affections on her sister Elizabeth, neglected all overtures to such an alliance. Pole, who, though elevated to the dignity of cardinal, was not a priest, and being therefore at liberty to marry, was proposed as a husband for the queen, as he was a person of high character for virtue, generosity, and attachment to the catholic religion. But, as he was in the decline of life, Mary soon dropped all thoughts of him. The person last thought of, and who succeeded, was Philip prince of Spain, son of the celebrated Charles the Fifth. In order [A. D. 1554.] to avoid any disagreeable remonstrances from the people, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as possible to the interests and honour of England; and this, in some measure, stilled the clamours that had already arisen against it. It was agreed, that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that her issue should inherit, together with England, Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die, the queen's issue should enjoy all the dominions possessed by the king. Such was the treaty of marriage, from which politicians foresaw very great changes in the system of Europe; but which in the end came to nothing, by the queen's having no issue.

The people, however, who did not see so far, were much more just in their surmises that it might be a blow to their liberties and religion. They loudly murmured against it, and a flame of discontent was kindled over the whole nation. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman catholic, at the head of four thousand insurgents, marched from Kent to Hyde Park, publishing, as he went forward, a declaration against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match. His first aim was to secure the Tower; but this rashness undid him. As he marched forward through the city of London, and among the narrow streets, without suspicion, care was taken by the earl of Pembroke to block up the way behind him by ditches and chains thrown across, and guards were placed at all the avenues, to prevent his return. In this manner did the bold rebel pass onward; and he supposed himself ready to reap the fruits of his undertaking, when, to his utter confusion, he found that he could neither go forward, nor yet make good his retreat. He now perceived that the citizens, from whom he had expected assistance, would not join him; and, losing all courage in this exigency, he surrendered at discretion.

The duke of Suffolk was not less guilty also; he had joined in a confederacy with sir Peter Carew, to excite an insurrection in the counties of Warwick and Leicester; but his confederate's impatience engaging him to rise in arms before the day appointed, the duke vainly endeavoured to excite his dependents. He was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, that he was obliged to disperse his followers; and being discovered in his retreat, was led

prisoner to London, whom he, together with Wyatt, and seventy other persons, suffered by the hand of the executioner. Four hundred were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and, falling on their knees, received pardon, and were dismissed.

But what excited the compassion of the people most of all, was the execution of lady Jane Grey, and her husband lord Guilford Dudley, who were involved in the punishment, though not in the guilt, of this insurrection. Two days after Wyatt was apprehended, lady Jane and her husband were ordered to prepare for death. Lady Jane, who had long before seen the threatened blow, was no way surprised at the message, but bore it with heroic resolution; and being informed that she had three days to prepare, she seemed displeased at so long a delay. On the day of her execution, her husband desired permission to see her; but this she refused, as she knew the parting would be too tender for her fortitude to withstand. The place at first designed for their execution, was without the Tower; but their youth, beauty, and innocence, being likely to raise an insurrection among the people, orders were given that they should be executed within the verge of that fortress. Lord Dudley was the first that suffered; and while the lady Jane was proceeding to the place of execution, the officers of the Tower met her, bearing along the headless body of her husband streaming with blood, in order to be interred in the Tower chapel. She looked on the corpse for some time without any emotion; and then, with a sigh, desired them to proceed. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, as he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tablets, where she had just written three sentences on seeing the dead body of her husband, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English, importing that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; and that God and posterity, she hoped, would do justice to them and their cause. On the scaffold she made a speech, in which she alleged that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that she had less erred through ambition than filial obedience; that she willingly accepted death, as the only atonement she could make to the injured state; and was ready, by her punishment, to shew that innocence is no plea in excuse for deeds that tend to injure the community. After speaking to this effect, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women, and with a steady serene countenance submitted to the executioner.

The enemies of the state being thus suppressed, the theatre was now opened for the pretended enemies of religion. The queen, being freed from apprehensions of an insurrection, began by assembling a parliament, which upon this, as upon most occasions, seemed only met to give countenance to her various severities. The nobles, whose only religion was that of the prince who governed, were easily gained over; and the house of commons had long been passive under all the variations of regal caprice. But a new enemy had started up against the reformers, in the person of the king, who, though he took all possible care to conceal his aversion, yet secretly influenced the queen, and inflamed all her proceedings. Philip had for some time been in England, and had used every endeavour to increase that share of power which had been allowed to him by parliament, but without effect. The queen, indeed, who loved him with a foolish fondness, that sat but ill on a person of her years and disagreeable person, endeavoured to please him by every concession she could make or procure: and finding herself incapable of satisfying his ambition, she was not remiss in concurring with his zeal; so that heretics began to be persecuted with inquisitorial severity. The old sanguinary laws were now revived; orders were given that the bishops and priests who had married, should be ejected; that the mass should be restored; that the pope's authority should be established; and that the church and its privileges, all but their goods and estates, should be put upon the same foundation on which they were before the commencement of the Reformation. As the gentry and nobles had already divided the church-lands among them, it was thought inconvenient, and indeed impossible, to make a restoration of these.

At the head of those who drove such measures forward, but not in an equal

degree, were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal Pole, who had lately arrived in England from the continent. Pole, who was nearly allied by birth to the royal family, had always conscientiously adhered to the catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's displeasure, not only by refusing his assent to his measures, but by writing against him. It was for this adherence that he was cherished by the pope, and now sent over to England as legate from the holy see. Gardiner was a man of a very different character: his chief aim was to please the reigning prince, and he had already shewn many instances of his prudent conformity. He now perceived that the king and queen were for rigorous measures; and he knew that it would be the best means of paying his court to them, even to outgo them in severity. Pole, who had never varied in his principles, declared in favour of toleration; Gardiner, who had often changed, was for punishing those changes in others with the utmost rigour. However, he was too prudent to appear at the head of a persecution in person; he therefore consigned that odious office to Bonner, bishop of London, a cruel, brutal, and ignorant man.

A. D. 1555.] This bloody scene began by the martyrdom of Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commissioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected that by their recantation they would bring those opinions into disrepute which they had so long inculcated: but the persecutors were deceived; they both continued steadfast in their belief; and they were accordingly condemned to be burned, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper in his own diocese at Gloucester. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under very powerful temptations to deny his principles, and save his life; for he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; but nothing could move his resolution. Such was his serenity after condemnation, that the jailors, we are told, waked him from a sound sleep upon the approach of the hour appointed for his execution. He desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that being a priest he could have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he seemed no way daunted at the preparation, but cried out, "I resign my life with joy, in testimony of the doctrine of Jesus!" When Hooper was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him with the queen's pardon upon it, in case he should recant; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared cheerfully to suffer his sentence, which was executed in its full severity. The fire, either from malice or neglect, had not been sufficiently kindled; so that his legs and thighs were first burned, and one of his hands dropped off, while with the other he continued to beat his breast. He was three-quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Sanders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whose zeal had been distinguished in carrying on the Reformation, were the next that suffered. Taylor was put into a pitch-barrel; and, before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted, singing the thirty-first Psalm in English; which one of the spectators observing, struck him a blow on the side of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued a few minutes silent, and with his eyes steadfastly fixed upward; when one of the guards, either through impatience or compassion, struck him down with his halberd, and thus happily put an end to his torments.

The death of these only served to increase the savage appetite of the popish bishops and monks for fresh slaughter. Bonner, bloated at once with rage and luxury, let loose his vengeance without restraint, and seemed to take a pleasure in the pains of the unhappy sufferers; while the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to pursue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, bishop of London, and the venerable Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were condemned together. Ridley had been one of the ablest champions for the Reformation; his piety, learning, and solidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him; and when he beheld them melted into tears, he himself appeared quite unmoved, inwardly supported and comforted in that hour

of agony. When he was brought to the stake to be burnt, he found his old friend Latimer there before him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the simplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great, who at that time too much deserved it. His sermons, which remain to this day, shew that he was possessed both of learning and wit; and there is an air of sincerity running through them not to be found elsewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer, on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. "Be of good cheer, brother," cried he, "we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." A furious bigot ascended to preach to them and the people while the fire was preparing; and Ridley gave a most serious attention to his discourse. No way distracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the last, and then told him that he was ready to answer all that he had preached upon, if a short indulgence should be permitted: but this was refused him. At length fire was set to the pile: Latimer was soon out of pain; but Ridley continued to suffer much longer, his legs being consumed before the fire reached his vitals.

One Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the stake, had agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture supportable he would make them a signal for that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered was so strong, that when the spectators thought him near expiring, by stretching out his arms he gave his friends the signal that the pain was not too great to be borne. This example, with many others of the like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to aspire after martyrdom.

But women seemed persecuted with as much severity even as men. A woman in Guernsey, condemned for heresy, was delivered of a child in the midst of the flames. Some of the spectators humanely ran to snatch the infant from danger; but the magistrate, who was a papist, ordered it to be flung in again: and there it was consumed with the mother.

Cranmer's death followed soon after, and struck the whole nation with horror. This prelate, whom we have seen acting so very conspicuous a part in the Reformation during the two preceding reigns, had been long detained a prisoner, in consequence of his imputed guilt in obstructing the queen's succession to the crown. But it was now resolved to bring him to punishment; and, to give it all its malignity, the queen ordered that he should be punished for heresy rather than for treason. He was accordingly cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was kept a prisoner at Oxford, yet, upon his not appearing, he was condemned as contumacious. But his enemies were not satisfied with his tortures, without adding to them the poignancy of self-accusation. Persons were, therefore, employed to tempt him by flattery and insinuation, by giving him hopes of once more being received into favour, to sign his recantation, by which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real presence. His love of life prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to sign this paper; and now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him completely wretched, resolved to destroy him. But it was determined, before they led him out to execution, that they should try to induce him to make a recantation in the church before the people. The unfortunate prelate, either having a secret intimation of their design, or having recovered the native vigour of his mind, entered the church prepared to surprise the whole audience by a contrary declaration. When he had been placed in a conspicuous part of the church, a sermon was preached by Cole, provost of Eton, in which he magnified Cranmer's conversion as the immediate work of heaven itself. He assured the archbishop, that nothing could have been so pleasing to God, the queen, or the people; he comforted him, by intimating, that, if he should suffer, numberless dirges and masses should be said for his soul: and that his own confession of his faith would still more secure his soul from the pains of purgatory. During the whole rhapsody Cranmer expressed the utmost agony, anxiety, and internal agitation; he lifted up his eyes to heaven, he shed a torrent of tears, and groaned with unutterable anguish. He uttered

a prayer, filled with the most pathetic expressions of horror and remorse. He then said he was well apprised of his duty to his sovereign; but that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to declare that he had signed a paper contrary to his conscience; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error by a sincere and open recantation; he was willing, he said, to seal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven; and that, as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should undergo the first punishment. The assembly, consisting chiefly of papists, who hoped to triumph in the last words of such a convert, were equally confounded and incensed at this declaration. They called aloud to him to leave off dissembling; and led him forward, amidst the insults and reproaches of his audience, to the stake at which Latimer and Ridley had suffered. He resolved to triumph over their insults by his constancy and fortitude; and the fire beginning to be kindled round him, he stretched forth his right hand, and held it in the flames till it was consumed, while he frequently cried out in the midst of his sufferings, "This unworthy hand!" at the same time exhibiting no appearance of pain or disorder. When the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his tortures; his mind was occupied wholly upon the hope of a future reward. After his body was destroyed, his heart was found entire: an emblem of the constancy with which he suffered.

A. D. 1556.] These persecutions were now become odious to the whole nation; and, as it may be easily supposed, the perpetrators of them were all willing to throw the odium from themselves upon others. Philip, sensible of the hatred which he must incur upon this occasion, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice. He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; but Bonner, in his turn, would not take the whole of the blame, and diverted the severities upon the court. In fact, a bold step was taken to introduce a court similar to that of the Spanish inquisition, that should be empowered to try heretics, and condemn them, without any other form of law than its own authority. But even this was thought too dilatory in the present exigency of affairs. A proclamation was issued against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, declaring that all persons who had such books in their possession, and did not burn them without reading, should be deemed rebels, and suffer accordingly. This, as might be expected, was attended with bloody effects; whole crowds were executed, till even at last the very magistrates, who had been instrumental in those cruelties, refused to lend their assistance. It was computed that, during this persecution, two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered by fire, besides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children.

All this was terrible; and yet the temporal affairs of the kingdom did not seem to be more successful. From Philip's first arrival in England the queen's pregnancy was talked of; and her own extreme desire that it should be true, induced her to favour the report. When Pole, the pope's legate, was first introduced to her, she fancied the child stirred in her womb; and this her flatterers compared to the leaping of John the Baptist in his mother's belly, at the salutation of the Virgin. The catholics were confident that she was pregnant; they assured themselves that this child would be a son; they were even confident that Heaven would render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But it soon turned out that all their confidence was ill-founded; for the queen's supposed pregnancy was only the beginning of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her.

This opinion of the queen's pregnancy was carefully kept up by Philip, as it was an artifice by which he hoped to extend his authority in the kingdom. But he was mistaken: the English parliament, however lax in their principles at that time, harboured a continued jealousy against him, and passed repeated acts, by which they ascertained the limits of his power, and confirmed the authority of the queen. Ambition was his only ruling passion; and the extreme fondness of the queen for his person, was rather permitted by him than

desired. He only wanted to make her inclination subservient to the purposes of his power; but finding her unable to satisfy him in that hope, he no longer treated her with any return of affection, but behaved to her with apparent indifference and neglect: at length, tired with her importunities and jealousies, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, he took the first opportunity of leaving her, and went over to the emperor his father in Flanders. In the mean time, the queen's passion increased in proportion to the coolness with which it was returned. She passed most of her time in solitude; she gave vent to her sorrows, either by tears, or by writing fond epistles to Philip, who, except when he wanted money, seldom returned her any answer. To supply his demands upon these occasions, she took several very extorting methods, by loans which were forced from many whom she thought most affectionate to her person, or best able to spare it. She offered the English merchants at Antwerp, fourteen per cent. for a loan of thirty thousand pounds, and yet was mortified by a refusal; but she at length prevailed, by compelling the corporation of London to become surety for her.

She was more successful in her attempts to engage the English in a war with France, at the instigation of her husband, although in the end it turned out to her utter confusion. A war had just been commenced between Spain and that kingdom; and Philip, who took this occasion to come over to England, declared, that if he were not seconded by England at this crisis, he would never see the country more. This declaration greatly heightened the queen's zeal for promoting his interests; and though she was warmly opposed in this measure by cardinal Pole and the rest of her council, yet, by threatening to dismiss them all, she at last succeeded. War was declared against France, and preparations were every where made for attacking [A. D. 1557. that kingdom with vigour. An army was levied to the amount of ten thousand men, who, when their wants had been supplied by various arbitrary and oppressive methods, were sent over into Flanders.

A battle gained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin, seemed to promise great success to the allied arms; but soon an action performed by the duke of Guise, in the midst of winter, turned the scale in favour of France; and affected, if not the interests, at least the honour of England in the tenderest point. Calais had now for above two hundred years been in possession of the English: it had been made the chief market for wool, and other British commodities; it had been strongly fortified at different times, and was then deemed impregnable. But all the fortifications which were raised before gunpowder was found out, were very ill able to resist the attacks of a regular battery from cannon; and they only continued to enjoy an ancient reputation for strength which they were very ill able to maintain. Coligny, the French general, had remarked to the duke of Guise, that as the town of Calais was surrounded by marshes, which during winter were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnham-Bridge, the English were of late accustomed, to save expense, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the approach of winter, and recall them in spring. The duke of Guise upon this made a sudden and unexpected march towards Calais, and assaulted the castle of St. Agatha, with three thousand arquebusiers. The garrison were soon obliged to retreat to the other castle, and shortly after compelled to quit that post, and to take shelter in the city. Meanwhile, a small fleet was sent to block up the entrance of the harbour; and thus Calais was invested by land and sea. The governor, lord Wentworth, made a brave defence; but his garrison, being very weak, could not effectually resist an assault given by the French, who made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in the attack, he was obliged to capitulate: so [A. D. 1558. that, in less than eight days, the duke of Guise recovered a city that had been in possession of the English since the time of Edward the Third, and which he had spent eleven months in besieging. This loss filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with despair; she was heard to say, that, when dead, the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

These complicated evils—a murmuring people, an increasing heresy, a disdainful husband, and an unsuccessful war—made dreadful depredations on

Mary's constitution. She began to appear consumptive; and this rendered her mind still more morose and bigoted. The people now, therefore, began to turn their thoughts to her successor; and the princess Elizabeth came into a greater degree of consideration than before. During this whole reign, the nation was in continual apprehensions with regard not only to the succession but the life of this princess. The violent hatred of the queen broke out upon every occasion; while Elizabeth, conscious of her danger, passed her time wholly in reading and study, entirely detached from business. Proposals of marriage had been made to her by the Swedish ambassador, in his master's name; but she referred him to the queen, who leaving it to her own choice, she had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune. Nor was she less prudent in concealing her sentiments of religion, and eluding all questions relative to that dangerous subject. She was obnoxious to Mary for two reasons: as she was next heir to the throne, it was feared she might aspire to it during her sister's lifetime; but it was still more reasonably apprehended that she would, if ever she came to the crown, make an innovation in that religion which Mary took such pains to establish. The bishops, who had shed such a deluge of blood, foresaw this; and often told Mary that her destroying meaner heretics was of no advantage to the state, while the body of the tree was suffered to remain. Mary saw and acknowledged the cogency of their arguments, confined her sister with proper guards, and only waited for some fresh insurrection, or some favourable pretext, to destroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her meditated cruelty.

Mary had been long in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she made use of an improper regimen, which had increased the disorder. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, whom she hated, and above all, her anxiety for the loss of her husband, who never intended to return,—all these preyed upon her mind, and threw her Nov. 17, 1558.] into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, whose gentleness in power we have had occasion to mention, survived her but one day. She was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel, according to the rites of the church of Rome.

CHAP. XXVII.

Elizabeth.—A. D. 1558 to 1572.

Were we to adopt the maxim of the catholics, that evil may be done for the production of good, one might say that the persecutions in Mary's reign were permitted only to bring the kingdom more generally over to the protestant religion. Nothing could preach so effectually against the cruelty and vices of the monks, as the actions of the monks themselves. Wherever heretics were to be burned, the monks were always present, rejoicing at the flames, insulting the fallen, and frequently the first to thrust the flaming brand against the faces of the sufferers. The English were effectually converted, by such sights as these, from their ancient superstitions. To bring the people over to any opinion, it is only necessary to persecute, instead of attempting to convince. The people had formerly been compelled to embrace the protestant religion, and their fears induced them to conform; but now almost the whole nation were protestants from inclination.

Nothing therefore could exceed the joy that was diffused among the people upon the accession of Elizabeth, who now came to the throne without any opposition. She was at Hatfield when informed of her sister's death; and, hastening to London, was received by the multitude with universal acclamations. Elizabeth had her education in that best school, the school of adversity; and she had made the proper use of her confinement. Being debarred the enjoyment of pleasures abroad, she sought for knowledge at home; she cultivated her understanding, learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts which she acquired, that of concealing her opinions, that of checking

her inclinations, of displeasing none, and of learning to reign, were the most beneficial to her.

This virgin monarch, as some historians have called her, upon entering the Tower according to custom, could not refrain from remarking on the difference of her present and her former fortune, when she was sent there as a prisoner. She had also been scarcely proclaimed queen, when Philip, who had been married to Mary, but who ever testified a partiality in favour of Elizabeth, ordered his ambassador in London, the duke of Feria, to make her proposals of marriage from his master. What political motives Elizabeth might have against this marriage, are not mentioned; but certain it is, that she neither liked the person nor the religion of her admirer. She was willing at once to enjoy the pleasures of independence, and the vanity of numerous solicitations. But while these were her views, she returned him a very obliging though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit a dispensation.

Elizabeth had, from the beginning, resolved upon reforming the church, even while she was held in the constraints of a prison; and now, upon coming to the crown, she immediately set about it. But not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion all at once, she retained eleven of her sister's council; and, in order to balance their authority, added eight more, who were known to be affectionate to the protestant religion. Her particular adviser, however, was sir William Cecil, secretary of state, a man more earnestly employed in the business than the speculations of the times, and whose temper it was to wish for any religion that he thought would contribute to the welfare of the state. By his advice, therefore, she immediately recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all prisoners who were confined on account of religion. She next published a proclamation, by which she forbade all preaching without a special license. She also suspended the laws so far as to have a great part of the service to be read in English, and forbade the host to be elevated in her [A. D. 1559. presence. A parliament soon after completed what the prerogative had begun; various acts were passed in favour of the Reformation; and in a single session the form of religion was established as we at present have the happiness to enjoy it.

The opposition which was made to these religious establishments, was furious, but feeble. A conference of nine doctors on each side was proposed and agreed to, in presence of the lord-keeper Bacon. They were to dispute publicly upon either side of the question; and it was resolved that the people should hold to that which came off with the victory. Disputations of this kind never carry conviction to either party; so much is to be said, and so wide is the field that both sides have to range in, that the strength of both is exhausted before the engagement may be properly said to begin. The conference therefore came to nothing; the catholics declared that it was not in their power to dispute a second time upon topics on which they had gained a former victory; while the protestants, on the other side, ascribed their caution to their fears.

Of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which was the number of those in the kingdom, only fourteen bishops, twelve deans, as many archdeacons, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, chose to quit their preferments rather than give up their religion. Thus England was seen to change its belief in religion four times since the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth. "Strange," says a foreign writer, "that a people so resolute should be guilty of so much inconstancy; that the same people who this day assisted at the execution of heretics, should, the next, not only think them guiltless, but conform to their systems of thinking."

Elizabeth was now fixed upon a protestant throne, and had consequently all the catholic powers of Europe her open or secret enemies. France, Scotland, the pope, and even Spain itself, began to think of combining against her. Her subjects of Ireland were concealed enemies; and the catholic party in England, though professing obedience, were yet ready to take advantage of her slightest misfortunes. These were the dangers she had to fear; nor had she formed a single alliance to assist her, nor possessed any

foreign friends that she could safely rely on. In this situation she could hope for no other resource than what proceeded from the affection of her own subjects, her own insight into her affairs, and the wisdom of her administration. From the beginning of her reign, she seemed to aim at two very difficult attainments: to make herself loved by her subjects, and feared by her courtiers. She resolved to be frugal of her treasure, and still more sparing in her rewards to favourites. This at once kept the people in good humour, and the great too poor to shake off their dependence. She also shewed that she knew how to distribute both rewards and punishments with impartiality; that she knew when to soothe, and when to upbraid; that she could dissemble submission, but preserve her prerogatives. In short, she seemed to have studied the people she was born to govern, and even shewed that she knew when to flatter their foibles to secure their affections.

Her chief minister was Robert Dudley, son to the late duke of Northumberland, whom she seemed to regard from capricious motives, as he was possessed neither of abilities nor virtue. But to make amends, the two favourites next in power were the lord-keeper Bacon and Cecil, men of great capacity and infinite application; they regulated the finances, and directed the political measures with foreign courts, that were afterwards followed with so much success.

A state of permanent felicity is not to be expected here; and Mary Stuart, commonly called Mary queen of Scots, was the first person that excited the fears or the resentment of Elizabeth. We have already mentioned, that Henry the Seventh married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to James the Fourth, king of Scotland, whose son and successor left no issue that came to maturity, except Mary. At a very early age, this princess, being possessed of every accomplishment of person and mind, was married to Francis the dauphin, afterwards king of France, who, dying, left her a widow at the age of eighteen. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry the Eighth, Francis, in right of his wife, began to assume the title of king of England; nor did the queen of Scots, his consort, seem to decline sharing this empty appellation. But though nothing could have been more unjust than such a claim, or more unlikely to succeed, Elizabeth, knowing that such pretensions might produce troubles in England, sent an ambassador to France, complaining of the behaviour of that court in this instance. Francis, however, was not upon such good terms with Elizabeth, as to forego any claims that would distress her; and her ambassador was sent home without A. D. 1560.] satisfaction. Upon the death of Francis, Mary, the widow, still seemed disposed to keep up the title; but finding herself exposed to the persecutions of the dowager queen, who now began to take the lead in France, she determined to return to Scotland, and demanded a safe passage from Elizabeth through England. But it was now Elizabeth's turn to refuse; and she sent back a very haughty answer to Mary's request. From this time a A. D. 1561.] determined personal enmity began to prevail between the rival queens, which subsisted for many years after, until the superior good fortune of Elizabeth prevailed.

As the transactions of this unfortunate queen make a distinguished part in Elizabeth's history, it will be necessary to give them greater room than I have hitherto given to the occurrences of Scotland. The Reformation in England having taken place, in Scotland also that work was begun, but with circumstances of greater animosity against the ancient superstition. The mutual resentment of the two parties in that kingdom knew no bounds; and a civil war was likely to end the dispute. It was in this divided state of the people, that Elizabeth, by giving encouragement to the reformers, gained their affections from their natural queen, who was a catholic, and who consequently favoured those of that persuasion. Thus religion at last effected a sincere friendship between the English and Scots, which neither treaties nor marriages, nor the vicinity of situation, were able to produce. The reformers, to a man, considered Elizabeth as their patroness and defender, and Mary as their persecutor and enemy.

It was in this state of affairs that Mary returned from France to reign in Scotland, entirely attached to the customs and manners of the people she

had left, and consequently very averse to the gloomy severity which her reformed subjects affected, and which they fancied made a proper ingredient in religion. A difference in religion, between the sovereign and the people, is ever productive of bad effects, since it is apt to produce contempt on one side, and jealousy on the other. Mary could not avoid regarding the sour manners of the reformed clergy, who now bore sway among the people, with a mixture of ridicule and hatred; while they, on the other hand, could not look tamely on the gaieties and levities which she introduced among them, without abhorrence and resentment. The jealousy thus excited, began every day to grow stronger; the clergy only waited for some indiscretion in the queen, to fly out into open opposition; and her indiscretion too soon gave them sufficient opportunity.

After two years had been spent in altercation and reproach between Mary and her subjects, it was resolved at last by her council, that she should look out for some alliance, by which she might be sheltered and protected against the insolence and misguided zeal of her spiritual instructors. [A. D. 1564. After some deliberation, the lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, was the person in whom their opinions and wishes centred. He had been born and educated in England, was now in his twentieth year, was cousin-german to the queen; and what perhaps she might admire still more, he was extremely tall. Elizabeth was secretly no way averse to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when informed that it was actually concluded and consummated, she pretended to testify the utmost displeasure: she menaced, complained, protested; seized the English estate of the earl of Lenox, and threw the countess and her second son into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was common enough with Elizabeth; and, on the present occasion, it served her as a pretext for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England, which that princess had frequently urged, but in vain.

Notwithstanding Elizabeth's complaints and resentment, Mary resolved to indulge her own inclinations; and, struck with the beauty of Darnley's figure, the match was driven forward with all expedition. Some of the first weeks of their connexion seemed to promise a happy union for the rest of their lives. However, it was not without some opposition from the reformers that this marriage was completed. It was agitated, whether the queen could marry without the consent of the people. Some lords rose up in arms to prevent it; but being pursued by a superior force, they found themselves obliged to abandon their country, and take refuge in England. Thus far all was favourable to Mary; and thus far she kept within the bounds of strict virtue. Her enemies were banished, her rival overruled, and she herself married [A. D. 1565. to the man she loved.

While Mary had been dazzled by the pleasing exterior of her new lover, she had entirely neglected to inquire into his mental accomplishments. Darnley was a weak and ignorant man; violent, yet variable in his enterprises; insolent, yet credulous, and easily governed by flatterers; devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and, being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness. Mary, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure: but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and his vices, she began to convert her admiration into disgust; and Darnley, enraged at her increasing coldness, pointed his vengeance against every person to whose suggestions he attributed this change in her sentiments and behaviour.

There was then in the court one David Rizzio, the son of a musician at Turin, himself a musician; who, finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, had followed the ambassador from that court into Scotland. As he understood music to perfection, and sang a good bass, he was introduced into the queen's concert, who was so pleased with him, that she desired the ambassador, upon his departure, to leave Rizzio behind. The excellence of his voice soon procured him greater familiarities; and, although he was by no means handsome, but rather ugly, the queen seemed to place peculiar confidence in him, and ever kept him next her person. Her secretary for French

despatches having some time after fallen under her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, who, being shrewd, sensible, and aspiring beyond his rank, soon after began to entertain hopes of being promoted to the important office of chancellor of the kingdom. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession; and all suitors were first obliged to gain Rizzio to their interests, by presents, or by flattery. It was easy to persuade a man of Darnley's jealous uxorious temper, that Rizzio was the person who had estranged the queen's affections from him; and a surmise once conceived, became to him a certainty. He soon, therefore, consulted with some lords of his party, stung as he was with envy, rage, and resentment; and they not only fanned the conflagration in his mind, but A. D. 1566.] offered their assistance to despatch Rizzio. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, settled the circumstances of this poor creature's assassination among them, and determined that, as a punishment for the queen's indiscretions, the murder should be committed in her presence. Mary was at this time in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and was then supping in private, at table with the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, some other servants, and her favourite Rizzio. Lord Darnley led the way into the apartment by a private staircase, and stood for some time leaning at the back of Mary's chair. His fierce looks and unexpected intrusion greatly alarmed the queen, who nevertheless kept silence, not daring to call out. A little after, lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and the other conspirators, rushed in all armed, and shewing in their looks the brutality of their intentions. The queen could no longer restrain her terrors, but demanded the reason of this bold intrusion. Ruthven made her no answer; but ordered her favourite to quit a place of which he was unworthy. Rizzio instantly saw that he was the object of their vengeance; and, trembling with apprehension, took hold of the queen's robes to put himself under her protection, while, on her part, she strove to interpose between him and the assassins. Douglas, in the mean time, had reached the unfortunate Rizzio; and snatching a dagger from the king's side, while the queen filled the room with her cries, plunged it into the bosom of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and dragged into the antechamber, where he was despatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess continued her lamentations; but, being informed of his fate, at once dried her tears, and said she would weep no more, for she would now think of revenge. The insult indeed upon her person and honour, and the danger to which her life was exposed on account of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and so complicated, that they scarcely left room for pardon.

This act of violence was only to be punished by temporizing; she pretended to forgive so great a crime; and exerted the force of her natural allurements so powerfully, that her husband submitted implicitly to her will. He soon gave up his accomplices to her resentment, and retired with her to Dunbar; while she, having collected an army which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made application, however, to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's, and that nobleman, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment; and he soon after procured them liberty to return home.

The vengeance of the queen was implacable to her husband alone; his person was before disagreeable to her; and having persuaded him to give up his accomplices, she treated him with merited disdain and indignation. But it would have been well for her character and happiness had she rested only in despising:—she secretly resolved on a severer revenge. The earl of Bothwell, who was now become her favourite, was of a considerable family in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents, civil or military, yet he made some noise in the dissensions of the state, and was an opposer of the Reformation. He was a man of profligate manners, had involved his fortune in great debts, and had reduced himself to beggary by his profusion. This nobleman, notwithstanding, had ingratiated himself so far with the queen,

that all her measures were entirely directed by his advice and authority. Reports were even spread of more particular intimacies; and these gave such uneasiness to Darnley, that he left the court, and retired to Glasgow, to be no longer spectator of her supposed excesses. But this was not what the queen aimed at; she was determined upon more ample punishment. Shortly after, all those who wished well to her character, or repose to their country, were extremely pleased, and somewhat surprised, to hear that her tenderness for her husband was revived, and that she had taken a [A. D. 1567. journey to visit him during his sickness. Darnley was so far allured by her behaviour on this occasion, that he resolved to part with her no more; he put himself under her protection, and soon after attended her to Edinburgh, which, it was thought, would be a place more favourable to his declining health. She lived in Holyrood-house; but as the situation of that place was low, and the concourse of persons about the court necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb him in his present infirm state, she fitted up an apartment for him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room under him. It was on the ninth of February that she told him she would pass the night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was to be there celebrated in her presence. But dreadful consequences ensued. About two o'clock in the morning the whole city was much alarmed at hearing a great noise; the house in which Darnley lay was blown up with gunpowder. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence or contusion. No doubt could be entertained that Darnley was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator.

All orders of the state, and the whole body of the people, began to demand justice on the supposed murderer; the queen herself was not entirely exempt from the general suspicion; and papers were privately stuck up every where, accusing her of being an accomplice. Mary, more solicitous to punish others than defend herself, offered rewards for the discovery of those who had spread such reports; but no rewards were offered for the discovery of the murderers. One indiscretion led to another; Bothwell, though accused of being stained with her husband's blood, though universally odious to the people, had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling on a visit to her son, to seize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horse, and to carry her to Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purposes. It was then thought by the people that the measure of his crimes was complete; and that he who was supposed to have murdered the queen's husband, and to have offered violence to her person, could expect no mercy: but they were astonished upon finding, instead of disgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and, to crown all, that he was married to the queen, having divorced his own wife to procure this union.

This was a fatal alliance to Mary; and the people were now wound up by the complication of her follies, to pay very little deference to her authority. The protestant teachers, who had great power, had long borne great animosity towards her; the opinion of her guilt was by their means more widely diffused, and made the deeper impression. The principal nobility met at Stirling; and an association was soon formed for protecting the young prince, and punishing the king's murderers. Lord Hume was the first in arms; and with a body of eight hundred horse, he suddenly surrounded the queen and Bothwell in the castle of Berthwick. They found means, however, to make their escape; and Bothwell, at the head of a few forces, meeting the associators within about six miles of Edinburgh, was obliged to capitulate, while Mary was conducted by the prevailing party in Edinburgh amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace. Thence she was sent a prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of that name, where she suffered all the severities of an unkind keeper, and an upbraiding conscience, with a feeling heart. Bothwell was more fortunate; he fled during the conference, unattended, to Dunbar; and fitting out a few small ships in that port, he subsisted among the Orkneys for some time by piracy. Being pursued

thither, and his domestics taken, who made a full discovery of his crimes, he escaped in an open boat to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years afterwards.

In this situation, Mary was not entirely without protection and friends. Elizabeth, who now saw her rival entirely humbled, began to relent; she reflected on the precarious state of royal grandeur, and the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; she therefore sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton as her ambassador to Scotland, to interpose in the queen's behalf; but the associated lords thought proper to deny him, after several affected delays, all access to Mary's person. However, though he could not confer with her, he procured her the best terms with the rebellious lords that he could; which were, that she should resign the crown in favour of her infant son; that she should nominate the earl of Murray (who had from the beginning testified a hatred to lord Darnley) regent of the kingdom; and, as he was then in France, that she should appoint a council till his arrival. Mary could not think of resigning all power, without a plentiful effusion of tears; but at last signed what was brought to her, even without inspection. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the title of James the Sixth. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindness of the earl of Murray; but even in that respect she was disappointed: the earl, upon his return, instead of comforting her, loaded her with reproaches, which reduced her almost to despair.

A. D. 1568.] The calamities of the great, even though deserved, seldom fail of creating pity, and procuring friends. Mary, by her charms and promises, had engaged a young gentleman, whose name was George Douglas, to assist her in escaping from the place where she was confined: and this he effected, by conveying her in disguise in a small boat, rowed by himself, ashore. It was now that, the news of her enlargement being spread abroad, all the loyalty of the people seemed to revive. As Bothwell was no longer associated in her cause, many of the nobility, who expected to succeed him in favour, signed a bond of association for her defence; and in a few days she saw herself at the head of six thousand men.

The earl of Murray was not slow in assembling his forces; and although his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he boldly took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was decisive in his favour; and he seemed to merit victory by his clemency after the action. Mary, now totally ruined, fled to the southward from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came with a few attendants to the borders of England, where she hoped for protection from Elizabeth, whose late conduct had inspired her with a degree of confidence. With this hope she embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles distant from Carlisle, whence she immediately despatched a messenger to London, craving protection, and desiring liberty to visit the queen. Elizabeth, being informed of her misfortunes and retreat, deliberated for some time upon the proper methods of proceeding, and resolved at last to act in a friendly yet cautious manner. She immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, (sister to the duke of Norfolk,) who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and soon after despatched lord Scrope himself, and sir Francis Knolles, to pay her all possible respect. Notwithstanding these marks of distinction, the queen refused to admit Mary into her presence, until she had cleared her character from the many foul aspersions with which it was stained. It might, perhaps, have been Elizabeth's duty to protect, and not to examine, her royal fugitive. However, she acted entirely under the direction of her council, who observed, that if the crimes of the Scottish princess were really so great as they were represented, the treating her with friendship would but give them a sanction; if she should be found guiltless upon trial, every enterprise which friendship should inspire in her defence, would be considered as laudable and glorious.

Mary was now, though reluctantly, obliged to admit her ancient rival as an umpire in her cause; and the accusation was readily undertaken by Murray the regent, who expected to remove so powerful an assistant as Elizabeth, by

the atrociousness of Mary's offences. This extraordinary conference, respecting the conduct of a foreign queen, was managed at York; three commissioners being appointed by Elizabeth, seven by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent, among whom he himself was included. These conferences were carried on for some time at the place first appointed; but, after a while, Elizabeth, either unwilling to decide, as she would thus give up the power she was now possessed of, or perhaps desirous of throwing all possible light upon Mary's conduct, ordered the commissioners to continue their conferences at Hampton-court, where they were spun out by affected delays. Whatever might have been the cause of protracting this conference in the beginning, is not known; but many of the proofs of Mary's guilt, which were suppressed at York, made their appearance before the board at Hampton-court. Among other proofs, were many letters and sonnets written in Mary's own hand to Bothwell, in which she discovers her knowledge of Darnley's intended murder, and her contrivance to marry Bothwell, by pretending a forced compliance. These papers, it must be owned, are not free from the suspicion of forgery; yet the reasons for their authenticity seem to prevail. However this be, the proofs of Mary's guilt appearing stronger, it was thought proper to engage her advocates to give answers to them; but they, contrary to expectation, refused, alleging that, as Mary was a sovereign princess, she could not be subject to any tribunal; not considering that the aim of this conference was not punishment, but reconciliation; that it was not to try Mary in order to inflict penalties, but to know whether she was worthy of Elizabeth's friendship and protection. Instead of attempting to justify her conduct, the queen of Scots laboured nothing so much as to obtain an interview with Elizabeth, conscious that her insinuations, arts, and address, of all which she was a perfect mistress, would be sufficient to persuade her royal sister, and stand in place of innocence. But as she still persisted in a resolution to make no defence, this demand was finally refused her. She continued, however, to demand Elizabeth's protection; she desired that either she might be assisted in her endeavours to recover her authority, or that liberty should be given her for retiring into France, there to make trial of the friendship of other princes. But Elizabeth, sensible of the danger which attended either of these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her in captivity; and she was accordingly sent to Tutbury castle, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury: there she gave her royal prisoner hopes of one day coming into favour; and that, unless her own obstinacy prevented, an accommodation might at last take place.

But this unhappy woman was fated to nothing but misfortunes; and those hopes of accommodation which she had been taught to expect were still put off by some sinister accident. The factions of her own subjects in Scotland tended not a little to alarm the jealousy of Elizabeth, and increase the rigours of Mary's confinement. The regent of Scotland, who had been long her inveterate enemy, happening to be assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, upon his death the kingdom relapsed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more assembled, and became masters of Edinburgh. They even ventured to approach the borders of England, where they committed some disorders, which called upon the vigilance of Elizabeth to suppress. She quickly sent an army commanded by the earl of Sussex; who, entering Scotland, severely chastised the partisans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his mistress by harbouring English rebels.

But the designs and arts of Elizabeth did not rest here: while she kept up the most friendly correspondence with Mary, and the most warm protestations of sincerity passed between them, she was far from either assisting her cause, or yet from rendering it desperate. It was her interest to keep the factions in Scotland still alive, to restrain the power of that restless and troublesome nation: for this purpose she weakened the reviving party of the queen by tedious negotiations and other arts, and in the mean time procured the earl of Lenox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray.

This attempt, which promised to be favourable to Mary, proved thus unsuccessful, as well as another, which was concerted near the place of her capti-

vity. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer who enjoyed that highest title of nobility in England; and the qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station. Beneficent, affable, and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; and yet, from his moderation, he had never alarmed the jealousy of his sovereign. He was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age to espouse the queen of Scots, her own attractions, as well as his interests, made him desirous of the match. But the obtaining Elizabeth's consent, previous to their nuptials, was considered as a circumstance essential to his aims. While he made almost all the nobility of England confidants to his passion, he never had the prudence, or the courage, to open his full intentions to the queen herself. On the contrary, in order to suppress the surmises that were currently reported, he spoke contemptuously of Mary to Elizabeth; affirmed that his estates in England were of more value than the revenue of the whole kingdom; and declared that, when he amused himself in his own tennis-court at Norwich, he was a more magnificent prince than a Scottish king. This duplicity only served to inflame the queen's suspicions; and, finding that she gave his professions no great degree of credit, he retired from the court in disgust. Repenting, however, soon after this measure, he resolved to return, A. D. 1569.] with a view of regaining the queen's good graces; but on the way he was stopped by a messenger from the queen, and soon committed to the Tower, under the custody of sir Henry Nevil.

But the duke of Norfolk was too much beloved by his partisans in the north, to be confined without an effort made for his release. The earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their intentions to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, and had obtained his promise of men and ammunition. But the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers was not to be eluded: orders were immediately sent for their appearance at court; and now the insurgent lords, perceiving their schemes discovered, were obliged to begin their revolt before matters were entirely prepared for its opening. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they alleged that no injury was intended against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance; but that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove all evil counsellors from about the queen's person, and to restore the duke of Norfolk to his liberty and the queen's favour. Their number amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But they soon found themselves miserably undeceived; the queen's conduct had acquired the general good-will of the people, and she now perceived that her surest support was the justice of her actions. The duke of Norfolk himself, for whose sake they had revolted, used every method that his circumstances would permit, to assist and support the queen; the insurgents were obliged to retire before her forces to Hexham; and, hearing that reinforcements were upon their march to join the royal army, they found no other expedient but to disperse themselves without a blow. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and was confined by the regent in the castle of Lochleven: Westmoreland, after attempting to excite the Scots to revolt, was obliged to escape into Flanders, where he found protection. This rebellion was followed by another, led on by Leonard Dacres, but with as little success. Some severities were used against these revolters; and it is said that no less than eight hundred persons suffered by the hands of the executioner on this occasion. The queen was so well pleased with the duke's behaviour, that she now A. D. 1570.] released him from the Tower, and allowed him to return home, only exacting a promise from him, not to proceed any farther in his pretensions to the queen of Scots.

But the queen's confidence was fatal to this brave but undesigning nobleman. He had scarcely been released a year, when new projects were set on foot by the enemies of the queen and the reformed religion, secretly fomented by Rodolphi, an instrument of the court of Rome, and the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England. It was concerted by them that Norfolk should renew his designs upon Mary, to which it was probable he was prompted by passion; and this nobleman entering into their schemes, he, from being at

first only ambitious, now became criminal. It was mutually agreed, therefore, that the duke should enter into all Mary's interests; while, [A. D. 1571. on the other hand, the duke of Alva promised to transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to join Norfolk as soon as he should be ready to begin. This scheme was so secretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of her secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was found out merely by accident; for the duke, having sent a sum of money to lord Herries, one of Mary's partisans in Scotland, omitted trusting the servant with the contents of his message; and he finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger sum than the duke mentioned to him, began to mistrust some plot, and brought the money, with the duke's letter, to the secretary of state. It was by the artifices of that great statesman that the duke's servants were brought to make a full confession of their master's guilt; and the bishop of Ross soon after, finding the whole discovered, did not scruple to confirm their testimony. The duke was instantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously [A. D. 1572. passed sentence upon him; and the queen, four months after, reluctantly signed the warrant for his execution. He died with great calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. A few months after, the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up by the regent, underwent a similar trial, and was brought to the scaffold for his rebellion. All these ineffectual struggles in favour of the unfortunate queen of Scots seemed only to rivet the chains of her confinement; and she now found relief only in the resources of her own mind, which distress had contributed to soften, refine, and improve. Henceforth she continued for many years a precarious dependant on Elizabeth's suspicions; and only waited for some new effort of her adherents, to receive that fate which political and not merciful motives seemed to suspend.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ELIZABETH, (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1572 to 1603.

Having thus far attended the queen of Scotland, whose conduct and misfortunes make such a distinguished figure in this reign, we now return to some transactions, prior in point of time, but of less consideration.

In the beginning of this reign, the Huguenots, or reformed party in France, were obliged to call in the protection of the English; and in order to secure their confidence, as they were possessed of the greatest part of Normandy, they offered (in 1562) to put Havre de Grace into the queen's hands; a proffer which she immediately accepted. She wisely considered, that, as that port commanded the mouth of the river Seine, it was of much greater importance than Calais; and she could thus have the French still in her power. Accordingly three thousand English took possession of Havre, under the command of sir Adrian Poinings; and an equal number landed at Dieppe. The latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was soon abandoned: but Havre was retained until the summer of the following year. It was fiercely assaulted by the French: but it felt a severer enemy within its walls; for the plague had made its way into the town, and committed such havock among the soldiers, that a hundred were commonly seen to die of it in one day. The garrison being thus dispirited, and diminished to fifteen hundred men, finding the French indefatigable in their approaches, were obliged to capitulate; and thus the English lost all hopes of making another establishment in the kingdom of France. This misfortune was productive of one still more dreadful to the nation; for the English army carried back the plague with them to London, which made such ravages, that twenty thousand persons died there in one year.

This, if we except the troubles raised upon the account of Mary, seems to have been the only disaster that, for thirty years, contributed to disturb the

peace of this reign. Elizabeth, ever vigilant, active, and resolute, attended to the slightest alarms, and repressed them before they were capable of producing their effect. Her frugality kept her independent, and her dissimulation made her beloved. The opinion of the royal prerogative was such, that her commands were obeyed as statutes; and she took care that her parliament should never venture to circumscribe her power. In her schemes of government she was assisted by lord Burleigh, and sir Nicholas Bacon, two of the most able ministers that ever directed the affairs of England; but while she committed to them all the drudgery of duty, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, engrossed all her favour, and secured all the avenues to preferment. All requests were made through him; and nothing given away without his consent and approbation. His merits, however, were by no means adequate to his successes; he was weak, vain, and boastful; but these qualities did no injury to the state, as his two coadjutors were willing, while he maintained all the splendour of office, to secure to themselves the more solid emoluments.

During this peaceable and uniform government, England furnishes few materials for history. While France was torn with internal convulsions; while above ten thousand of the Huguenots were massacred in one night, in cool blood, on the feast of St. Bartholemew, at Paris; while the inhabitants of the Low Countries had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and were bravely vindicating their rights and their religion; while all the rest of Europe were teeming with plots, seditions, and cruelty; the English, under their wise queen, were enjoying all the benefits of peace, extending commerce, improving manufactures, and setting an example of arts and learning to all the rest of the world. Except the small part, therefore, which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

There had for some time arisen disgusts between the court of England and that of Spain. Elizabeth's rejection of the suit of Philip might probably have given rise to these disgusts; and Mary's claiming the protection of that monarch tended to widen the breach. This began, as usual, on each side, with petty hostilities: the Spaniards, on their part, had sent into Ireland a body of seven hundred of their nation and Italians, who built a fort there; but were soon after cut off to a man, by lord Grey. On the other hand, the English, under the conduct of sir Francis Drake, assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure—in the New World. This was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe; and the queen was so well pleased with his valour and success, that she accepted a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage.

In this manner, while hostilities were daily multiplying between Spain and England, and while the power of Spain, and the monarch's inclinations, were very formidable to the queen, she began to look out for an alliance that might support her against such a dangerous adversary. The duke of Anjou had long made pretensions to Elizabeth; and though she was near twenty-five years older than that prince, he took the resolution to prefer his suit in person, and paid her a visit in secret at Greenwich. It appears that, though his figure was not advantageous, his address was pleasing. The queen ordered her ministers to fix the terms of the contract; a day was appointed for the solemnization of the nuptials, and every thing seemed to speak an approaching union. But Elizabeth could not be induced, as that event appeared to approach, to change her condition; she was doubtful, irresolute, and melancholy; she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep, till at last her settled habits of prudence prevailed over her ambition, and the duke of Anjou was dismissed.

The queen, thus depriving herself of a foreign ally, looked for approbation and assistance from her own subjects at home. Yet even here she was not without numberless enemies, who either hated her for religion, or envied her for success. There were several conspiracies formed against her life, many of which were imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots: at least it is certain that her name was used in all. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the peer who had been beheaded some years before, and

Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots; and shortly after confessing his guilt, he was condemned and executed. Soon after, William Parry, a catholic gentleman, who had on a former occasion received the queen's pardon, was found engaged in a desperate conspiracy to assassinate his sovereign and benefactor. He had consulted upon the justice and expediency of this vile measure both with the pope's nuncio and legate, who exhorted him to persevere in his resolution, and extremely applauded his design. He therefore associated himself with one Nevil, who entered zealously into the plan; and it was determined to shoot the queen, while she was taking the air on horseback. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and, as Nevil was next heir to the family, he began to entertain hopes, that, by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt both to them, and to the jury who tried him. He was shortly after condemned and executed.

These attempts, which were entirely set on foot by the catholic party, served to increase the severity of the laws against them. Popish priests were banished; those who harboured or relieved them were declared guilty of felony; and many were executed in consequence of this severe edict. Nor was the queen of Scots herself without some share of the punishment. She was removed from the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who had always been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise; and she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Paulet, and sir Drue Drury, men of honour, but inflexible and rigid in their care and attention.

These conspiracies served to prepare the way for Mary's ruin, whose greatest misfortunes proceeded rather from the violence of her friends than the malignity of her enemies. Elizabeth's ministers had long been waiting [A. D. 1586. for some signal instance of the captive queen's enmity, which they could easily convert into treason; and this was not long wanting. John Ballard, a popish priest, who had been bred in the English seminary at Rheims, resolved to compass the death of a queen whom he considered as the enemy of his religion; and, with that gloomy resolution, he came over into England in the disguise of a soldier, with the assumed name of captain Fortescue. He bent his endeavours to bring about at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion. The first person he addressed himself to was Anthony Babington, of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and possessed of a very plentiful fortune. This person had been long remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cause, and his attachment to the captive queen. He, therefore, came readily into the plot, and procured the concurrence and assistance of some other associates in this dangerous undertaking; Barnwell, a person of a noble family in Ireland; Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire; Abington, whose father had been officer to the household; and, chief of all, John Savage, a man of desperate fortune, who had served in the Low Countries, and came into England under a vow to destroy the queen. He indeed did not seem to desire any associate in the bold enterprise, and refused for some time to permit any to share with him in what he esteemed his greatest glory. He challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty that he was induced to depart from his preposterous ambition. The next step was to apprise Mary of the conspiracy formed in her favour; and this they effected by conveying their letters to her (by means of a brewer that supplied the family with ale) through a chink in the wall of her apartment. In these, Babington informed her of a design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends, who, from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cause and her majesty's service, would undertake the tragical execution. To these Mary replied, that she approved highly of the

design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, previous to any farther attempts either for her deliverance or the intended insurrection.

Such was the scheme laid by the conspirators; and nothing seemed so certain as its secrecy and its success. But they were all miserably deceived; the active and sagacious ministers of Elizabeth were privy to it in every stage of its growth, and only retarded their discovery till the meditated guilt was ripe for punishment and conviction. Ballard was actually attended by one Maude, a catholic priest, who was a spy in pay with Walsingham, secretary of state. One Polly, another of his spies, had found means to insinuate himself among the conspirators, and to give an exact account of their proceedings. Soon after, one Giffard, a priest, came over, and, discovering the whole conspiracy to the bottom, made a tender of his service to Walsingham. It was he that procured the letters to be conveyed through the wall to the queen, and received her answers; but he had always taken care to shew them to the secretary of state, who had them deciphered, and took copies of them all.

The plot being thus ripe for execution, and the evidence against the conspirators incontestable, Walsingham resolved to suspend their punishment no longer. A warrant was accordingly issued out for the apprehending of Ballard; and this giving the alarm to Babington and the rest of the conspirators, they covered themselves with various disguises, and endeavoured to keep themselves concealed. But they were soon discovered, thrown into prison, and brought to trial. In their examination, they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed, seven of whom died acknowledging their crime.

The execution of these wretched men only prepared the way for one of still greater importance, in which a captive queen was to submit to the unjust decisions of those who had no right but that of power, to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the unfortunate Mary was so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. But her astonishment was equal to her anguish, when sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of her unhappy confederates. She was at that time mounted on horseback, going to hunt; and was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire, where the last scene of her miserable tragedy was to be performed.

The council of England was divided in opinion about the measures to be taken against the queen of Scots. Some members proposed, that, as her health was very infirm, her life might be shortened by close confinement; and the earl of Leicester advised that she should be despatched by poison; but the majority insisted on her being put to death by legal process. Accordingly a commission was issued for forty-one peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence upon Mary daughter and heir of James the Fifth, king of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France.

Thirty-six of these commissioners, arriving at the castle of Fotheringay, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial for her late conspiracy. Mary perused the letter with great composure, and, as she had long foreseen the danger that hung over her, received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, that she wondered the queen of England should command her as a subject, who was an independent sovereign, and a queen like herself. She would never, she said, stoop to any condescension which would lessen her dignity, or prejudice the claims of her posterity. The laws of England, she observed, were unknown to her; she was destitute of counsel; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers, as she had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that, instead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, which she had hoped to obtain, she had been confined in prison ever since her arrival in the kingdom;

so that she derived neither benefit nor security from them. When the commissioners pressed her to submit to the queen's pleasure, otherwise they would proceed against her as contumacious, she declared she would rather suffer a thousand deaths than own herself a subject to any prince on earth: that, however, she was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament; as, for aught she knew, this meeting of commissioners was devised against her life on purpose to take it away with a pretext of justice. She exhorted them to consult their own consciences, and to remember that the theatre of the world was much more extensive than that of the kingdom of England. At length the vice-chamberlain Hatton vanquished her objections, by representing that she injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the satisfaction of all mankind. This observation made such an impression upon her, that she agreed to plead, if they would admit and allow her protest, of disallowing all subjection. This, however, they refused; but they satisfied her, by entering it upon record; and thus they proceeded to a trial.

The principal charge against her was urged by sergeant [Oct. 14, 1586.
Gawdy, who accused her of knowing, approving, and consenting to, Babington's conspiracy. This charge was supported by Babington's confession; by the copies which were taken of their correspondence, in which her approbation of the queen's murder was expressly declared; by the evidence of her own secretaries, Nau a Frenchman, and Curle a Scotchman, who swore that she received the letters of that conspirator, and that they had answered them by her orders. These allegations were corroborated by the testimony of Ballard and Savage, to whom Babington had shewn some letters, declaring them to have come from the captive queen. To these charges Mary made a sensible and resolute defence; she said Babington's confession was extorted by his fears of the torture; which was really the case: she alleged that the letters were forgeries; and she defied her secretaries to persist in their evidence, if brought into her presence. She owned, indeed, that she had used her best endeavours to recover her liberty, which was only pursuing the dictates of nature; but as for harbouring a thought against the life of the queen, she treated the idea with horror. In a letter which was read during the trial, mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers. On hearing their names, she shed a flood of tears, exclaiming, "Alas! what hath the noble house of Howard endured for my sake!" She took occasion also to observe, that this letter might have been a base contrivance of Walsingham, who had frequently practised both against her life and that of her son. Walsingham, thus accused, rose up, and protested that his heart was free from malice; that he had never done any thing unbecoming an honest man in his private capacity, nor aught unworthy of the place he occupied in the state. Mary declared herself satisfied of his innocence, and begged he would give as little credit to the malicious accusations of her enemies, as she now gave to the reports which she had heard to his prejudice.

Whatever might have been this queen's offences, it is certain that her treatment was very severe. She desired to be put in possession of such notes as she had taken preparative to her trial; but this was refused her. She demanded a copy of her protest; but her request was not complied with: she even required an advocate to plead her cause against so many learned lawyers as had undertaken to urge her accusations; but all her demands were rejected; and, after an adjournment of some days, sentence of death was pronounced against her in the Star-chamber in Westminster, all the commissioners except two being present. At the same time a declaration was published by the commissioners, implying, that the sentence against her did in no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland, son to the attainted queen.

Though the condemnation of a sovereign princess at a tribunal to which she owed no subjection, was an injustice that must strike the most inattentive, yet the parliament of England did not fail to approve the sen- [Oct. 29, 1586.
tence, and to go still farther, in presenting an address to the queen, desiring that it might speedily be put into execution. But Elizabeth still felt, or pretended to feel, a horror for such precipitate severity. She entreated the two

houses to find some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking a step so repugnant to her inclination. But at the same time she seemed to dread another conspiracy to assassinate her within a month; which probably was only an artifice of her ministers to increase her apprehensions, and, consequently, her desire of being rid of a rival that had given her so much disturbance. The parliament, however, reiterated their solicitations, arguments, and entreaties; and even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects, and her children. Elizabeth affected to continue inflexible, but at the same time permitted Mary's sentence to be made public; and lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk to the council, were sent to the unhappy queen to apprise her of the sentence, and of the popular clamour for its speedy execution.

Upon receiving this dreadful information, Mary seemed no way moved; but insisted, that since her death was demanded by the protestants, she died a martyr to the catholic religion. She said, that as the English often embrued their hands in the blood of their own sovereigns, it was not to be wondered at that they exercised their cruelty towards her. She wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, not demanding her life, which she now seemed willing to part with, but desiring that, after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body might be consigned to her servants, and conveyed to France, there to repose in a catholic country, with the sacred remains of her mother.

In the mean time, accounts of this extraordinary sentence were spread into all parts of Europe; and the king of France was among the foremost who attempted to avert the threatened blow. He sent over Believre as an extraordinary ambassador, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her son, was, as in duty obliged, still more pressing in her behalf. He despatched Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, and mixing threats of vengeance in case of a refusal. Elizabeth treated his remonstrances with the utmost indignation; and when the Scottish ambassador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, the queen answered with great emotion, "No, not for an hour." Thus Elizabeth, when solicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, seemed always disposed to proceed to extremities against her; but when her ministers urged her to strike the blow, her scruples and her reluctance seemed to return.

Whether the queen was really sincere in her reluctance to execute Mary, is a question which, though usually given against her, I will not take upon me to determine. Certainly there were great arts used by her courtiers to determine her to the side of severity, as they had every thing to fear from the resentment of Mary, in case of her succeeding to the throne. Accordingly, the kingdom was now filled with rumours of plots, treasons, and insurrections; and the queen was continually kept in alarm by fictitious dangers. She therefore appeared to be in great terror and perplexity; she was observed to sit much alone, and to mutter to herself half-sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. In this situation she one day called her secretary, Davidson, whom she ordered to draw out secretly the warrant for Mary's execution, informing him, that she intended to keep it by her in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess. She signed the warrant, and then commanded it to be carried to the chancellor to have the seal affixed to it. Next morning, however, she sent two gentlemen successively to desire that Davidson would not go to the chancellor, until she should see him; but the secretary telling her that the warrant had been already sealed, she seemed displeased at his precipitation. Davidson, who probably wished to see the sentence executed, laid the affair before the council, who unanimously resolved, that the warrant should be immediately put in execution, and promised to justify Davidson to the queen. Accordingly, the fatal instrument was delivered to Beale, who summoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, namely, the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland; and these together set out for Fotheringay castle, accompanied by two executioners, to despatch their bloody commission.

Mary heard of the arrival of her executioners, who ordered her to prepare for death by eight o'clock the next morning. Without any alarm, she heard the death-warrant read with her usual composure, though she could not help expressing her surprise, that the queen of England should consent to her execution. She even abjured her being privy to any conspiracy against Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Testament, which happened to lie on the table. She desired that her confessor might be permitted to attend her; which, however, these zealots refused. After the earls had retired, she ate sparingly at supper, while she comforted her attendants (who continued weeping and lamenting the fate of their mistress) with a cheerful countenance, telling them they ought not to mourn, but to rejoice, at the prospect of her speedy deliverance from a world of misery. Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them; they pledged her in order on their knees, and craved her pardon for any past neglect of duty. She craved mutual forgiveness; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn separation.

After this she reviewed her will, and perused the inventory of her effects. These she bequeathed to different individuals, and divided her money among her domestics, recommending them in letters to the king of France and the duke of Guise. Then going to bed at her usual hour, she passed part of the night in uninterrupted repose, and, rising, spent the remainder in prayer and acts of devotion. Towards morning, she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved for this solemn occasion. Thomas Andrews, the under sheriff of the county, then entering [Feb. 8, 1587. the room, informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and, bidding her servants farewell, she proceeded, supported by two of her guards, and followed the sheriff with a serene composed aspect, with a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, sir Andrew Melvil, master of her household, fell upon his knees, and, shedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland. "Lament not," said she, "but rather rejoice. Mary Stuart will soon be freed from all her cares. Tell my friends that I die constant in my religion, and firm in my affection and fidelity to Scotland and France. God forgive them that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the hart panteth for the water-brook! Thou, O God, who art truth itself, and perfectly understandest the inmost thoughts of my heart, knowest how greatly I have desired that the realms of Scotland and England might be united. Commend me to my son, and assure him I have done nothing prejudicial to the state or the crown of Scotland. Admonish him to persevere in amity and friendship with the queen of England; and, for thy own part, do him faithful service. And so, good Melvil, farewell; once again farewell, good Melvil, and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and thy mistress." In this place she was received by the four noblemen, who with great difficulty were prevailed upon to allow Melvil, with her physician, apothecary, and two female attendants, to be present at her execution. She then passed (the noblemen and the sheriff going before, and Melvil bearing up her train) into another hall, where was a scaffold erected, and covered with black. As soon as she was seated, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution. Then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, standing without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which she desired him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with spectators, who beheld her with pity and distress, while her beauty, though dimmed by age and affliction, gleamed through her sufferings, and was still remarkable in this fatal moment. The earl of Kent, observing that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her, exhorting her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched for the sufferings of him whom it represented. She now began, with the aid of her two women, to undress for the block; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said that she was not accustomed to

undress herself before so large a company, or to be attended by such servants. Her women bursting into tears and loud exclamations of sorrow, she turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and, having given them her blessing, desired their prayers in return. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she hoped forgiveness of her Maker; and once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were then covered with a linen handkerchief; she laid herself down without any fear or trepidation; and when she had recited a psalm, and repeated a pious ejaculation, her head was severed from her body at two strokes. The executioner instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The earl of Kent replied Amen, while the rest of the spectators wept and sighed at this affecting spectacle; for flattery and zeal alike gave place to stronger and better emotions. Thus died Mary, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity—a princess unmatched in beauty, and unequalled in misfortunes. In contemplating the contentions of mankind, we find almost ever both sides culpable: Mary, who was stained with crimes that deserved punishment, was put to death by a princess who had no right to inflict punishment on her equal.

It is difficult to be certain of the true state of Elizabeth's mind, when she received the first account of the death of Mary. Historians in general are willing to ascribe the extreme sorrow she testified on that occasion to falsehood and deep dissimulation. But where is the necessity of ascribing to bad motives, what seems to proceed from a more generous source! There is nothing more certain than that, upon hearing the news, she testified the utmost surprise and indignation. Her countenance changed, her speech faltered and failed her, and she stood fixed for a long time in mute astonishment. When the first burst of sorrow was over, she still persisted in her resentment against her ministers, none of whom dared to approach her. She committed Davidson to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the star-chamber for his misdemeanour. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; in consequence of which he remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to want and beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. It is likely, therefore, that Elizabeth was sincere enough in her anger for the fate of Mary, as it was an event likely to brand her reign with the character of cruelty; and though she might have desired her rival's death, yet she must certainly have been shocked at the manner of it.

But the uneasiness the queen felt from this disagreeable forwardness of her ministry was soon lost in one much greater. Philip, who had long meditated the destruction of England, and whose extensive power gave him grounds to hope for success, now began to put his projects into execution. The point on which he rested his glory, and perpetual object of his schemes, was to support the catholic religion, and to exterminate the Reformation. The revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands inflamed his resentment against the English, as they had encouraged that insurrection, and assisted the revolters. He had, therefore, for some time been making preparations to attack England by a powerful invasion; and now every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and every art was used to levy supplies for that great design. The marquis of Santa Cruz, a sea officer of great reputation and A. D. 1588.] experience, was destined to command the fleet, which consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of a greater size than any that had been hitherto seen in Europe. The duke of Parma was to conduct the soldiers, twenty thousand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious to share in the honour of this great enterprise. Don Amadeus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Gonzaga duke of Sabionetta, and others, hastened to join this great equipment; no doubt was entertained of its success, and it was ostentatiously styled the Invincible Armada. It carried on board,

beside the land forces, eight thousand four hundred mariners, two thousand galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months, and was attended with twenty smaller ships, called caravels, and ten salves.

Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which all ranks of people felt in England, upon the news of this terrible Armada being under sail to invade them. A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea; and as for resisting by land, that was supposed to be impossible, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined, and long inured to danger. The queen alone seemed undismayed in this threatening calamity: she issued all her orders with tranquillity; animated her people to a steady resistance; and the more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, she appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the soldiers to their duty, and promising to share the same dangers and the same fate with them. "I myself," cried she, "will be your general, your judge, and the rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. Your alacrity has already deserved its rewards; and, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. Persevere then in your obedience to command; shew your valour in the field; and we shall soon have a glorious victory over those enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my people." The soldiers with shouts proclaimed their ardour, and only wished to be led on to conquest.

Nor were her preparations by sea driven on with less alacrity: although the English fleet was much inferior in number and size of shipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, as lord admiral, took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him; while a small squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, commanded by lord Henry Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. This was the preparation made by the English; while all the protestant powers of Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion.

While the Spanish Armada was preparing to sail, the admiral, Santa Cruz, died, as likewise the vice-admiral Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the duke de Medina Sidonia, a person utterly inexperienced in sea affairs; and this, in some measure, served to frustrate the design. But some other accidents also contributed to its failure. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the Armada next day met with a violent tempest, which sunk some of the smallest of the shipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into harbour. After some time spent in refitting, they again put to sea, where they took a fisherman, who gave them intelligence that the English fleet, hearing of the dispersion of the Armada in a storm, had retired into Plymouth harbour, and that most of the mariners were discharged. From this false intelligence, the Spanish admiral, instead of going directly to the coast of Flanders to take in the troops stationed there, as he had been instructed, resolved to sail to Plymouth, and destroy the shipping laid up in that harbour. But Effingham, the English admiral, was very well prepared to receive them; he had just weighed anchor, when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a half moon, and stretching seven miles from one extremity to the other. However, the English admiral, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, attacked the Armada at a distance, pouring in their broadsides with admirable dexterity. They did not choose to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior in the number of ships, guns, and weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board such lofty ships without manifest disadvantage. However, two Spanish gallcons were disabled and taken. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English still followed and infested its rear; and their fleet continually increasing from different ports, they soon found themselves in a capacity to attack the Spaniards more nearly; and accordingly fell upon them while they were taking shelter in the port of Calais. To increase their confusion, Howard took eight

of his smaller ships, and, filling them with combustible materials, sent them, as if they had been fire-ships, one after the other, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards, taking them for what they seemed to be, immediately took flight in great disorder; while the English, profiting by their panic, took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy's ships.

This was a fatal blow to Spain: the duke de Medina Sidonia, being thus driven to the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved that, as their ammunition began to fail, as their ships had received great damage, and as the duke of Parma had refused to venture his army under their protection, they should return to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to his passage directly back. Accordingly they proceeded northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly shattered by a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having five thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away upon the Western Isles, and the coast of Ireland. Of the whole Armada, three-and-fifty ships only returned to Spain, in a miserable condition: and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, only served, by their accounts, to intimidate their countrymen from attempting to renew so dangerous an expedition.

These disasters of the Spanish Armada served only to excite the spirit and courage of the English to attempt invasions in their turn. It would be endless to relate all the advantages obtained over the enemy at sea, where the capture of every ship must have been made a separate narrative; or their various descents upon different parts of the coast, which were attended with effects too transient for the page of history. It is sufficient to observe, that the sea-captains of that reign are still considered as the boldest and most enterprising set of men that England ever produced; and among this number we reckon our Raleigh and Howard, our Drake, our Cavendish, and Hawkins. The English navy then began to take the lead, and has since continued irresistible in all parts of the ocean.

Of those who made the most signal figure in these depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of great bravery, generosity, and genius; and fitted, not only for the foremost ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and address. But, with all these endowments both of body and mind, he wanted prudence; being impetuous, haughty, and totally incapable of advice or control. The earl of Leicester had died some time before, and now left room in the queen's affections for a new favourite, which she was not long in choosing, since the merit, the bravery, and the popularity of Essex, were too great not to engage her attention. Elizabeth, though she rejected a husband, yet appeared always passionately desirous of a lover; and flattery had rendered her so insensible to her want of beauty, and the depredations of age, that she still thought herself as powerful by her personal accomplishments as by her authority. The new favourite was young, active, ambitious, witty, and handsome; in the field, and at court, he always appeared with superior lustre. In all the masques which were then performed, he and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although she was older by thirty-four years than the earl, her vanity overlooked the disparity; the world told her that she was young, and she herself was willing to think so. This young earl's interest in the queen's affections, as may naturally be supposed, promoted his interest in the state; and he conducted all things at his discretion. But, young and inexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the popularity he possessed, and the flatteries he received, were given to his merits, and not to his favour. His jealousy also of lord Burleigh, who was his only rival in power, made him still more intractable; and the many successes he had obtained against the Spaniards, increased his confidence. In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner; which so provoked her resentment, that she instantly gave him a box on the ear. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore he would not bear such usage

even from her father. This offence, though very great, was overlooked by the queen; her partiality was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour, and her kindness seemed to have acquired new force [A. D. 1599. from that short interruption of anger and resentment. The death also of his rival lord Burleigh, which happened shortly after, seemed to confirm his power.

But though few men were possessed of Essex's talents both for war and peace, yet he had not art enough to guard against the intrigues of a court; his temper was too candid and open, and gave his enemies many advantages over him. At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland; who, not yet thoroughly brought into subjection to the English, took every opportunity of making incursions upon the more civilized inhabitants, and slew all they were able to overpower. To subdue these, was an employment that the earl thought worthy of his ambition; nor were his enemies displeased at thus removing a man from court, who obstructed all their private aims of preferment: But it ended in his ruin.

Essex, upon entering on his new command in Ireland, em- [A. D. 1599. ployed his friend, the earl of Southampton, who was long obnoxious to the queen, as general of horse; nor was it till after repeated orders from Elizabeth that he could be prevailed on to displace him. This indiscretion was followed by another: instead of attacking the insurgents in their grand retreat in Ulster, he led his forces into the province of Munster, where he only exhausted his strength, and lost his opportunity, against a people that submitted at his approach, but took up arms again when he retired. It may easily be supposed that these miscarriages were urged by the enemies of Essex at home; but they had still greater reason to attack his reputation, when it was known that, instead of humbling the rebels, he had only treated with them, and, instead of forcing them to a submission, had concluded a cessation of hostilities. This issue of an enterprise from which much was expected, did not fail to provoke the queen most sensibly; and her anger was heightened by the peevish and impatient letters which he wrote to her and the council. But her resentment against him was still more justly let loose, when she found that, leaving the place of his appointment, without any permission demanded or obtained, he had returned from Ireland to make his complaints to herself in person.

At first, indeed, Elizabeth was pleased at seeing a favourite come back whom she longed to see; but the momentary satisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, she reflected on the impropriety of his conduct with greater severity, and ordered him to remain a prisoner at his own house. This was a reception Essex was not unprepared for: he used every expression of humiliation and sorrow, and tried once more the long-unpractised arts of insinuation that had brought him into favour. The queen still continuing inflexible, he resolved to give up every prospect of ambition; but previous to his retiring into the country, he assured the queen that he should never be happy till he again saw those eyes which were used to shine upon him with such lustre; that, in expectance of that happy moment, he would, like another Nebuchadnezzar, dwell with the beasts of the field, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till she again propitiously took pity on his sufferings. This romantic message, which was quite in the breeding of the times, seemed peculiarly pleasing to the queen: she thought him sincere, from the consciousness of her own sincerity; she therefore replied, that, after some time, when convinced of his sincerity, something might be expected from her lenity. When these symptoms of her returning affection were known, they equally renewed the fears of his real enemies and the assiduities of his pretended friends. He did not therefore decline an examination of his conduct before the council, secure in his mistress's favour, and their impotence to do him a real injury. In consequence of this he was only sentenced, for his late misconduct, to resign his employments, and to continue a prisoner in his own house, till her majesty's farther pleasure should be known.

He now had in some measure triumphed over his enemies; [A. D. 1600. and the discretion of a few months might have reinstated him in all his former employments; but the impetuosity of his character would not suffer him to

wait for a slow redress of what he considered as wrongs; and the queen's refusing his request to continue him in the possession of a lucrative monopoly of sweet wines, which he had long enjoyed, spurred him on to the most violent and guilty measures. Having long built with fond credulity on his great popularity, he began to hope, from the assistance of the giddy multitude, for that revenge upon his enemies in the council, which he supposed was denied him from the throne. With these aims, he began to increase the general propensity in his favour, by a hospitality little suited to his situation or his circumstances. He entertained men of all ranks and professions; but particularly the military, who, he hoped, in his present views, might be serviceable to him. But his greatest dependence was upon the professions of the citizens of London, whose schemes of religion and government he appeared entirely to approve; and while he gratified the puritans by railing at the government of the church, he pleased the envious by exposing the faults of those in power. However, the chief severity of his censure was heard to rest upon the queen, whom he did not hesitate to ridicule; and of whom he declared that she was now become an old woman, and that her mind was grown as crooked as her body.

A. D. 1601.] It may well be supposed that none of these indiscretions were concealed from the queen: his enemies, and her emissaries, took care to bring her information of all his resentments and aims, and to aggravate his slightest reflections into treason. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous where her beauty was in question; and, though she was now in her sixty-eighth year, yet she eagerly listened to all the flattery of her courtiers, when they called her a Venus, or an angel. She therefore began to consider him as unworthy of her esteem, and permitted his enemies to drive him to those extremities to which he was naturally inclined to proceed. He had, in fact, by this time collected a select council of malcontents, who flattered him in his wild projects; and, supposing their adherents much more numerous than they really were, they took no pains to conceal their intentions. Among other criminal projects, the result of blind rage and despair, they resolved at last that sir Christopher Blount, one of his creatures, should, with a choice detachment, possess himself of the palace-gates; that sir John Davies should seize the hall, sir Charles Davers the guard-chamber, while Essex himself would rush from the Mews, attended by a body of his partisans, into the queen's presence, entreat her to remove his and her enemies, to assemble a new parliament, and to correct the defects of the present administration.

It was the fortune of this queen's reign, that all projects against it were frustrated by a timely notice of their nature and intent. The queen and council, alarmed at the great resort of people to Essex-house, and having some intimations of the earl's design, sent secretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, which was assembled at the lord-keeper's. While Essex was deliberating upon the manner in which he should proceed, whether to attend the summons or to fly into open rebellion, he received a private note, by which he was warned to provide for his safety. He now, therefore, consulted with his friends on the emergency of their situation; they were destitute of arms and ammunition, while the guards at the palace were doubled, so that any attack upon it would be fruitless. While he and his confidants were in consultation, a person probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendship and assistance against all his adversaries. Wild as the project was of raising the city, in the present terrible conjuncture, it was resolved on; but the execution of it was delayed till the day following.

Early in the morning of the next day he was attended by his friends the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandys, Parker, and Monteagle, with three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked, to prevent all strangers from entering; and the earl now discovered his scheme for raising the city more fully to all the conspirators. In the mean time, sir Walter Raleigh sending a message to sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames, and there discovered all their proceedings. The queen, being informed of the whole, sent in the utmost haste Egerton, the lord-keeper, sir William Knollys,

the comptroller, Popham, the lord chief justice, and the earl of Worcester, to Essex-house, to demand the cause of these unusual proceedings. It was some time before they received admittance through the wicket into the house; and it was not without some degree of fury that they ordered Essex and his adherents to lay down their arms. While they continued undaunted in the discharge of their duty, and the multitude round them clamoured loudly for their punishment, the earl of Essex, who now saw that all was to be hazarded, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to sally forth to make an insurrection in the city. But he had made a very wrong estimate in expecting that popularity alone could aid him in time of danger; he issued out with about two hundred followers, armed only with swords; and in his passage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford, and lord Cromwell. As he passed through the streets, he cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" hoping to engage the populace to rise: but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houses; so that he was not joined by a single person. He then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he greatly depended; but the crowd gathered round him, rather to satisfy their curiosity than to lend him any assistance. Essex now perceived that he was quite undone; and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, he began to think of retreating to his own house, there to sell his life as dearly as he could. But he was prevented in his aims even there; the streets in his way were barricaded, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of sir John Levison. In fighting his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman for whom he had a singular affection, was killed, and sir Christopher Blount wounded and taken. The earl himself, attended by a few of his followers, the rest having privately retired, made towards the river; and, taking a boat, arrived once more at Essex-house, where he began to make preparations for his defence. But his case was too desperate for any remedy from valour; wherefore, after demanding in vain for hostages and conditions from his besiegers, he surrendered at discretion, requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.

Essex and Southampton were immediately carried to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the nineteenth of February. Little could be urged in their defence; their guilt was too flagrant; and, though it deserved pity, it could not meet an acquittal. Essex, after condemnation, was visited by that religious horror which seemed to attend him in all his disgraces. He was terrified almost to despair by the ghostly remonstrances of his own chaplain; he was reconciled to his enemies, and made a full confession of his conspiracy. It was alleged upon this occasion that he had strong hopes of pardon, from the irresolution which the queen seemed to discover before she signed the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring, which she desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature, and that it should procure his safety and protection. This ring was actually sent to her by the countess of Nottingham, who, being a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth was secretly fired at his obstinacy in making no applications for mercy and forgiveness. The fact is, she appeared herself as much an object of pity as the unfortunate nobleman she was induced to condemn. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave her consent to his execution, and was never seen to enjoy one happy day more.

After the beheading of Essex, which death he suffered in the thirty-fifth year of his age, some of his associates were brought in like manner to their trials. Cuffe, his secretary, a turbulent man, but possessed of great learning, Davers, Blount, and Meric, were condemned and executed; the queen pardoned the rest, being persuaded that they were culpable only from their friendship to their benefactor.

The remaining events of this reign are not considerable enough to come into a picture already crowded with great ones. With the death of her favourite Essex, all Elizabeth's pleasures seemed to expire: she afterwards went

through the business of the state merely from habit; but her satisfactions were no more. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable to remove. She had now found out the falsehood of the countess of Nottingham; who, on her death-bed, sent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumstance of the ring, which she had neglected to deliver. This information only served to awaken all that passion which the queen had vainly endeavoured to suppress. She shook the dying countess in her bed, crying out, that "God might pardon her, but she never would." She then broke from her, and resigned herself to the dictates of her fixed despair. Mar. 24, 1606.] She refused food and sustenance; she continued silent and gloomy; sighs and groans were the only vent she gave to her despondence; and she lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her. Perhaps the faculties of her mind were impaired by long and violent exercise; perhaps she reflected with remorse on some past actions of her life, or perceived but too strongly the decays of nature, and the approach of her dissolution. She saw her courtiers remitting their assiduity to her, in order to pay their court to James, the apparent successor. Such a concurrence of causes was more than sufficient to destroy the remains of her constitution; and her end visibly approached. Feeling a perpetual heat in her stomach, attended with an unquenchable thirst, she drank without ceasing, but refused the assistance of her physicians. Her distemper gaining ground, sir Robert Cecil, and the lord admiral, desired to know her sentiments with regard to the succession. To this she replied, that as the crown of England had always been held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon any inferior character, but upon her immediate heir, the king of Scotland. Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that her thoughts did not in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours, and she expired gently without a groan in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her character differed with her circumstances: in the beginning she was moderate and humble; towards the end of her reign, haughty and severe. But ever prudent, active, and discerning, she procured for her subjects that happiness which was not entirely felt by those about her. She was indebted to her good fortune, that her ministers were excellent; but it was owing to her indiscretion that the favourites, who were more immediately chosen by herself, were unworthy. Though she was possessed of excellent sense, she never had the discernment to discover that she wanted beauty; and to flatter her charms at the age of sixty-five, was the surest road to her favour and esteem.

But whatever were her personal defects, as a queen she is ever to be remembered by the English with gratitude. It is true, indeed, that she carried her prerogative in parliament to its highest pitch; so that it was tacitly allowed in that assembly, that she was above all laws, and could make and unmake them at her pleasure; yet still she was so wise and good, as seldom to exert that power which she claimed, and to enforce few acts of her prerogative, which were not for the benefit of the people. It is true, in like manner, that the English during her reign were put in possession of no new or splendid acquisitions; but commerce was daily growing up amongst them, and the people began to find that the theatre of their truest conquests was to be on the bosom of the ocean. A nation which hitherto had been the object of every invasion, and a prey to every plunderer, now asserted its strength in turn, and became terrible to its invaders. The successful voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese began to excite their emulation; and they fitted out several expeditions for discovering a shorter passage to the East Indies. The famous sir Walter Raleigh, without any assistance from government, colonized Virginia in North America, while internal commerce was making equal improvements; and many Flemings, persecuted in their native country, found, together with their arts and industry, an easy asylum in England. Thus the whole island seemed as if roused from her long habits of barbarity; arts, commerce, and legislation, began to acquire new strength; and such was the state of learning at that time, that some fix this period as the Augus-

tan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh and Hooker are considered as among the first improvers of our language. Spenser and Shakspeare are too well known as poets to be praised here; but of all mankind, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who flourished in this reign, deserves, as a philosopher, the highest applause; his style is copious and correct, and his wit is only surpassed by his learning and penetration. If we look through history, and consider the rise of kingdoms, we shall scarcely find an instance of a people becoming, in so short a time, wise, powerful, and happy. Liberty, it is true, still continued to fluctuate; Elizabeth knew her own power, and stretched it to the very verge of despotism: but now that commerce was introduced, liberty soon followed; for there never was a nation perfectly commercial, that submitted long to slavery.

CHAP. XXIX.

JAMES I.—A. D. 1603 to 1625.

JAMES, the Sixth of Scotland and the First of England, the son of Mary, came to the throne with the approbation of all orders of the state, as in his person was united every claim that either descent, bequest, or parliamentary sanction, could confer. He had every reason, therefore, to hope for a happy reign; and he was taught, from his infancy, that his prerogative was uncontrollable, and his right transmitted from heaven. These sentiments he took no care to conceal; and even published them in many parts of those works which he had written before he left Scotland.

But he was greatly mistaken in the spirit of thinking of the times: for new systems of government, and new ideas of liberty, had for some time been stealing in with the Reformation, and only wanted the reign of a weak or merciful monarch, to appear without control. In consequence of the progress of knowledge, and a familiar acquaintance with the governments of antiquity, the old Gothic forms began to be despised; and an emulation took place to imitate the freedom of Greece and Rome. The severe though popular government of Elizabeth had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds; but when a new sovereign and a new family appeared, less dreaded and less loved by the people, symptoms immediately began to be seen of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

James had scarcely entered England when he gave disgust to many. The desire in all to see their new sovereign was ardent and natural; but the king, who loved retirement, forbade the concourse that attended on his journey from Scotland, pretending that this great resort of people would produce a scarcity of provisions. To this offence to the people he added, soon after, what gave disgust to the higher orders of the state, by prostituting titles of honour, so that they became so common as to be no longer marks of distinction. A pasquinade was fixed up at St. Paul's, declaring that there would be a lecture given on the art of assisting short memories, to retain the names of the new nobility.

But though his countrymen shared a part of these honours, yet justice must be done the king, by confessing that he left almost all the great offices in the hands in which he found them. Among these, Cecil, created earl of Salisbury, was continued prime minister and chief counsellor. This crafty statesman had been too cunning for the rest of his associates; and while, during Elizabeth's reign, he was apparently leagued against the earl of Essex, whom James protected, yet he kept up a secret correspondence with that monarch, and secured his interests without forfeiting the confidence of his party.

But it was not so fortunate with lord Grey, lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh, who had been Cecil's associates. They felt immediately the effects of the king's displeasure, and were immediately dismissed from their employments. These three seemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation; for, soon after, they were accused of entering into a conspiracy against the king; neither the proofs of which, nor its aims, have reached posterity: all that is certain is, that they were condemned to die, but had their sentence mitigated

by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned after they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement many years afterwards, and at last suffered for this offence, which was never proved.

This mercy, shewn to those supposed delinquents, was very pleasing to the A. D. 1604.] people; and the king, willing to remove all jealousy of his being a stranger, began his attempts in parliament by an endeavour to unite both kingdoms into one. However, the minds of the people were not yet ripe for this coalition; they were apprehensive that the posts and employments, which were in the gift of the court, would be conferred on the Scots, whom they were as yet taught to regard as foreigners. By the repulse in this instance, as well as by some exceptions the house of commons took to the form of his summons to parliament, James found that the people he came to govern were very different from those he had left behind, and perceived that he must give reasons for every measure he intended to enforce.

He now, therefore, attempted to correct his former mistake, and to peruse the English laws, as he had formerly done those of his own country; and by these he resolved to govern. But even here he again found himself disappointed. In a government so fluctuating as that of England, opinion was ever deviating from law; and what was enacted in one reign was contradicted by custom in another. The laws had all along declared in favour of an almost unlimited prerogative, while the opinions of the people were guided by instructors who began to teach opposite principles. All the kings and queens before him, except such as were controlled by intestine divisions, or awed by foreign invasion, rather issued their commands to parliament than gave their reasons. James, unmindful of this alteration in the opinions of the people, resolved to govern in the ancient manner; while the people, on the contrary, having once gotten an idea of the inherent privileges of mankind, never gave it up, sensible that they had reason and power also on their side.

Numberless were the disputes between the king and his parliament during this reign; the one striving to keep the privileges of the crown entire, the other aiming at abridging the dangerous part of the prerogative; the one labouring to preserve customs established for time immemorial, the other equally assiduous in defending the inherent privileges of humanity. Thus we see laudable motives actuating the disputants on both sides of the question, and the principles of both founded either in law or in reason. When the parliament would not grant a subsidy, James had examples enough among his predecessors, which taught him to extort a benevolence. Edward the Fourth, Henry the Eighth, and queen Elizabeth herself, had often done so; and precedent undoubtedly entitled him to the same privilege. On the other hand, the house of commons, who found their growing power to protect the people, and not suffer the impositions of the crown, considered that this extorted benevolence might at length render the sovereign entirely independent of the parliament, and therefore complained of it, as an infringement of their privileges. These attempts of the crown, and these murmurings of the commons, continued through this whole reign, and first gave rise to that spirit of party which has ever since subsisted in England: the one for preserving the ancient constitution, by maintaining the prerogative of the king; the other for trying an experiment to improve it, by extending the liberties of the people.

During these contests, James, who supposed no arguments sufficient to impair the prerogative, seemed entirely secure that none would attempt to allege any. He continued to entertain his parliament with set speeches and florid harangues, in which he urged his divine right and absolute power as things incontestable: to these the commons made as regular answers, not absolutely denying his pretensions, but slowly and regularly abridging his power.

However, though James persevered in asserting his prerogative, and threatened those who should presume to abridge it, yet his justice and clemency were very apparent in the toleration which he gave to the teachers of different religions throughout the kingdom. The minds of the people had long been irritated against one another, and each party persecuted the rest, as it happened to prevail: it was expected, therefore, that James would strengthen the hands of that which was then uppermost, and that the catholics and sectaries should find no protection. But this monarch wisely observed, that men

should be punished for actions, and not for opinions; a decision which gave general dissatisfaction: but the complaint of every sect was the best argument of his moderation towards all.

Yet mild as this monarch was, there was a project contrived in the very beginning of his reign for the re-establishment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could scarcely be credited by posterity. This was the gunpowder plot; than which a more horrid or terrible scheme never entered into the human heart to conceive; and which shews at once that the most determined courage may be united with the most execrable intentions.

The Roman catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as a descendant from Mary, a rigid catholic, and also from his having shewn some partiality to that religion in his youth. But they soon discovered their mistake, and were at once surprised and enraged to find James on all occasions express his resolution of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in the conduct of his predecessor. This declaration determined them upon more desperate measures; and they at length formed a resolution of destroying the king and both houses of parliament at a blow. The scheme was first broached by Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family, who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be so placed under the parliament-house, as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Thomas Percy, a descendant from the illustrious house of Northumberland, who was charmed with the project, and readily came into it. Thomas Winter was next intrusted with the dreadful secret; and he went over to Flanders in quest of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage the conspirators were thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new zealot into their plot, the more firmly to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the sacrament, the most sacred rite of religion. Every tender feeling, and all pity, were banished from their breasts; and Garnet, a Jesuit, superior of the order in England, absolved their consciences from every scruple.

How horrid soever the contrivance might appear, every mem- [A. D. 1605.
ber seemed faithful and secret in the league; and they hired a house in Percy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Their first intention was to bore a way under the parliament-house, from that which they occupied, and they set themselves laboriously to the task; but when they had pierced the wall, which was three yards in thickness, they were surprised to find, on approaching the other side, that the house was vaulted underneath, and that coals were usually deposited there. From their disappointment on this account they were soon relieved, by information that the coals were in a course of sale, and that the vault would be then let to the highest bidder. They therefore seized the opportunity of hiring the place, and bought the remaining quantity of coals with which it was then stored, as if for their own use. The next thing done was to convey thither thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, which had been purchased in Holland; and the whole was covered with the coals, and with faggots brought for that purpose. Then the doors of the cellar were boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of success, they now began to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, the king's eldest son, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The king's second son, by reason of his tender age, would be absent, and it was resolved that Percy should seize or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house, in Warwickshire; and sir Everard Digby was to seize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

The day for the sitting of parliament now approached. Never was treason more secret, or ruin more apparently inevitable; the hour was expected with impatience, and the conspirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons had been religiously kept during the space of near a year and a half: but, when all the motives of pity, justice, and safety, were too weak, a remorse of private friendship saved the kingdom.

Percy, one of the conspirators, had conceived a design of saving the life of lord Monteagle, his intimate friend and companion, who also was of the same persuasion with himself. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a person unknown, and delivered by one who fled as soon as he had discharged his message. The letter was to this effect: "My lord, stay away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is past as soon as you have burned this letter."

The contents of this mysterious letter surprised and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to fright and ridicule him, yet he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. That minister was also inclined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared serious and alarming. In this universal agitation between doubt and apprehension, the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. He concluded that some sudden danger was preparing by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of Nov. 5. 1605.] parliament. He remarked those great piles of faggots which lay in the vault under the house of peers; and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and who passed himself for Percy's servant. That daring determined courage for which he had long been noted, even among the desperate, was fully painted in his countenance, and struck the lord chamberlain with strong suspicion. The great quantity of fuel also kept there for the use of a person seldom in town, did not pass unnoticed; and he resolved to take his time, to make a more exact scrutiny. About midnight, therefore, sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of the peace, was sent with proper attendants; and just at the entrance of the vault he seized a man preparing for the terrible enterprise, dressed in a cloak and boots, with a dark lantern in his hand. This was no other than Guy Fawkes, who had just disposed every part of the train for its taking fire the next morning; the matches and other combustibles being found in his pockets. The whole of the design was now discovered; but the atrociousness of his guilt, and the despair of pardon, inspiring him with resolution, he told the officers of justice, with an undaunted air, that had he blown them and himself up together, he had been happy. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his associates, and shewing no concern but for the failure of his enterprise. But his bold spirit was at length subdued; being confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack just shewn him, his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, at last failed him, and he made a full discovery of all his accomplices.

Catesby, Percy, and the conspirators who were in London, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, fled with all speed into Warwickshire, where sir Everard Digby, relying on the success of the plot, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. But the country soon began to take the alarm: and wherever they turned, they found a superior force ready to oppose them. In this exigency, beset on all sides, they resolved, to about the number of eighty persons, to fly no farther, but make a stand at a house in Warwickshire, to defend it to the last, and sell their lives as dearly as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them: a spark of fire happening to fall among some gunpowder that was laid to dry, it blew up, and so maimed the principal conspirators, that the survivors resolved to open the gate, and sally out against the multitude that surrounded the house. Some were instantly cut to pieces; Catesby, Percy, and Winter, standing back to back, fought long and desperately, till in the end the two first fell covered with

wounds, and Winter was taken alive. Those who survived the slaughter, were tried and convicted; several fell by the hands of the executioner, and others experienced the king's mercy. The Jesuits, Garnet and [A. D. 1606. Oldcorn, who were privy to the plot, suffered with the rest; and, notwithstanding the atrociousness of their treason, Garnet was considered by his party as a martyr, and miracles were said to have been wrought by his blood.

Such was the end of a conspiracy that brought ruin on its contrivers, and utterly supplanted that religion it was intended to establish. Yet it is remarkable, that before this audacious attempt, the chief conspirators had borne a fair reputation: Catesby was loved by all his acquaintance; and Digby was as highly respected, both for his honour and integrity, as any man in the nation. However, such are the lengths to which superstition and early prejudice can drive minds originally well formed, but impressed by a wrong direction.

The king's moderation, after the extinction of this conspiracy, was as great as his penetration in the prevention of it. The hatred excited in the nation against the catholics knew no bounds; and nothing but a total extinction of those who adhered to that persuasion, seemed capable of satisfying the greater part of the people. James bravely rejected all violent measures, and nobly declared, that the late conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter his plans of government; but as, on the one hand, he was determined to punish guilt, so, on the other, he would still support and protect innocence.

This moderation was at that time no way pleasing to the people; and the malignant part of his subjects were willing to ascribe this lenity to the papists, and to his being himself tinctured with their superstitions. However this be, he still found his parliaments refractory to all the measures he took to support his authority at home, or his desire of peace with foreign states. His speeches, indeed, betrayed no want of resolution to defend his rights; but his liberality to his favourites, and the insufficiency of his finances to maintain the royal dignity, still rendered him dependent upon his parliament for money, and they took care to keep him in indigence. Thus he was often forced into concessions, which, when once granted, could never be recalled; and, while he supposed himself maintaining the royal prerogative, it was diminishing on every side.

It was, perhaps, the opposition which James met with from his people, that made him place his affections upon different persons about the court, whom he rewarded with a liberality that bordered on profusion. The death of prince Henry, a youth of great hopes, gave him no very great [A. D. 1612. uneasiness, as his affections were rather taken up by newer connexions. In the first rank of these stood Robert Carre, a youth of good family in Scotland, who, after having passed some time in his travels, arrived in London, at about twenty years of age. All his natural accomplishments consisted in a pleasing visage; all his acquired abilities, in an easy and graceful demeanour. This youth came to England with letters of recommendation, to see his countryman, lord Hay; and that nobleman took an opportunity of assigning him the office of presenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horse, and his leg was broken in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace, till his cure was completed. He himself, after tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and returned frequently during his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the youth confirmed the king's affections, as he disregarded learning in his favourites, of which he found very little use in his own practice. Carre was therefore soon considered as the most rising man at court; he was knighted, created viscount Rochester, honoured with the order of the Garter, made a privy-counsellor; and, to raise him to the highest pitch of honour, he was at last created earl of Somerset.

This was an advancement which some regarded with envy; but the wiser part of mankind looked upon it with contempt and ridicule, sensible that ungrounded attachments are seldom of long continuance. Nor was it long before the favourite gave proofs of his being unworthy of the place he held in the king's affections. Among the friends whom he consulted at court was

sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning: among the mistresses whom he addressed, was the young countess of Essex, whose husband had been sent by the king's command to travel, until the young couple should arrive at the age of puberty. But the assiduities of a man of such personal accomplishments as the favourite possessed were too powerful to be resisted; a criminal correspondence was commenced between the countess and the earl; and Essex, upon his return from his travels, found his wife beautiful and lovely indeed, but her affections entirely placed upon another. But this was not all: not contented with denying him all the rights of a husband, she resolved to procure a divorce, and then to marry the favourite to whom she had granted her heart. It was upon this occasion that Overbury was consulted by his friend, and that this honest counsellor declared himself utterly averse to the match. He described the countess as an infamous and abandoned woman, and went so far as to threaten the earl that he would separate himself from him for ever, if he could so far forget his honour and his interest as to prosecute the intended marriage. The consequence of this advice was fatal to the giver. The countess, being made acquainted with these expostu- A. D. 1613.] lations, urged her lover to ruin him. In consequence of this command, the king was persuaded by the favourite to order Overbury on an embassy into Russia; sir Thomas was persuaded by the same adviser to refuse going; the delinquent was shut up in the Tower, and there he was poisoned by the direction of the countess, in a tart.

In the mean time, the divorce, which had been with some difficulty procured, took place, and the marriage of the favourite was solemnized with all imaginable splendour. But the suspicion of Overbury's being poisoned every day grew stronger, and reached the favourite, amidst all the glare and splendour of seeming happiness and success. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared; the gaiety of his manners was converted into sullen silence; and the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to cool to a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. But the adoption of another favourite, and the discovery of Somerset's guilt, soon removed all remains of affection which the king might still harbour for him.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poison, having retired to Flushing, divulged the secret there; and the affair being thus laid before the king, he commanded sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice, to sift the affair to the bottom, with rigorous impartiality. This in- A. D. 1615.] junction was executed with great industry and severity; and the whole complication of guilt was carefully unravelled. The lieutenant of the Tower, and some of the inferior criminals, were condemned and executed; Somerset and his countess were soon after found guilty, but reprieved and pardoned after some years of strict confinement. The king's duplicity and injustice on this occasion are urged as very great stains upon his character. Somerset was in his presence at the time the officer of justice came to apprehend him; and boldly reprehended that minister's presumption for daring to arrest a peer of the realm before the king. But James, being informed of the cause, said with a smile, "Nay, nay, you must go: for, if Coke should send for myself, I must comply." He then embraced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and assured him he could not live without his company: and yet he had no sooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, "Go, and the devil go with thee! I shall never see thy face again." He was also heard to wish, some time after, that God's curse might fall upon him and his family, if he should pardon those whom the law should condemn. However, he afterwards restored them both to liberty, and granted them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out the remainder of their lives in guilt, infamy, and mutual recrimination.

But the king had not been so improvident as to part with one favourite before he had provided himself with another. This was George Villiers, a younger brother of a good family, who had returned from his travels, and whom the enemies of Somerset had taken occasion to throw in the king's way, certain that his beauty and fashionable manners would do the rest. Accordingly, he had been placed in a comedy full in the king's view, and immediately caught

the monarch's affections. The history of the time, which appears not without some degree of malignity against this monarch, does not however insinuate any thing flagitious in these connexions, but imputes his attachment rather to a weakness of understanding than to any perversion of appetite. Villiers was immediately taken into the king's service, and the office of cup-bearer was bestowed upon him. It was in vain that Somerset had used all his interest to depress him; his stern jealousy only served the more to interest the king in the young man's behalf.

After Somerset's fall, the favour of James was wholly turned upon young Villiers; in the course of a few years he created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the Garter, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the kings's-bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high-admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham; his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. It may, indeed, be reckoned among the most capricious circumstances of this monarch's reign, that he, who was bred a scholar, should choose for his favourites the most illiterate persons about his court; that he, whose personal courage was greatly suspected, should lavish his honours upon those whose only accomplishments were a skill in the warlike exercises of the times.

When unworthy favourites were thus advanced, it is not to be wondered at if the public concerns of the kingdom were neglected, and men of real merit left to contempt and misery. Yet such was the case at present, with regard to the cautionary towns in Holland, and the brave sir Walter Raleigh at home.

In the preceding reign, Elizabeth, when she gave assistance to the Dutch, at that time shaking off the Spanish yoke, was not so disinterested, upon her lending them large sums of money, as not to require a proper deposit for being repaid. The Dutch, therefore, put into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, Brille, and Ramekens, which were to be restored upon payment of the money due, which amounted in the whole to eight hundred thousand pounds. But James, in his present exigency, having to supply a needy favourite and a craving court, agreed to evacuate these fortresses, upon the payment of a third part of the money which was strictly due. The cautionary towns were evacuated, which had held the states in total [A. D. 1616. subjection, and which an ambitious or enterprising prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions.

The universal murmur which this impolitic measure produced was soon after heightened by an act of severity which still continues as the blackest stain upon this monarch's memory. The brave and learned Raleigh had been confined in the Tower almost from the beginning of James's accession, for a conspiracy which had never been proved against him; and in that abode of wretchedness he wrote several valuable performances, which are still in the highest esteem. His long sufferings, and his ingenious writings, had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour; and they who once detested the enemy of Essex, could not help pitying the long captivity of this philosophical soldier. He himself still struggled for freedom; and perhaps it was with this desire that he spread the report of his having discovered a gold-mine in Guiana, which was sufficient not only to enrich the adventurers that should seize it, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The king, either believing his assertions, or willing to subject him to farther disgrace, granted him a commission to try his fortune in quest of these golden schemes; but still reserved his former sentence as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh was not long in making preparations for this adventure, which, from the sanguine manner in which he carried it on, many believed he thought to be as promising as he described it. He bent his course to Guiana; and remaining himself at the mouth of the river Oroonoko with five of the largest ships, he sent the rest up the stream, under the command of his son and of captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to his interests. But instead of a country abounding in gold, as the adventurers were taught to expect, they found the Spaniards warned of their approach, and prepared in arms to

receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out that "This was the true mine," meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching; "and that none but fools looked for any other:" but just as he was speaking, he received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another disappointment: for, when the English took possession of the town, they found nothing in it of any value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had seen the mine, and gave the first account of it to Raleigh: but he now began to retract; and though he was within two hours' march of the place, he refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it. He returned, therefore, to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death; and then going into his cabin, put an end to his own life in despair.

Raleigh, in this forlorn situation, found now that all his hopes were over; and saw his misfortunes aggravated by the reproaches of those whom he had undertaken to command. Nothing could be more deplorable than his situation, particularly when he was told that he must be carried back to England to answer for his conduct to the king. It is pretended that he employed many artifices, first to engage his men to attack the Spanish settlements at a time of peace; and on failure of that scheme, to make his escape into France. But all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy-council. Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all disputes and hostilities against the Spaniards: wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular instance of his attachment, he signed a A. D. 1618.] warrant for his execution, not for the present offence, but for his former conspiracy; thus shewing himself guilty of complicated injustice; unjust in originally having condemned him without proof; unjust in having trusted a man with a commission, without a pardon expressive of that confidence; unjust in punishing with death a transgression that did not deserve it; but most unjust of all, when he refused a new trial, and condemned him upon an obsolete sentence. This great man died with the same fortitude that he had testified through life: he observed, as he felt the edge of the axe, that it was a sharp but a sure remedy for all evils; his harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he laid his head on the block with the utmost indifference. His death ensured him that popularity which his former intrepidity and his sufferings, so much greater than his crimes, had tended to procure him; and no measure in this reign was attended with so much public dissatisfaction. The death of this great man was soon followed by the disgrace of a still greater, namely, the chancellor Bacon, who was accused of receiving bribes in his office; and pleading guilty, was degraded and fined forty thousand pounds; but his fine was afterwards remitted by the king.

The reasons for James's partiality to the court of Spain in the case of Raleigh soon became apparent. This monarch had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himself, that in marrying his son Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him; he therefore was obliged to seek, either in the court of France or Spain, a suitable match: and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondomar, perceiving this weak monarch's partiality to a crowned head, made an offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles: and that he might render the temptation irresistible, he gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. However, this was a negotiation which was not likely soon to be concluded; and from the time the idea was first started, James saw five years elapse without bringing the treaty to any kind of conclusion.

A delay of this kind was very displeasing to the king, who had all along an eye on the great fortune of the princess; nor was it less disagreeable to prince Charles, who, bred up with ideas of romantic passion, was in love without ever seeing the object of his affections. In this general tedium of delay, a project entered the head of Villiers (who had for some years ruled the king with absolute authority) that was fitter to be conceived by the knight of a romance, than by a minister and a statesman. It was nothing less than that the prince should travel in disguise into Spain, and visit the object of his

affections in person. Buckingham, who wished to ingratiate himself with the prince, offered to be his companion; and the king, whose business it was to check so wild a scheme, gave his consent to this hopeful proposal. Their adventures on this strange project could fill novels, and have actually been made the subject of many. Charles was the knight-errant, and [A. D. 1623. Buckingham was his esquire. They travelled through France in disguise, assuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince first saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married, and who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. They were received at the court of Spain with all possible demonstrations of respect; but Buckingham filled the whole city with intrigues, adventures, serenades, challenges, and jealousy. To complete the catalogue of his follies, he fell in love with the countess of Olivarez, the prime minister's wife, and insulted that minister in person. These levities were not to be endured at such a court as that of Spain, where jealousy is so prevalent, and decorum so much observed; the match was therefore broken off. Historians do not assign the reason; but if we may credit the novelists of that time, the prince had already fixed his affections upon the French princess.

In fact, a match for this prince was soon after negotiated with Henrietta, who was the daughter of the great Henry the Fourth; and this met with better success than the former. However, the king had not the same allurements in prosecuting this match as the former, as the portion promised him was much smaller; but, willing that his son should not be altogether disappointed of a bride, as the king of France demanded only the same terms which had been offered to the court of Spain, James consented to comply. In an article of his treaty of marriage, it was stipulated that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, should belong to the mother; and this probably gave that turn towards popery, which has since been the ruin of that unfortunate family.

Indeed, a variety of causes seemed to conspire with their own imprudence to bring down upon them those evils which they afterwards experienced. The house of commons was by this time become quite unmanageable; the prodigality of James to his favourites had made his necessities so many, that he was contented to sell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons, one after the other, to procure supplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants, they found out new grievances; and every grant of money was sure to come with a petition for redress. The struggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every session; and the last advanced their pretensions to such a degree, that he began to take the alarm; but those evils, to which the weakness of this monarch had contributed to give birth, fell upon his successor.

These domestic troubles were attended by others still more important in Germany, and which produced in the end the most dangerous effects. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederic the elector palatine of Germany; and this prince, having accepted the Bohemian crown from the rebellious subjects of the emperor Ferdinand the Second, was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion for which he had contended, were strong motives for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were sent from the commons to spur up James to take a part in the German contest, and to replace the exiled prince upon the throne of his ancestors. James at first attempted to ward off the misfortunes of his son-in-law by negotiations; but these proving utterly ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the Palatinate from the emperor, by force of arms. Accordingly, war was declared against [A. D. 1624. Spain and the emperor; six thousand men were sent over into Holland, to assist prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were satisfied with any war which was to exterminate the papists. This army was followed by another consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt; and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views. The troops, sailing to Calais, found no orders for

receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out that "This was the true mine," meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching; "and that none but fools looked for any other:" but just as he was speaking, he received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another disappointment: for, when the English took possession of the town, they found nothing in it of any value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had seen the mine, and gave the first account of it to Raleigh: but he now began to retract; and though he was within two hours' march of the place, he refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it. He returned, therefore, to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death; and then going into his cabin, put an end to his own life in despair.

Raleigh, in this forlorn situation, found now that all his hopes were over; and saw his misfortunes aggravated by the reproaches of those whom he had undertaken to command. Nothing could be more deplorable than his situation, particularly when he was told that he must be carried back to England to answer for his conduct to the king. It is pretended that he employed many artifices, first to engage his men to attack the Spanish settlements at a time of peace; and on failure of that scheme, to make his escape into France. But all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy-council. Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all disputes and hostilities against the Spaniards: wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular instance of his attachment, he signed a A. D. 1618.] warrant for his execution, not for the present offence, but for his former conspiracy; thus shewing himself guilty of complicated injustice; unjust in originally having condemned him without proof; unjust in having trusted a man with a commission, without a pardon expressive of that confidence; unjust in punishing with death a transgression that did not deserve it; but most unjust of all, when he refused a new trial, and condemned him upon an obsolete sentence. This great man died with the same fortitude that he had testified through life: he observed, as he felt the edge of the axe, that it was a sharp but a sure remedy for all evils; his harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he laid his head on the block with the utmost indifference. His death ensured him that popularity which his former intrepidity and his sufferings, so much greater than his crimes, had tended to procure him; and no measure in this reign was attended with so much public dissatisfaction. The death of this great man was soon followed by the disgrace of a still greater, namely, the chancellor Bacon, who was accused of receiving bribes in his office; and pleading guilty, was degraded and fined forty thousand pounds; but his fine was afterwards remitted by the king.

The reasons for James's partiality to the court of Spain in the case of Raleigh soon became apparent. This monarch had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himself, that in marrying his son Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him; he therefore was obliged to seek, either in the court of France or Spain, a suitable match: and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondomar, perceiving this weak monarch's partiality to a crowned head, made an offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles: and that he might render the temptation irresistible, he gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. However, this was a negotiation which was not likely soon to be concluded; and from the time the idea was first started, James saw five years elapse without bringing the treaty to any kind of conclusion.

A delay of this kind was very displeasing to the king, who had all along an eye on the great fortune of the princess; nor was it less disagreeable to prince Charles, who, bred up with ideas of romantic passion, was in love without ever seeing the object of his affections. In this general tedium of delay, a project entered the head of Villiers (who had for some years ruled the king with absolute authority) that was fitter to be conceived by the knight of a romance, than by a minister and a statesman. It was nothing less than that the prince should travel in disguise into Spain, and visit the object of his

affections in person. Buckingham, who wished to ingratiate himself with the prince, offered to be his companion; and the king, whose business it was to check so wild a scheme, gave his consent to this hopeful proposal. Their adventures on this strange project could fill novels, and have actually been made the subject of many. Charles was the knight-errant, and [A. D. 1623. Buckingham was his esquire. They travelled through France in disguise, assuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince first saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married, and who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. They were received at the court of Spain with all possible demonstrations of respect; but Buckingham filled the whole city with intrigues, adventures, serenades, challenges, and jealousy. To complete the catalogue of his follies, he fell in love with the countess of Olivarez, the prime minister's wife, and insulted that minister in person. These levities were not to be endured at such a court as that of Spain, where jealousy is so prevalent, and decorum so much observed; the match was therefore broken off. Historians do not assign the reason; but if we may credit the novelists of that time, the prince had already fixed his affections upon the French princess.

In fact, a match for this prince was soon after negotiated with Henrietta, who was the daughter of the great Henry the Fourth; and this met with better success than the former. However, the king had not the same allurements in prosecuting this match as the former, as the portion promised him was much smaller; but, willing that his son should not be altogether disappointed of a bride, as the king of France demanded only the same terms which had been offered to the court of Spain, James consented to comply. In an article of his treaty of marriage, it was stipulated that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, should belong to the mother; and this probably gave that turn towards popery, which has since been the ruin of that unfortunate family.

Indeed, a variety of causes seemed to conspire with their own imprudence to bring down upon them those evils which they afterwards experienced. The house of commons was by this time become quite unmanageable; the prodigality of James to his favourites had made his necessities so many, that he was contented to sell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons, one after the other, to procure supplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants, they found out new grievances; and every grant of money was sure to come with a petition for redress. The struggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every session; and the last advanced their pretensions to such a degree, that he began to take the alarm; but those evils, to which the weakness of this monarch had contributed to give birth, fell upon his successor.

These domestic troubles were attended by others still more important in Germany, and which produced in the end the most dangerous effects. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederic the elector palatine of Germany; and this prince, having accepted the Bohemian crown from the rebellious subjects of the emperor Ferdinand the Second, was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion for which he had contended, were strong motives for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were sent from the commons to spur up James to take a part in the German contest, and to replace the exiled prince upon the throne of his ancestors. James at first attempted to ward off the misfortunes of his son-in-law by negotiations; but these proving utterly ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the Palatinate from the emperor, by force of arms. Accordingly, war was declared against [A. D. 1624. Spain and the emperor; six thousand men were sent over into Holland, to assist prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were satisfied with any war which was to exterminate the papists. This army was followed by another consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt; and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views. The troops, sailing to Calais, found no orders for

their admission. After waiting in vain for some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where no proper measures were yet taken for their disembarkation. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper crept in among the forces, so long cooped up in narrow vessels; half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the Palatinate; and thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition.

Whether this misfortune had any effect upon the constitution of the king, is uncertain; but he was soon after seized with a tertian ague. When his courtiers assured him, from the proverb, that it was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant for a young king. After some fits, he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to persevere in the protestant religion; then preparing with decency and courage Mar. 27, 1625.] to meet his end, he expired, after a reign over England of twenty-two years, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. With regard to foreign negotiations, James neither understood nor cultivated them; and perhaps in a kingdom so situated as England, domestic politics are alone sufficient. His reign was marked with none of the splendours of triumph, nor with any new conquests or acquisitions; but the arts were nevertheless silently going on to improvement. Reason was extending her influence, and discovering to mankind a thousand errors in religion, in morals, and in government, that had long been reverenced by blind submission. The Reformation had produced a spirit of liberty, as well as of investigation, among all ranks of mankind, and taught them that no precedents could sanctify fraud, tyranny, or injustice. James taught them by his own example to argue upon the nature of the king's prerogative and the extent of the subject's liberty. He first began by setting up the prescriptive authority of kings against the natural privileges of the people; but when the subject was submitted to a controversy, it was soon seen that the monarch's was the weaker side.

CHAP. XXX.

CHARLES I.—A. D. 1625 to 1641.

FEW princes have ascended a throne with more apparent advantages than Charles; and none ever encountered more real difficulties. The advantages were such as might flatter even the most cautious prince into security; the difficulties were such as no abilities could surmount. He found himself, upon coming to the crown, possessed of a peaceful and flourishing kingdom, his right undisputed, his power strengthened by an alliance with one of the most potent nations in Europe, his absolute authority tacitly acknowledged by one part of his subjects, and enforced from the pulpit by the rest. To add to all this, he was loved by his people, whose hearts he had gained by his virtues, his humility, and his candour.

But on the opposite side of the picture we are presented with a very different scene. Men had begun to think of the different rights of mankind, and found that all had an equal claim to the inestimable blessings of freedom. The spirit of liberty was roused; and it was resolved to oppose the ancient claims of monarchs, who usurped their power in times of ignorance or danger, and who pleaded in succeeding times their former encroachments as prescriptive privileges. Charles had been taught from his infancy to consider the royal prerogative as a sacred pledge, which it was not in his power to alienate, much less his duty to abridge. His father, who had contributed so much to sink the claims of the crown, had, nevertheless, boldly defended them in his writings, and taught his son to defend by the sword what he had only inculcated by the press. Charles, though a prince of tolerable understanding, had not comprehension enough to see that the genius and disposition of his people had received a total change: he resolved therefore to govern, by old maxims and precedents, a people who had lately found out that these maxims were established in times of ignorance and slavery.

In the foregoing reigns, I have given very little of the parliamentary history of the times, which would have led me out of the way; but, in the present, it will be proper to point out the transactions of every parliament, as they make the principal figure in this remarkable æra, in which we see genius and courage united in opposing injustice, seconded by custom, and backed by power.

Charles undertook the reins of government with a fixed persuasion that his popularity was sufficient to carry every measure. He was burdened with a treaty for defending the Palatinate, concluded in the late reign; and the war declared for that purpose was to be carried on with vigour in this. But war was more easily declared than supplies were granted. After some reluctance, the commons voted him two subsidies; a sum far from being sufficient to support him in his intended equipment, to assist his brother-in-law; and to this was added a petition for punishing papists, and redressing the grievances of the nation. Buckingham, who had been the late king's favourite, and who was still more caressed by the present monarch, did not escape their censures; so that, instead of granting the sums requisite, they employed the time in disputations and complaints, till the season for prosecuting the intended campaign was elapsed. Charles, therefore, wearied with their delays, and offended at the refusal of his demands, thought proper to dissolve a parliament which he could not bring to reason.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to some of the ancient methods of extortion, practised by sovereigns when in necessitous circumstances. That kind of tax called a benevolence was ordered to be exacted, and privy-seals were issued accordingly. In order to cover the rigour of this step, it was commanded that none should be asked for money but such as were able to spare it; and he directed letters to different persons, mentioning the sums he desired. With this the people were obliged, though reluctantly, to comply; it was in fact authorized by many precedents; but no precedents whatsoever could give a sanction to injustice.

With this money, a fleet was equipped against Spain, carrying ten thousand men; the command of which army was intrusted to lord Wimbledon, who sailed directly to Cadiz, and found the bay full of ships of great value. But he failed in making himself master of the harbour, while his undisciplined army landing, instead of attacking the town, could not be restrained from indulging themselves in the wine, which they found in great abundance on shore. Farther stay therefore appeared fruitless; they were re-embarked; and the plague attacking the fleet soon afterwards, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of success, and return to England. Loud complaints were made against the court, for intrusting so important a command to a person who was judged so unqualified for the undertaking.

This ineffectual expedition was a great blow to the court: and, to retrieve the glory of the nation, another attempt was to be made, but with a more certain prospect of success. New supplies, therefore, being requisite, the king was resolved to obtain them in a more regular and constitutional manner than before. Another parliament was accordingly called; and [A. D. 1626. though some steps were taken to exclude the more popular leaders of the last house of commons, by nominating them as sheriffs of counties, yet the present parliament seemed more refractory than the former. When the king laid before the house his necessities, and asked for a supply, they voted him only three subsidies, which amounted to about a hundred and sixty thousand pounds; a sum no way adequate to the importance of the war, or the necessities of the state. But even this was not to be granted until the grievances of the state were redressed. Their chief indignation was levelled against Buckingham, a minister who had no real merit, and the great infelicity of being the king's favourite. Whenever subjects resolve to attack the royal prerogative, they begin with the favourites of the crown; and wise monarchs seldom have any. Charles was not possessed of the art of making a distinction between friends and ministers; and whoever was his friend, was always trusted with the administration of his affairs. He loved the duke, and undertook to protect him; although to defend a person so obnoxious to the people, was to share his reproach. The commons undertook to impeach

him in the lower house, while the earl of Bristol, who had returned from his embassy in Spain, accused him among his peers. The purport of the charge against him amounted to little more than that he had engrossed too much power for himself and his relations; that he had neglected to guard the seas with the fleet; and that he had applied a plaster to the late king's side, which was supposed to be poisonous, and to hasten his end. These frivolous accusations must have sunk of themselves, had they not been intemperately opposed by the royal authority. The king gave orders to the lord-keeper to command the commons expressly in his name not to meddle with his minister and servant Buckingham. The more to enrage them, he had him elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and wrote that body a letter of thanks for their compliance. He assured the commons, that if they would not comply with his demands, that he would *try new counsels*. But what justly enraged them beyond all sufferance, was, when two of their members, sir Dudley Digges and sir John Elliot, complained of this partiality in favour of a man odious to the nation, the king ordered both to be committed to prison for seditious behaviour. This was an open act of violence, and should have been supported, or never attempted.

It was now that the commons justly exclaimed that their privileges were infringed, and all freedom of debate destroyed. They protested, in the most solemn manner, that neither of their members had said any thing disrespectful of the king; and they made preparations for publishing their vindication. The king, whose character it was to shew a readiness to undertake harsh measures, but not to support them, released the two members; and this compliance confirmed that obstinacy in the house which his injuries had contributed to give rise to. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the same offence in the house of lords, was rashly imprisoned, and as tamely dismissed by the king. Thus, the two houses having refused to answer the intentions of the court without previous conditions, the king, rather than give up his favourite, chose to be without the supply, and therefore once more dissolved the parliament.

The new counsels which Charles had mentioned to the parliament were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Instead of making peace with Spain, and thus trying to abridge his expenses, since he could not enlarge his income, he resolved to carry on the war, and to keep up a standing army for this purpose. Perhaps, also, he had a farther view in keeping his army in pay, which was to seize upon the liberty of his subjects, when he found matters ripe for the execution. But at present his forces were new levied, ill paid, and worse disciplined; so that the militia of the country, that could be instantly led out against him, were far his superiors. In order, therefore, to gain time and money, a commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a dispensation of the penal laws against them. He borrowed a sum of money from the nobility, whose contributions came in but slowly. But the greatest stretch of his power was in the levying of *ship-money*. In order to equip a fleet, (at least this was the pretence made,) every maritime town was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm a certain number of vessels. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This was the commencement of a tax, which afterwards, being carried to very violent lengths, created such great discontent in the nation. But the extortions of the ministry did not rest here. Persons of birth and rank, who refused the loan, were summoned before the council; and, upon persisting in a refusal, were put into confinement. Thus we see here, as in every civil war, something to blame, on one side and the other; both sides guilty of injustice, yet each actuated by general motives of virtue; the one contending for the inherent liberties of mankind, the other for the prescriptive privileges of the crown; both driven to all the extremes of falsehood, rapine, and injustice, and by a fate attendant on humanity, permitting their actions to degenerate from the motives which first set them in motion.

Hitherto the will of the monarch was reluctantly obeyed: most of those who refused to lend their money were thrown into prison, and patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their release. Five persons alone undertook to defend the cause of the public; and, at the

hazard of their whole fortunes, were resolved to try whether the king legally had a right to confine their persons without an infringement of any law. The names of these patriots were sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Heveningham, and sir Edward Hampden. Their cause was brought to a solemn trial before the King's Bench, and the whole kingdom was attentive to the result of so important a trial.

By the debates on this subject it appeared that personal [Nov. 1626. liberty had been secured by no less than six different statutes, and by an article of the Great Charter itself; and in times of turbulence and sedition, the princes infringed those laws; and of this also many examples were produced. The difficulty then lay, to determine when such violent measures were expedient; but of that the court pretended to be the supreme judge. As it was legal, therefore, that these five gentlemen should plead the statute, by which they might demand bail, so it was expedient in the court to remand them to prison, without determining on the necessity of taking bail for the present. This was a cruel evasion of justice, and, in fact, satisfied neither the court nor the country party. The court insisted that no bail could be taken: the country exclaimed that the prisoners should be set free.

The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, his people, and some of the most powerful foreign states, it was not without amazement that all men saw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with [A. D. 1627. which he had but lately formed the most natural alliance. This monarch, among the foibles of a good disposition, relied too much on the sincerity of his servants; and among others, permitted Buckingham to lead him as he thought proper. All historians agree that this minister had conceived hopes of gaining the heart of the queen of France, while, at the same time, cardinal Richelieu aspired to the same honour. The rivalry of these favourites produced an inveterate enmity between them; and, from a private quarrel, they resolved to involve their respective nations in the dispute. However this be, war was declared against France; and Charles was taught to hope, that hostilities with that kingdom would be the surest means of producing unanimity at home.

But fortune seemed to counteract all this monarch's attempts. A fleet was sent out, under the command of Buckingham, to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in France, that had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king, but which had for some years embraced the reformed religion, and was now besieged by a formidable army. This expedition was as unfortunate as that to the coast of Spain. The duke's measures were so ill concerted, that the inhabitants of the city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. Instead of attacking the island of Oleron, which was fertile and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, which was garrisoned and well fortified. He attempted there to starve out the garrison of St. Martin's castle, which was copiously supplied with provisions by sea. By that time, the French had landed their forces privately at another part of the island; so that Buckingham was at last obliged to retreat with such precipitation, that two thousand of his men were cut to pieces before he could re-embark, though he was the last of the whole army that quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small subject of consolation for the disgrace which his country had sustained; and his own person would have been the last they would have regretted.

The bad success of this expedition served to render the duke still more obnoxious, and the king more needy. He therefore resolved to call a third parliament; for money was to be had at any rate. In his first [A. D. 1628. speech, he told them that they were convoked on purpose to grant the supplies; and that, if they should neglect to contribute what was necessary for the support of the state, he would, in discharge of his conscience, use those means which God had put into his hands, for saving that which the folly of certain persons would otherwise endanger. But the king did not find his commons intimidated by his threats, or by those of the lord-keeper, who commented upon what he said. They boldly inveighed against his late arbitrary measures, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament,

arbitary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, martial laws; these were the grievances complained of, and against these they insisted that an eternal remedy should be provided. An immunity from these vexations they alleged to be the inherent right of the subject; and their new demands they resolved to call a petition of right, as implying privileges they had already been possessed of. Nothing could be more just than the enactment of the contents of this petition of right. The Great Charter, and the old statutes, were sufficiently clear in favour of liberty; but as all the kings of England, in cases of necessity or expediency, had been accustomed at intervals to elude them; and as Charles, in a complication of instances, had lately violated them; it was requisite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded or violated by any authority, or any precedent to the contrary.

But though this was an equitable proposal, and though a ready compliance with it might have prevented many of the disorders that were about to ensue, Charles was taught to consider it as the most violent encroachment on his prerogative, and used at first every method to obstruct its progress. When he found that nothing but his assent would satisfy the house, he gave it; but at first in such an ambiguous manner, as left him still in possession of his former power. At length, however, to avoid their indignation, and still more to screen his favourite, he thought proper to give them full satisfaction.

He came therefore to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "*Soit fait comme il est désiré*, Let it be law as it is desired," he gave the petition of right all the sanction that was necessary to pass it into a law. The acclamations with which the house resounded, sufficiently testified the joy of the people; and a bill for five subsidies, which passed soon after, was the strongest mark of their gratitude.

But the commons, finding their perseverance crowned with success in this instance, were resolved to carry the scrutiny into every part of government which they considered as defective. The leaders of the house of commons at this time were very different from those illiterate barbarians who, a century or two before, came up to the capital, not to grant supplies, but to consider where supplies were to be procured; not to debate as legislators, but to receive commands as inferiors. The men of whom the present parliaments were composed, were persons of great knowledge and extensive learning, of undaunted courage and inflexible perseverance.

A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commission had been granted to thirty-three of the principal officers of state, empowering them to meet and concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions or otherwise. The commons applied for cancelling that commission; and indeed the late statute of the petition of rights seemed to render such a commission entirely unnecessary. They objected to another commission for raising money for the introduction of a thousand German horse, which, with just reason, they feared might be turned against the liberties of the people. They resumed also their censure of Buckingham, whom they resolved implacably to pursue. They also openly asserted, that the method of levying money used by the king, called tonnage and poundage, without the consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the liberties of the people. All these grievances were preparing to be drawn up in a remonstrance to his majesty, when the king, hearing of their intentions, came suddenly to the house, and closed the session.

But they were not so easily to be intimidated in their schemes for the liberty of the people. They urged their claims with still more force on their A. D. 1629.] next sitting; and the duty of tonnage and poundage was discussed with greater precision than before. This tax upon merchandise was a duty of very early institution, and had been conferred on Henry the Fifth, and all succeeding princes, during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the protection of the kingdom. But the parliament had usually granted it as of their special favour, in the beginning of each reign, except to Henry the Eighth, who had it not conferred on him by parliament till the sixth year of his sitting on the throne. Although he had continued to receive it from the beginning, yet he thought it necessary to have the sanction of parliament to insure it to him; which certainly implied that it was not

an inherent privilege of the crown. Upon this argument the commons founded their objections to the levying of it in the present reign; it was a tax which they had not yet granted, and it had been granted by them in every preceding reign. They refused therefore to grant it now; and insisted that the king could not levy it without their permission.

This bred a long contest, as may be supposed, between the commons and the crown. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons, to give an account by what authority they seized the goods of the merchants who had refused to pay these duties. The barons of the exchequer were questioned with regard to their decrees on that head; and the sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in supporting the custom-house officers. These were bold measures; but the commons went still farther, by a resolution to examine into religious grievances; and a new spirit of intolerance began to appear. The king, therefore, resolved to dismiss a parliament which he found himself unable to manage; and sir John Finch, the speaker, just as the question concerning tonnage and poundage was going to be put, rose up, and informed the house that he had a command from the king to adjourn.

Nothing could exceed the consternation and indignation of the commons upon this information. Just at the time they were carrying their most favourite points to a bearing, to be thus adjourned, and the parliament dissolved, rendered them furious. The house was in an uproar; the speaker was pushed back into his chair, and forcibly held in it by Holles and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than vote. In this hasty production, Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the state; the obnoxious duty was condemned as contrary to law; and not only those who raised it, but those who paid it, were considered as guilty of high crime.

In consequence of this violent procedure, sir Miles Hobart, sir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were, by the king's order, committed to prison, under pretence of sedition. But the same temerity that impelled Charles to imprison them, induced him to grant them a release. Sir John Elliot, Holles, and Valentine, were summoned before the King's Bench; but they refusing to appear before an inferior tribunal, for faults committed in a superior, were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine, the two former of a thousand pounds each, and the latter of five hundred, and to find sureties for their good behaviour. The members triumphed in their sufferings, while they had the whole kingdom as spectators and applauders of their fortitude.

While the king was thus distressed by the obstinacy of the commons, he felt a much severer blow in the death of the duke of Buckingham, who fell a sacrifice to his unpopularity. It had been resolved once more to undertake the raising of the siege of Rochelle; and the earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, had been sent thither in the year 1628, but returned without effecting any thing. In order to repair this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham went in person to Portsmouth, to hurry on another expedition, and to punish such as had endeavoured to defraud the crown of the legal assessments. In the general discontent that prevailed against this nobleman, it was daily expected that some severe measures would be resolved on; and he was stigmatized as the tyrant and the betrayer of his country. There was one Felton, who caught the general contagion,—an Irishman of a good family, who had served under the duke as lieutenant, but had resigned on being refused his rank on the death of his captain, who was killed at the isle of Rhé. This man was naturally melancholy, courageous, and enthusiastic; he felt for his country, as if labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his single arm to remove. He therefore resolved to kill the duke, and thus revenge his own private injuries, while he did service also to God and man. Animated in this manner with gloomy zeal and mistaken patriotism, he travelled down to Portsmouth alone, and entered the town while the duke was surrounded by his levee, and giving out the necessary orders for embarkation. He was at that time engaged in conversation with Soubise, and other French gentlemen; and a difference of sentiment having arisen in the conference, it

was attended with all those violent gesticulations with which foreigners generally enforce their meaning. The conversation being finished, the duke drew towards the door; and while he was speaking to one of his colonels, Felton struck him over that officer's shoulder in the breast with his knife. The duke had only time to say, "The villain has killed me," when he fell at the colonel's feet, and instantly expired. No one had seen the blow, or the person who gave it; but in the confusion it was generally supposed that he was murdered by one of the Frenchmen who appeared so violent in their motions but a little before. They were accordingly secured, as for certain punishment; but in the mean time a hat was picked up, on the inside of which was sewed a paper containing four or five lines of the remonstrance of the commons against the duke; and under these lines a short ejaculation, desiring aid in the attempt. It was now concluded that this hat must belong to the assassin; and while they were employed in conjectures whose it could be, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door, and was heard to cry out, "I am he." He disdained denying a murder in which he gloried; and averred that he looked upon the duke as an enemy to his country, and as such deserving to suffer. When asked at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed, he answered that they needed not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that his conscience was his only prompter; and that no man on earth could dispose him to act against its dictates. He suffered with the same degree of constancy to the last; and there were many who admired not only his fortitude, but the action for which he suffered.

The king had always the highest regard for Buckingham, and was extremely mortified at his death; he began to perceive that the tide of popularity was entirely turned from him, and that the behaviour of the house of commons only served to increase the general discontent. He felt therefore a disgust against parliaments; and he was resolved not to call any more, till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his favourite, he became more his own minister, and never afterwards reposed such unlimited confidence in any other. But though the minister of the crown was changed, the measures still continued the same; the same disregard to the petitions of the people, the same desire of extending and supporting the prerogative, the same temerity, and the same weakness of condescension.

His first measure, however, now being left without a minister and a parliament, was a prudent one. He made peace with the two crowns against whom he had hitherto waged war, which had been entered upon without necessity, and conducted without glory. Being freed from these embarrasments, he bent his whole attention to the management of the internal policy of the kingdom, and took two men as his associates in this task, who still acted an underpart to himself. These were sir Thomas Wentworth, whom he created earl of Strafford, and Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

Strafford, by his eminent talents and abilities, merited all the confidence which the king reposed in him. His character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love; his fidelity to the king was unshaken; but, in serving the interests of the crown, he did not consider himself as an agent also for the benefit of the people. As he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he formerly endeavoured to diminish, his actions were liable to the imputation of self-interest and ambition; but his good character in private life made up for that seeming duplicity of public conduct.

Laud was in the church somewhat resembling Strafford in the state, rigid, severe, punctual, and industrious. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; and the forms, as established in the reign of queen Elizabeth, seemed essentially connected with it. His desire to keep these on their former footing was imprudent and severe; but it must be confessed that the furious opposition he met with was sufficient to excite his resentment.

Since the time of Elizabeth, a new religious sect had been gaining ground in England; and its adherents, from the supposed greater purity of their manners, were called Puritans. Of all other sects, this was the most dangerous to monarchy; and the tenets of it were more calculated to support that imagined equality which obtains in a state of nature. The partisans of

this religion, being generally men of warm, obstinate tempers, pushed sentiments into a total opposition to those of Rome; and, in the coun where their opinions had taken place, not only a religious but a poli freedom began to be established. All enthusiasts, indulging themselv rapturous flights, ecstasies, visions, and inspirations, have a natural ave to all ceremonies, rites, or forms, which are but external means of supp that devotion which they want no prompter but their hearts to inspire. same bold and daring spirit which accompanied them in their address the Divinity, appeared in their political speculations; and the princip civil liberty, which had hitherto been almost totally unknown in Eu began to shoot forth in this ungracious soil. It is not to be wondere therefore, that kings and bishops were eager to suppress the growth of sions so unfavourable to their authority; and that Laud, who of all men was the most attached to ceremony and show, should treat with rigour who braved him into severity. The truth is, that, in the histories of the ti we find the great cause of the present contest between the king and his pe to arise not from civil but religious motives; not from a desire on the hand of extending power, and on the other of promoting liberty; but m from the ardour of the king in supporting bishops, surplices, and other monies of the church, and the fury of the puritans in abolishing those dis tions as remnants of popish idolatry. Those distinctions in religion, at day, are regarded with more unconcern; and, therefore, we are more a impute the disorders of those times to civil motives of establishing lib which, in reality, made but a very subordinate consideration.

The humour of the nation ran, at that time, into that extreme which opposite to superstition; and those ancient ceremonies to which men been accustomed in England, since the commencement of the Reforma were in general considered as impious and idolatrous. It was, therefor most impolitic time in the world for Laud to think of introducing new monies and observances, which could not fail of being treated with detestation. Nevertheless, he went on boldly with his injunctions fo observance of those rites which in themselves were of no moment, and therefore as unnecessary to be urged by him, as ridiculous in being opp by the puritans.

Orders were given, and rigorously insisted on, that the communion- should be removed from the middle of the church, where it had hitherto since the Reformation, to the east end; where it should be railed in, denominated the Altar. The kneeling at the altar and the using of c (embroidered vestments used in popish countries) were introduced, t great discontent of the people. Some pictures were again admitted int churches by the king's command. All such clergy as neglected to ob every ceremony, were suspended, and deprived by the high commission c And to mortify the puritans still more, orders were issued from the co forbidding any controversy, either from the pulpit or the press, on the p in dispute between them and their opponents, concerning free will and destination. At the same time that they obtained the king's protectio carrying on these measures, the clergy took care to repay the monarc magnifying on every occasion the regal authority, and treating all pr sions to independence as a puritanical innovation. The king's divine, ditary, and indefeasible right was the theme of every sermon; and those attempted to question such doctrines were considered as making an a upon religion itself. The king, who had now resolved to call no more p ments, (to which resolution he adhered for the space of eleven years,) was well satisfied with these doctrines, as they were the only means of facilit his measures of government, and procuring those pecuniary supplies whi had no legal means of obtaining.

While Laud, therefore, during this long interval, ruled the church, the and Strafford undertook to manage the temporal interests of the natio proclamation was issued, in which Charles declared, "That whereas, for ral ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged; yet the late al having for the present unwillingly driven him out of that course he wi count it presumption for any one to prescribe to him any time for calling

assembly." This was generally construed as a declaration, that, during that reign, no more parliaments would be summoned; and every measure of the king seemed to confirm the suspicion.

It was now that the people, without a defender, or hopes of redress, saw themselves at the mercy of a monarch, who, though good and gentle in his own nature, might at any time change in his conduct. They now saw the constitution at one blow wholly overthrown, and one branch of the legislature assuming those rights which had been divided between three. Tonnage and poundage were continued to be levied by royal authority alone; custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter any house whatever in search of suspected goods; compositions were openly made with papists; and their religion was become a regular part of the revenue. The court of star-chamber exercised its power, independent of any law, upon several bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their sufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Sir David Foulis was fined by this court five thousand pounds, merely for dissuading a friend from compounding with the commissioners who called upon him to take up the title of knighthood. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which was entitled Histriomastix, or a Scourge for the Stage. In this, besides much paltry declamation against the stage, he took occasion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church; and this was an A. D. 1634.] offence that Laud was not likely to forgive. He was condemned by the star-chamber to be degraded from the bar; to stand in the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose his ears, one at each place; to pay five thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned during life. This sentence, which was equally cruel and unjust, was rigorously executed; and Prynne gloried in his sufferings. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried before this tribunal for schismatical libels, in which they attacked, with great severity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted upon Prynne; and Prynne himself was also tried for a new offence, for which he was fined five thousand pounds more, and sentenced to lose the remainder of his ears. The answers which these bold demagogues gave into court, were so full of contumacy and invective, that no lawyer could be prevailed with to sign them. The rigours, however, which they underwent, being so unworthy of men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they suffered, increased still farther the public indignation.

The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their systems of political freedom. But the government, unwilling that the nation should be deprived of its useful members, or dreading the unpopularity of these emigrations, at length issued a proclamation, debarring these devotees from access even to those inhospitable regions. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of council; and in these were embarked sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country. This may stand as a proof of the sincerity these men afterwards testified in the cause for which they fought, and is a clear proof that hypocrisy, with which they were charged, in the beginning at least, was not among the motives of their opposition.

Every year, every month, every day, gave fresh instances, during this long intermission of parliaments, of the resolution of the court to throw them off for ever: but the levying of *ship-money*, as it was called, being a general burden, was universally complained of as a national grievance. This was a tax which had, in former reigns, been levied without the consent of parliament; but then the exigency of the state demanded such a supply. As the necessity at present was not so apparent, and the impost might excite murmurs among the people, a question was proposed by the king to the judges, whether, in a case of necessity for the defence of the kingdom, he might not levy this tax? and whether he was not sole judge of this necessity? To this the judges replied, that he might; and that he was sole judge of the necessity. In

this universal appearance of obedience to the king's injunctions, John Hampden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, refused to comply with the tax, and resolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty shillings for his estate, which he refused to pay; and the case was argued twelve days in the exchequer-chamber before all the judges of England. The nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, the result of a trial that was to fix the limits of the king's power: but, after the former opinion of the judges on this subject, the event might have been easily fore- [A. D. 1638. seen. All the judges, four only excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown; while Hampden, who lost his cause, was more than sufficiently recompensed by the applauses of the people. Nothing was now heard in every company but murmurs against the government, and encomiums on him who had withstood its usurpations. It was now alleged that tyranny was confirmed into system; and that there was no redress except in sullen patience or contented slavery. Ecclesiastical tyranny was thought to give aid to political injustice; and all the rights of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes, now lay prostrate in undistinguished neglect. In this universal state of despondence or clamour, an accident gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their ancient privileges, and even of acquiring greater than it was compatible with the subjects' happiness to possess.

The Scots had, during the reign of James the First, shewn a strong attachment to puritanical principles; and though they still continued to allow of bishops, yet they were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James, indeed, had seen the low estate of episcopacy in that kingdom, and had endeavoured to exalt and establish it once more; but he died in the midst of his endeavours. It was the fate of Charles for ever to aim at projects which were at once impracticable and unnecessary; he resolved therefore to complete what his father had begun. This ill-judged attempt served to alienate the affections of his Scottish subjects, as much as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England. The flame of sedition in Scotland passed from one town to another, while the puritans formed a *Covenant*, to support and defend their opinions, and resolved to establish their doctrines, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the king was determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both sides being obstinate in opinion, those sanguinary measures were soon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the English.

The discontent and opposition which Charles met with in maintaining episcopacy among his English subjects, might, one would think, deter him from attempting to introduce it among those of Scotland; but such was his ardour, that he was resolved to have it established in every part of his dominions. When he had published an order for reading the liturgy in their principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours and imprecations. The court party, indeed, with great justice, blamed their obstinacy, as the innovations were but trifling; but the people might have retorted with still greater force the folly of their thus earnestly attempting the establishment of trifles. The seditious disposition in that kingdom, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, was now too furious for restraint, and the insurrection became general over the country.

Yet still the king could not think of desisting from his design; and so prepossessed was he in favour of royal right, that he thought the very name of king, when forcibly urged, would induce the people to return to their duty. But he was soon undeceived; the puritans of Scotland were republicans in principle as well as those in England; and they only wished to see the bishops first humbled, in order to make a more successful attack upon unguarded monarchy. Charles, therefore, finding them in arms, and that they insisted on displacing the bishops, considered their demands as an open declaration of war; and accordingly summoned such of the nobility of England as held lands of the crown, to furnish him with a proper number of forces to oppose them. To add to these supplies, he demanded a voluntary contribution from the clergy, as he was in fact fighting their cause; and, by means of his queen, the catholics were also pressed for their assistance. By these methods he

soon found himself at the head of an undisciplined and reluctant army, A. D. 1639.] amounting to about twenty thousand men, and commanded by generals less willing to fight than to negociate. His superiority in numbers, however, gave him the manifest advantage over his rebellious subjects, who were no way slow in marching to give him battle. But Charles, who inherited the peaceable disposition of his father, was unwilling to come to extremities, although a blow then struck with vigour might have prevented many of his succeeding misfortunes. Instead of fighting with his opponents, he entered upon a treaty with them; so that a suspension of arms was soon agreed upon, and a treaty of peace concluded, which neither side intended to observe; and then both parties agreed to disband their forces. This step of disbanding the army was a fatal measure to Charles, as he could not levy a new army without great labour and expense; while the Scottish insurgents, who were all volunteers in the service, could be mustered again at pleasure. Of this the heads of the malcontents seemed sensible; for they lengthened out the negociations with affected difficulties, and threw in obstructions in proportion as they were confident of their own superiority. At length, after much altercation, and many treaties signed and broken, both parties once more had recourse to arms, and nothing but blood could satiate the contenders.

War being thus resolved on, the king took every method, as before, for raising money to support it. Ship-money was levied as usual; some other arbitrary taxes were exacted from the reluctant people with great severity; but one method of raising the supplies reflects immortal honour on those who contributed. The counsellors and servants of the crown lent the king whatever sums they could spare, and distressed their private fortunes to gratify their sovereign. These were the resources of the crown to prepare an army; but they were far from being sufficient; and there now remained only one method more, the long-neglected method of parliamentary supply.

A. D. 1640.] It was now about eleven years since the king had called a parliament. The fierce and ungovernable spirit of the last had taught him to hate and to fear such an assembly; but all resources being exhausted, and great debts contracted, he was obliged to call another parliament, from which he had no great reason to expect any favour. The many illegal and the numerous imprudent steps of the crown, the hardships which several persons had suffered, and their constancy in undergoing punishment, had as much alienated the affections of the king's English as of his Scottish subjects. Instead of supplies, the king was harassed with murmurs and complaints. The zealous in religion were pleased with the distresses of the crown, in its attempts against their brethren in opinion; and the real friends of the liberties of mankind saw, with their usual penetration, that the time was approaching when the royal authority must fall into a total dependence on popular assemblies, when public freedom must acquire a full ascendant.

The house of commons, therefore, could not be induced to treat the Scots, who were of the same principles with themselves, and contended against the same ceremonies, as enemies to the state. They regarded them as friends and brothers, who first rose to teach them a duty which it was incumbent on all virtuous minds to imitate. The king, therefore, could reap no other fruits from this assembly than murmurings and complaints. Every method he had taken to supply himself with money was declared an abuse, and a breach of the constitution. Tonnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of monopolies, the billeting soldiers upon refractory citizens, were all condemned as stretches of arbitrary power. The king, finding no hopes of redress from the commons, had recourse to the house of peers; but this was equally ineffectual with the former application: and seeing no appearance of a compliance with his request, but recrimination instead of redress, dissolved the parliament, to try more feasible methods of removing his necessities.

The king having now made enemies of his Scottish subjects by controlling them in their mode of worship, and of the commons by dissolving them, it remained to exasperate the city of London against him by some new imprudence. Upon their refusing to lend money to carry on the war against the Scots, he sued the citizens in the star-chamber for some lands in Ireland, and made them pay a considerable fine. He continued also to exact all the taxes

against which every former parliament had remonstrated; but all was insufficient. A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, exposed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct money for the soldiers was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East India company upon trust, and sold at a great discount for ready money. A scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money; and yet all these methods were far from being effectual. The Scots, therefore, sensible of the extremities to which he was reduced, led on an army of twenty thousand men as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to lay their grievances before their sovereign, as they were pleased to term their rebellion. One of the most disgusting strokes, in the puritanical character of the times, was this gentle language, and humble cant, in the midst of treason, and their flattery to their prince, while they were attempting to dethrone and destroy him.

To these troops, inspired by religion, flushed with some slight victories obtained over straggling parties of the royalists, and encouraged by the English themselves, among whom they continued, the king was able only to oppose a smaller force, new-levied, undisciplined, seditious, and ill paid. Being, therefore, in despair of stemming the torrent, he at last yielded to it. He first summoned a great council of peers at York; and, as he foresaw that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken that resolution. Having thus prepared for his misfortunes, he a short time after called that long parliament [Nov. 3, 1640. which did not discontinue its sitting till his ruin had been accomplished.

CHAP. XXXI.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1641 to 1642.

THE ardent expectations of men with regard to a parliament, at such a critical juncture, and during such general discontent, might naturally engage the attendance of the members on their duty. The house of commons was never, from its first institution, observed to be so numerous, or the assiduity of its members greater. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business; and, by unanimous consent, they struck a blow that might be regarded as decisive. Instead of granting the demanded subsidies, they impeached the earl of Strafford, the king's first minister, of high-treason. Pym, a tedious but sensible speaker, who at first opened the accusation against him in the house of commons, was sent up to defend it at the bar of the house of lords; and most of the house accompanied their member on so agreeable an errand.

To bestow the greatest solemnity on this important trial, scaf- [A. D. 1641. folds were erected in Westminster-Hall, where both houses sat, the one as judges, the other as accusers. Beside the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment against him were twenty-eight in number; the substance of which was, that he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of several exactions in Ireland. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accusation, yet there appears very little just cause of blame in him, since the stretches of the king's power were made before he came into authority. However, the managers of the house of commons pleaded against him with vehemence stronger than their reasons, and summed up their arguments by insisting, that though each article taken separately did not amount to a proof, yet the whole taken together might be fairly concluded to carry conviction. This is a method of arguing frequently used in the English courts of justice even to this day: and perhaps none can be more erroneous; for almost every falsehood may be found to have a multiplicity of weak reasons to support it. In this tumult of aggravation and clamour, the earl himself, whose parts and wisdom had been long respectable, stood unmoved and undaunted. He defended his cause with all the presence of mind, judgment, and sagacity, that could be expected

from innocence and ability. His children were placed beside him, as he was thus defending his life and the cause of his master. After he had, in a long and eloquent speech, delivered without premeditation, confuted all the accusations of his enemies; after he had endeavoured to shew, that, during his government in Ireland, he had introduced the arts of peace among the savage parts of the people, and that, if his measures in England were harsh, he had been impelled by necessity; after he had clearly refuted the argument upon the accumulated force of his guilt, he thus drew to a conclusion: "But, my lords, I have troubled you too long; longer than I should have done, but for the sake of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me."—Upon this he paused, dropped a tear, looked upon his children, and then proceeded: —"What I forfeit for myself is a trifle; that my indiscretions should reach my posterity, wounds me to the heart.—Pardon my infirmity.—Something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself; I have long been taught that the afflictions of this life are overpaid by that eternal weight of glory which awaits the innocent; and so, my lords, even so, with the utmost tranquillity, I submit myself to your judgment, whether that judgment be life or death; not my will, but thine, O God, be done!" His eloquence and innocence induced those judges to pity, who were the most zealous to condemn him. The king himself went to the house of lords, and spoke for some time in his defence; but the spirit of vengeance, that had been chained for eleven years, was now roused, and nothing but his blood could give the people satisfaction. He was found guilty by both houses of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his consent to the bill of attainder. But, in the present commotions, the consent of the king was a thing that would very easily be dispensed with; and imminent dangers might attend his refusal. Yet still Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, hesitated and seemed reluctant, trying every expedient to put off so dreadful a duty as that of signing the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his doubts were at last silenced by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, desiring that his life might be made the sacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people; adding, that he was prepared to die, and to a willing mind there could be no injury. This instance of noble generosity was ill repaid by his master, who complied with his request. He consented to the signing the fatal bill by commission: Strafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, behaving with all that composed dignity of resolution that was expected from his character. The people, taught by his death to trample upon the rights of humanity, soon after resolved to shed blood that was still more precious.

But the commons did not stop their impeachments here. Laud also, after a deliberation which did not continue half an hour, was considered as sufficiently culpable to incur the same accusation, and was committed to custody. Finch, the lord-keeper, was also impeached; but he had the precaution to make his escape, and retire into Holland, as did sir Francis Windebank, the secretary, into France.

The crown being thus deprived of the services of its ministers, the commons next proceeded to attack the few privileges it still possessed. During the late military operations, several powers had been exerted by the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, who were all under the influence of the crown. These were, therefore, voted *Delinquents;* a term now first used to signify transgressors whose crimes were not as yet ascertained by law. The sheriffs also, who had obeyed the king's mandate in raising ship-money, were voted to be delinquents. All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage, were subjected to the same imputation, and only purchased their safety by paying a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber and high-commission courts, underwent a severe scrutiny; and all those who had any hand in such sentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law. The judges who had declared against Hampden, in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance. All those monopolies

which had been lately granted by the crown, were now annihilated by the order of the commons; and they carried their detestation of that grievance so far, as to expel from their own house all such members as had been monopolists or projectors.

Hitherto we have seen the commons in some measure the patrons of liberty and of the people; boldly opposing the stretches of illegal power, or repressing those claims which, though founded on custom, were destructive of freedom. Thus far their aims, their struggles, were just and honourable: but the general passions of the nation were now excited; and, having been once put into motion, they soon passed the line, and knew not where to stop. Had they been contented with resting here, after abridging all those privileges of monarchy which were capable of injuring the subject, and leaving it all those prerogatives that could benefit, they would have been considered as the great benefactors of mankind, and would have left the constitution nearly on the same footing on which we enjoy it at present. But they either were willing to revenge their former sufferings, or thought that some terrible examples were necessary to deter others from attempting to enslave their country. The horrors of a civil war were not sufficiently attended to; and they precipitately involved the nation in calamities which they themselves were the first to repent.

The whole nation was thrown into a general ferment. The harangues of members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the horrors which were felt for the late administration. The pulpits, delivered over to the puritanical preachers, whom the commons arbitrarily placed in all considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. The press, freed from all fear or restraint, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their sedition and calumny, more than by their eloquence or style.

In this universal uproar against the crown, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had some years before suffered so severely for their licentious abuses, and had been committed to remote prisons, were set at liberty by order of the commons, and were seen making their triumphant entry into the capital. Bastwick had been confined in Scilly, Prynne in Jersey, and Burton in Guernsey; and upon landing at their respective places, they were received by the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. Boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession; the roads were strewed with flowers, their sufferings were aggravated, and their persecutors reviled. All persons who had been punished for seditious libels during the foregoing administration, now recovered their liberty, and had damages given them upon those who had decreed their punishment.

Grievances, no doubt, and heavy ones, had been endured during the intermission of parliament; but the very complaints against them now became one of the greatest grievances. So many were offered within doors, and petitioned against without, that the house was divided into above forty committees, charged each of them with the examination of its respective complaints. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, despair seized all those who, from interest or habit, were attached to monarchy; while the king himself saw, with amazement, the whole fabric of government overturned. "You have taken," said he to the parliament, "the whole machine of government to pieces; a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine may be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be fitted up entire, so as not a pin be wanting." But the commons, in their present temper, were much better adapted to destroy than to fit up; and having taken the machine asunder, they soon found an expeditious set of workmen ready to step in, and take the whole business off their hands.

But in this universal rage for abolishing the former constitution, the parliament fell with great justice on two courts, which had been erected under arbitrary kings, and had seldom been employed but in cases of necessity. These were the high-commission court, and the court of star-chamber. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish both, and in them to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles of the king's prerogative. The former, which was instituted for defending the establishments of the church,

assembly." This was generally construed as a declaration, that, during that reign, no more parliaments would be summoned; and every measure of the king seemed to confirm the suspicion.

It was now that the people, without a defender, or hopes of redress, saw themselves at the mercy of a monarch, who, though good and gentle in his own nature, might at any time change in his conduct. They now saw the constitution at one blow wholly overthrown, and one branch of the legislature assuming those rights which had been divided between three. Tonnage and poundage were continued to be levied by royal authority alone; custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter any house whatever in search of suspected goods; compositions were openly made with papists; and their religion was become a regular part of the revenue. The court of star-chamber exercised its power, independent of any law, upon several bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their sufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Sir David Foulis was fined by this court five thousand pounds, merely for dissuading a friend from compounding with the commissioners who called upon him to take up the title of knighthood. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which was entitled Histriomastix, or a Scourge for the Stage. In this, besides much paltry declamation against the stage, he took occasion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church; and this was an A. D. 1634.] offence that Laud was not likely to forgive. He was condemned by the star-chamber to be degraded from the bar; to stand in the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose his ears, one at each place; to pay five thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned during life. This sentence, which was equally cruel and unjust, was rigorously executed; and Prynne gloried in his sufferings. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried before this tribunal for schismatical libels, in which they attacked, with great severity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted upon Prynne; and Prynne himself was also tried for a new offence, for which he was fined five thousand pounds more, and sentenced to lose the remainder of his ears. The answers which these bold demagogues gave into court, were so full of contumacy and invective, that no lawyer could be prevailed with to sign them. The rigours, however, which they underwent, being so unworthy of men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they suffered, increased still farther the public indignation.

The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their systems of political freedom. But the government, unwilling that the nation should be deprived of its useful members, or dreading the unpopularity of these emigrations, at length issued a proclamation, debarring these devotees from access even to those inhospitable regions. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of council; and in these were embarked sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country. This may stand as a proof of the sincerity these men afterwards testified in the cause for which they fought, and is a clear proof that hypocrisy, with which they were charged, in the beginning at least, was not among the motives of their opposition.

Every year, every month, every day, gave fresh instances, during this long intermission of parliaments, of the resolution of the court to throw them off for ever: but the levying of *ship-money*, as it was called, being a general burden, was universally complained of as a national grievance. This was a tax which had, in former reigns, been levied without the consent of parliament; but then the exigency of the state demanded such a supply. As the necessity at present was not so apparent, and the impost might excite murmurs among the people, a question was proposed by the king to the judges, whether, in a case of necessity for the defence of the kingdom, he might not levy this tax? and whether he was not sole judge of this necessity? To this the judges replied, that he might; and that he was sole judge of the necessity. In

this universal appearance of obedience to the king's injunctions, John Hampden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, refused to comply with the tax, and resolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty shillings for his estate, which he refused to pay; and the case was argued twelve days in the exchequer-chamber before all the judges of England. The nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, the result of a trial that was to fix the limits of the king's power: but, after the former opinion of the judges on this subject, the event might have been easily fore- [A. D. 1638. seen. All the judges, four only excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown; while Hampden, who lost his cause, was more than sufficiently recompensed by the applauses of the people. Nothing was now heard in every company but murmurs against the government, and encomiums on him who had withstood its usurpations. It was now alleged that tyranny was confirmed into system; and that there was no redress except in sullen patience or contented slavery. Ecclesiastical tyranny was thought to give aid to political injustice; and all the rights of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes, now lay prostrate in undistinguished neglect. In this universal state of despondence or clamour, an accident gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their ancient privileges, and even of acquiring greater than it was compatible with the subjects' happiness to possess.

The Scots had, during the reign of James the First, shewn a strong attachment to puritanical principles; and though they still continued to allow of bishops, yet they were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James, indeed, had seen the low estate of episcopacy in that kingdom, and had endeavoured to exalt and establish it once more; but he died in the midst of his endeavours. It was the fate of Charles for ever to aim at projects which were at once impracticable and unnecessary; he resolved therefore to complete what his father had begun. This ill-judged attempt served to alienate the affections of his Scottish subjects, as much as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England. The flame of sedition in Scotland passed from one town to another, while the puritans formed a *Covenant*, to support and defend their opinions, and resolved to establish their doctrines, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the king was determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both sides being obstinate in opinion, those sanguinary measures were soon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the English.

The discontent and opposition which Charles met with in maintaining episcopacy among his English subjects, might, one would think, deter him from attempting to introduce it among those of Scotland; but such was his ardour, that he was resolved to have it established in every part of his dominions. When he had published an order for reading the liturgy in their principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours and imprecations. The court party, indeed, with great justice, blamed their obstinacy, as the innovations were but trifling; but the people might have retorted with still greater force the folly of their thus earnestly attempting the establishment of trifles. The seditious disposition in that kingdom, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, was now too furious for restraint, and the insurrection became general over the country.

Yet still the king could not think of desisting from his design; and so prepossessed was he in favour of royal right, that he thought the very name of king, when forcibly urged, would induce the people to return to their duty. But he was soon undeceived; the puritans of Scotland were republicans in principle as well as those in England; and they only wished to see the bishops first humbled, in order to make a more successful attack upon unguarded monarchy. Charles, therefore, finding them in arms, and that they insisted on displacing the bishops, considered their demands as an open declaration of war; and accordingly summoned such of the nobility of England as held lands of the crown, to furnish him with a proper number of forces to oppose them. To add to these supplies, he demanded a voluntary contribution from the clergy, as he was in fact fighting their cause; and, by means of his queen, the catholics were also pressed for their assistance. By these methods he

own single authority, to suspend all the laws which had been made for the observance of public worship. They particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jesus. They complained of the king's filling five vacant bishoprics; and considered it as an insult upon them, that he should complete and strengthen an order which they were resolved to abolish. They accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without the consent of parliament; and endeavoured to prevail upon the house of peers to exclude all the prelates from their seats and votes in that august assembly. But, notwithstanding all their efforts, the lords refused their concurrence to this law, and to all such as any way tended to the farther limitation of royal authority. The majority of the peers adhered to the king; and plainly foresaw the depression of the nobility as a necessary consequence of the popular usurpations on the crown. The commons murmured at their refusal, mixed threats with their indignation, and began, for the first time, to insinuate that the business of the state could be carried on without them.

In order to intimidate the lords into their measures, the populace were let loose to insult and threaten them. Multitudes of people flocked every day towards Westminster, and insulted the prelates, and such lords as adhered to the crown. Some seditious apprentices being seized and committed to prison, the house of commons immediately ordered them to be set free. Encouraged by the countenance of the house, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out insolent menaces against the king himself. It was at this time that several reduced officers, and students of the inns of court, offered their services to the king, to repress the rioters; and many frays ensued, not without bloodshed. The rabble, by way of reproach, were called Roundheads, from the manner of wearing their hair; and the gentlemen, Cavaliers. These names afterwards served to distinguish the partisans of either side, and served still more to divide the nation.

The fury of the commons, and also of the populace, did not fail to intimidate the bishops: they saw the storm that was gathering against them; and, probably to avert its effects, they resolved to attend their duty in the house of lords no longer; but drew up a protest which was signed by twelve of them, in which they declared, that, being hindered by the populace from attending at the house of lords, they resolved to go there no more till all commotions should be appeased; protesting, in the mean time, against all such laws as should be enacted in their absence.

This secession of the bishops from the house of lords was what the commons most ardently wished for; and they seized the opportunity with pleasure. An impeachment for high-treason was immediately sent up against them, as guilty of subverting the fundamental laws, and invalidating the legislative authority. In consequence of this, they were by the lords excluded from parliament, and committed to custody; no man in either house daring to speak a word in their vindication. One of the lords, indeed, was heard to say, that he did not believe they were guilty of treason, but thought they were mad, and therefore were fitter for confinement than a seat in parliament.

This was a fatal blow to the royal interest; but it soon felt a much greater from the king's own imprudence. Charles had long suppressed his resentment, and only strove to satisfy the commons by the greatness of his concessions; but, finding that all his compliance had but increased their demands, he could no longer contain. He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney-general, A. D. 1642.] to enter an accusation of high-treason, in the house of peers, against lord Kimbolton, one of the most popular men of his party, together with five commoners, sir Arthur Haselrig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had invited a foreign army to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the very rights and being of parliaments, and had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king. Men had scarcely leisure to wonder at the precipitancy and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by another measure, still more rash and more unsupported. A sergeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house

the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. This was followed by a conduct still more extraordinary. The next day the king himself was seen to enter the house of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himself, and looked round for some time, he told the house that he was sorry for the occasion that forced him thither; that he was come in person to seize the members whom he had accused of high-treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his sergeant at arms. Addressing himself to the speaker, he desired to know whether any of them were in the house; but the speaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he asked pardon for being able to give no other answer. He then sat for some time, to see if the accused were present; but they had escaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded amidst the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out "Privilege! privilege!" to the common-council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common-council only answered his complaint with a contemptuous silence; and on his return, one of the populace, more insolent than the rest, cried out, "To your tents, O Israel!" a watch-word among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

When the commons were assembled the next day, they affected the greatest terror, and passed an unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and they could not assemble again in the same place till they should have obtained satisfaction, with a guard for their security. They ascribed the last measure of the king to the counsels of the papists; and the city was thus filled with groundless consternation.

As the commons had artfully kept up their panic, in order to inflame the populace, and as the city was now only one scene of confusion, the king, afraid of exposing himself to any fresh insult from the fury of the populace, retired to Windsor, overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse. There he began to reflect on the rashness of his former proceedings, and now too late resolved to make some atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them that he desisted from his former proceedings against the accused members; and assured them, that upon all occasions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had rendered him hateful to his commons, and his present submission now rendered him contemptible.

The commons had already stripped the king of almost all his privileges: the bishops were fled, the judges were intimidated; it now only remained that, after securing the church and the law, they should get possession of the sword also. The power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, was still a remaining prerogative of the crown. Having, therefore, first magnified their terrors of popery, which perhaps they actually dreaded, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be intrusted to persons of their choosing. These were requests, the complying with which would level all that remained of the ancient constitution: however, such was the necessity of the times, that they were at first contested, and then granted. At last, every compliance only increasing the avidity of making fresh demands, the commons desired to have a militia raised, and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate, under pretext of securing them from the Irish papists, of whom they were in great apprehensions.

It was here that Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. He was at that time at Dover, attending the queen and the princess of Orange, who had thought it prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the petition of the commons, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of such great importance, and therefore would defer an answer till his return. But the commons were well aware, that, though this was depriving him even of the shadow of power, yet they had now gone too far to recede, and were therefore desirous of leaving him no authority whatsoever, as being conscious that themselves would be the first victims

to its fury. They alleged, that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and that, unless the king would speedily comply with their demands, they should be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. In their remonstrances to the king they desired even to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time; which so exasperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour!" This peremptory refusal broke off all farther treaty; and both sides were now resolved to have recourse to arms.

Charles, taking the prince of Wales with him, retired to York, where he found the people more loyal, and less infected with the religious frenzy of the times. He found his cause there backed by a more numerous party than he had expected among the people. The queen, who was in Holland, was making successful levies of men and ammunition, by selling the crown jewels. But before war was openly declared, the shadow of a negociation was carried on, rather to serve as a pretence to the people than with a real design of reconciliation. The king offered proposals to the commons, which he knew they would not accept; and they in return submitted nineteen propositions to his consideration, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely subservient to their commands. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governors of the king's children, the commanders of the forts, his fleet and army, should be all appointed by, and under the control of, parliament; that papists should be punished by their authority; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion; and that such members as had been displaced should be restored. These proposals, which, if they had been complied with, would have moulded the government into an aristocracy, were, happily for posterity, rejected by the king. "Should I grant these demands," said he in his reply, "I might be waited on bareheaded; I might have my hand kissed, the title of majesty be continued to me, and the king's authority, signified by both houses of parliament, might be still the style of your commands; I might have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre, (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead:) but, as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign, of a king." War on any terms, therefore, was esteemed preferable to such an ignominious peace. Thus the king and his parliament reproached each other for beginning a scene of slaughter, of which both were equally culpable.

CHAP. XXXII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1642 to 1646.

No period since England began could shew so many instances of courage, abilities, and virtue, as the present fatal opposition called forth into action. Now was the time when talents of all kinds, unchecked by authority, were called from the lower ranks of life, to dispute for power and pre-eminence. Both sides, equally confident of the justice of their cause, appealed to God to judge of the rectitude of their intentions. The parliament was convinced that it fought for Heaven, by asserting its regards for a peculiar mode of worship; and the king was not less convinced that his claims were sacred, as he had ever been taught to consider them as of divine original. Thus passion and enthusiasm on each side animated the combatants; and courage rather than conduct, among these undisciplined troops, decided the fortune of the day.

Never was contest more apparently unequal than this seemed at first to be; the king being almost destitute of every advantage. His revenue had been seized by his opponents: all the sea-port towns were in their hands, except Newcastle; and thus they were possessed of the customs which these could supply; the fleet was at their disposal; all magazines of arms and ammunition were seized for their use; and they had the wishes of all the most active members of the nation.

To oppose this, the king had that acknowledged reverence which was paid to royalty, to give sanction to his cause. The greater part of the nobility adhered to him, as their distinctions must rise or fall with the source of honour. Most of the men of education also, and the ancient gentry, still considered loyalty as a virtue, and armed their tenants and servants in his cause. With these followers and hopes he resolved to take [Aug. 22, 1642. the field, and erected the royal standard at Nottingham.

Manifestoes on the one side and on the other, were now dispersed throughout the kingdom; and the whole nation composed two factions, distinguished by the names of Cavaliers and Roundheads. The king, to bind himself by the most solemn engagements to his people, made the following protestation before his whole army:

"I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion established in the church of England; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

"I desire that the laws may be ever the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing on this army raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergence, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war, not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom.

"When I willingly fail in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any protection from above. But in this resolution I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of Heaven."

The sincerity with which this speech was delivered, and the justice of its contents, served to strengthen the king's cause. At first he appeared in a very low condition; besides the trained bands of the county, raised by sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not assembled above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which composed his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. However, he was soon reinforced; but still not being in a condition to face his enemies, he thought it prudent to retire by slow marches to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those quarters.

In the mean time, his enemies were not remiss in preparations. They had a magazine of arms at Hull; and sir John Hotham was appointed governor of that place by the parliament. Charles had some time before presented himself before that town, but was refused admission; and from this they drew their principal resources. The forces also, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service of Ireland, were now more openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes; and the command was given to the earl of Essex, a bold man, who rather desired to see monarchy abridged, than totally destroyed. In London, no less than four thousand men were enlisted in one day; and the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were also issued out for loans of money and plate, which were to defend the king and both houses of parliament; for they still preserved this style. This brought immense quantities of plate to the treasury; and so great was men's ardour in the cause, that there was more than they could find room for. By these means they found themselves in a short time at the head of sixteen thousand men; and the earl of Essex led them towards Northampton against the king.

The army of the royalists did not equal that of Essex in number; however, it was supposed to be better disciplined, and better conducted. The two sons of the unfortunate elector palatine, prince Rupert and prince Maurice,

offered to the king their services, which were gladly accepted. A slight advantage gained by prince Rupert over colonel Sandys, in the beginning, gave great hopes of his future activity, and inspired the army with resolution to hazard a battle. So little were both armies skilled in the arts and stratagems of war, that they were within six miles of each other, before they were acquainted with their mutual approach; and, what is remarkable, they had been ten days within twenty miles of each other, without knowing it.

Edge-hill was the first place where the two armies were put in array against each other, and the country first drenched in civil slaughter. It was a dreadful sight, to see above thirty thousand of the bravest men in the world, instead of employing their courage abroad, turning it against each other, while the dearest friends and the nearest kinsmen embraced opposite sides, and prepared to bury their private regards in factious hatred. In the beginning of this engagement, sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Irish war, but had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, deserted to the royalists, and so intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry fled. The right wing of their army followed their example; but, the victors too eagerly pursuing, Essex's body of reserve wheeled upon the rear of the pursuers, and made great havock among them. After the royalists had a little recovered from their surprise, they made a vigorous stand; and both sides for a time stood gazing at each other, without sufficient courage to renew the attack. They all night lay under arms, and next morning found themselves in sight of each other. This was the time for the king to strike a decisive blow: he lost the opportunity; and both sides separated with equal loss. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle.

It would be tedious, and no way instructive, to enter into the marchings and counter-marchings of these undisciplined and ill-conducted armies: war was a new trade to the English, as they had not seen a hostile engagement in the island for near a century before. The queen came to reinforce the royal party; she had brought soldiers and ammunition from Holland, and immediately departed to procure more. But the parliament, who knew its own strength, felt no discouragement. Their demands seemed to increase in proportion to their losses; and as they were repressed in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet. Such governors as gave up their fortresses to the king, were attainted of high-treason. It was in vain for the king to send proposals after any success; this only raised their pride and their animosity. But though this desire in the king to make peace with his subjects was the highest encomium on his humanity, yet his long negociations, one of which he carried on at Oxford, were faulty as a warrior. He wasted that time in altercation and treaty, which he should have employed in vigorous exertions in the field.

However, the two first campaigns, upon the whole, were a favourable A. D. 1643.] aspect. One victory followed another: Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience under the king: a victory was gained over the parliamentarians at Stratton-hill, in Devonshire; another at Roundway-down near the Devizes; and a third in Chalgrave-field. Bristol was besieged and taken; and Gloucester was besieged: the battle of Newbury was favourable to the royal cause; and great hopes of success were formed from an army in the north, raised by the marquis of Newcastle.

But, in the second of these campaigns, the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed; as if it was intended, by the kindness of Providence, that they should be exempted from seeing the miseries and the slaughter which were shortly to ensue. These were John Hampden, and Lucius Cary, lord Falkland.

In an incursion made by prince Rupert to within about two miles of the enemy's quarters, a great booty was obtained. This the parliamentarians attempted to rescue; and Hampden, at their head, overtook the royalists in Chalgrave-field. As he ever was the first to enter into the thickest of the battle, he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. Some days after, he died in great pain; nor could his whole party, had their army met a total overthrow, have been cast into greater consternation.

Even Charles, his enemy, felt for his disaster, and offered his own surgeon to assist his cure. Hampden, whom we have seen, in the beginning of these troubles, refuse to pay ship-money, gained, by his inflexible integrity, the esteem even of his enemies. To these he added affability in conversation, temper, art, eloquence in debate, and penetration in council.

But Falkland was a still greater loss, and a greater character. He added to Hampden's severe principles a politeness and elegance but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withstood the king's pretensions while he saw him making a bad use of his power; but when he perceived the design of the parliament to overturn the religon and the constitution of his country, he changed his side, and steadfastly attached himself to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity forsook him; he became melancholy, sad, pale, and negligent of his person. When the two armies were in sight of each other, and preparing for the battle of Newbury, he appeared desirous of terminating his life, since he could not compose the miseries of his country. Still anxious for his country alone, he dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party as much as that of the enemy; and he professed that its miseries had broken his heart. His usual cry among his friends, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, was, "Peace! Peace!" He now said, upon the morning of the engagement, that he was weary of the times, and should leave them before night. He was shot by a musket-ball in the belly; and his body was next morning found among a heap of slain. His writings, his eloquence, his justice, and his courage, deserved such a death of glory; and they found it.

The king, that he might make preparations during the winter for the ensuing campaign, and to oppose the designs of the Westminster parliament, called one at Oxford; and this was the first time that England saw two [A. D. 1644. sitting at the same time. His house of peers was pretty full; parliaments his house of commons consisted of about a hundred and forty, which amounted to not above half of the other house of commons. From this shadow of a parliament he received some supplies; after which it was prorogued, and never after assembled. In the mean time, the parliamentarian leaders were equally active on their side. They passed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. But, what was much more effectual, the Scots, who considered their claims as similar, led a strong army to their assistance. The two houses levied an army of fourteen thousand men in the east, under the earl of Manchester; they had an army of ten thousand men under Essex, and another of nearly the same force under sir William Waller. These were superior to any force the king could bring into the field, and were well appointed with ammunition, provisions, and pay.

Hostilities, which even during the winter season had not been wholly discontinued, were renewed in the spring with their usual fury, and served to desolate the kingdom without deciding victory. Each county joined that side to which it was addicted from motives of conviction, interest, or fear. Some, however, petitioned for peace; and all the wise and good were earnest in the cry. What particularly deserves remark, was an attempt of the women of London, who, to the number of two or three thousand, went in a body to the house of commons, earnestly demanding peace. "Give us those traitors," said they, "that are against peace; give them, that we may tear them in pieces." The guards found some difficulty in quelling this insurrection, and one or two women lost their lives in the fray.

The battle of Marston-moor was the beginning of the king's misfortunes and disgrace. The Scots and parliamentarian army had joined, and were besieging York, when prince Rupert, joined by the marquis of Newcastle, determined to raise the siege. Both sides drew up on Marston-moor, to the number of fifty thousand, and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed by Oliver Cromwell, who now first came into notice, at the head of a body of troops whom he had taken care to levy and discipline. Cromwell was victorious; he pushed his opponents off the field, followed the vanquished, returned to a second engagement and a second victory; the prince's whole

train of artillery was taken; and the cause of the royalists sustained an irreparable injury.

While the king was unfortunate in the field, he was not more successful in negociation. A treaty was begun at Uxbridge, which, like all others, came A. D. 1645.] to nothing. The puritans demanded a total abolition of the episcopacy and all church ceremonies; and this Charles, from conviction, from interest, and persuasion, was not willing to permit. He had all along adhered to the episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his adherents were passionately devoted to it. He esteemed bishops as essential to the Christian church; and thought himself bound, not only by temporal but sacred ties, to defend them. The parliament was as obstinately bent upon removing this order; and, to shew their resolution, began with the foremost of the number.

William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, as we have already seen, had been imprisoned in the Tower at the same time with Strafford; and he had patiently endured so long a confinement without being brought to any trial. He was now, therefore, accused of high-treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. The groundless charge of popery, which his life and afterwards his death belied, was urged against him. In his defence he spoke several hours with that courage which seems the result of innocence and integrity. The lords, who were his judges, appeared willing to acquit him: but the commons, his accusers, finding how his trial was likely to go, passed an ordinance for his execution, and terrified the lords, who continued obstinate, to give their consent. Seven peers alone voted in this important question; all the rest, either from shame or fear, did not appear. When brought to the scaffold, this venerable prelate, without any terror, but in the usual tone of his exhortations from the pulpit, made the people a long speech. He told them that he had examined his heart; and thanked God that he found no sins there which deserved the death he was going to suffer. The king, he said, had been traduced by some, as labouring to introduce popery; but he believed him as sound a protestant as any man in the kingdom; and as for parliaments, though he disliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never designed to change the laws of his country, or the protestant religion. After he had prayed for a few minutes, the executioner severed his head at a blow. It is a sad consideration, that, in these times of trouble, the best men were those on either side who chiefly suffered.

The death of Laud was followed by a total alteration of the ceremonies of the church. The Liturgy was, by a public act, abolished on the day of his death, as if he had been the only obstacle to its formal removal. The church of England was in all respects brought to a conformity to the puritanical establishment; while the citizens of London, and the Scotch army, gave public thanks for so happy an alteration.

The abolition of the reformed religion, as established by queen Elizabeth, seemed at first to promise vigour and consistence to the counsels of the parliamentarians. But such is the nature of man, that if he does not find, he makes, opposition. From the moment the puritans began to be apparently united, and ranked under one denomination of presbyterians, they began to divide into fresh parties, each professing different views and interests. One part of the house was composed of presbyterians, strictly so called; the other, though a minority, of independents, a new sect that had lately been introduced, and gained ground surprisingly.

The difference between these two sects would be hardly worth mentioning, did not their religious opinions influence their political conduct. The church of England, as we have seen, had appointed bishops of clerical ordination, and a book of common-prayer. The presbyterians exclaimed against both; they were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people, and prayers made without premeditation. The independents went still farther: they excluded all the clergy; they maintained that every man might pray in public, exhort his audience, and explain the scriptures. Their political system kept pace with their religious. Not contented with reducing the king to a first magistrate, which was the aim of the presbyterians, this sect aspired at the abolition not only of all monarchy, but of all subordination.

They maintained, and they maintained rightly, that all men were born equal; but they alleged also, that no accidental or artificial institutions could destroy this equality; and there they were deceived. Could such a plan of government as theirs be practicable, it would, no doubt, be the most happy; but the wise and industrious must in every country prevail over the weak and idle; and the bad success of the independent scheme soon after shewed how ill adapted such speculative ideas were to human infirmity. Possessed, however, with a high idea of their own rectitude, both in religion and politics, they gave way to a surly pride, which is ever the result of narrow manners and solitary thinking.

These were a body of men who were now growing into consideration: their apparent sanctity, their natural courage, excited by enthusiasm, and their unceasing perseverance, began to work considerable effects; and though they were out-numbered in the house of commons, which was composed of more enlightened minds, they formed a majority in the army, made up chiefly of the lowest of the vulgar.

The royalists endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this fanaticism, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces of the king were united by much feebler ties; and license among them, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had risen to a dangerous height, rendering them as formidable to their friends as their enemies. To increase this unpopularity, the king, finding the parliament of Scotland as well as that of England declaring against him, thought proper to make a truce with the papists of Ireland, in order to bring over the English forces who served in that kingdom. With these troops, he also received some of the native Irish into his service, who still retained their fierceness and barbarity. This gave the parliament a plausible opportunity of upbraiding him with taking papists into his service, and gave a colour to the ancient calumny of his having excited them to rebel. Unfortunately too, soon after, it was found that they rather increased the hatred of his subjects than added to the strength of his army. They were routed by Fairfax, one of the generals of the parliamentary army; and, though they threw down their arms, they were slaughtered without mercy. It is said that several women were found among the slain, who with long knives had done considerable execution; but the animosity of the English against these wretches, at that time, might have given rise to the report.

These misfortunes were soon after succeeded by another. Charles, who had now retired to Oxford, found himself at the head of a turbulent seditious army, who, from wanting pay, were scarcely subject to control; while, on the other hand, the parliamentarians were well supplied and paid, and held together from principle. The parliament, to give them an example of disinterestedness in their own conduct, passed an act, called the *self-denying ordinance*, which deserved all commendation. They resolved, lest it should be suggested by the nation that their intent was to make themselves masters, that no member of their house should have a command in the army. The former generals were therefore changed; the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, gave up their commissions; and Fairfax, now appointed general with Cromwell, who found means to keep at once his seat and his commission, new-modelled the army. This, which might at first have seemed to weaken their forces, gave them new spirit; and the soldiers, become more confident in their new commanders, were irresistible.

Never was a more singular army assembled than that which now drew the sword in the parliamentary cause. The officers exercised the office of chaplains: and, during the intervals of action, instructed their troops by sermons, prayers, and exhortations. Rapturous ecstasies supplied the place of study and reflection; and while they kindled as they spoke, they ascribed their own warmth to a descent of the Spirit from heaven. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the holy scriptures, and in ghostly conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation mixed their notes with those of the trumpet. An army thus actuated, became invincible.

The well-disputed battle which decided the fate of Charles, [June 14, 1645.

was fought at Naseby, a village in Northamptonshire. The main body of the royal army was commanded by lord Astley: prince Rupert led the right wing, sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himself headed the body of reserve. On the opposite side, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell led on the right wing, and Ireton, his son-in-law, the left. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with his usual impetuosity and success: they were broken, and pursued as far as the village; but he lost time in attempting to make himself master of their artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was equally successful on his side, and broke through the enemy's horse, after a very obstinate resistance. While these were thus engaged, the infantry on both sides sustained the conflict with equal ardour; and, in spite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way. But it was now that Cromwell returned with his victorious forces, and charged the king's infantry in flank with such vigour, that a total rout began to ensue. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king and the small body of reserve; but his troops, though victorious, could not be brought to a second charge. They were at all times licentious and ungovernable; but they were now intimidated; for the parliamentarians, having recovered from the first shock, stood ready in order of battle to receive them. The king was desirous of charging them at the head of his reserve; but the earl of Carnwath, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying, with a loud oath, "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" The troops seeing his motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in such confusion, that they could not be rallied during the rest of the day. The king, perceiving the battle wholly lost, was obliged to abandon the field to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above 5000 prisoners.

From this fatal blow the king never after recovered; his army was dispersed, and the conquerors made as many captives as they thought proper. Among the other spoils taken on this occasion, the king's cabinet was seized, in which was contained all his private correspondence with the queen. The letters were shortly after published by the command of the parliament, who took a vulgar and brutal pleasure in ridiculing all those tender effusions which were never drawn up for the public eye.

The battle of Naseby put the parliamentarians in possession of almost all the strong towns of the kingdom—Bristol, Bridgewater, Chester, Sherborn, and Bath. Exeter was besieged; and all the king's troops in the western counties being entirely dispersed, Fairfax pressed the place, and it surrendered at discretion. The king's interests seemed going to ruin in every quarter.

The Scottish army, which, as has been said, took part with the parliament, having made themselves masters of Carlisle, after an obstinate siege, marched to the southward, and laid siege to Hereford. Another engagement followed between the king and the parliamentarians, in which his forces were put to the rout by colonel Jones, a thousand of his men made prisoners, and five hundred slain. Thus harassed on every side, he retreated to Oxford, which, in all conditions of his fortune, had been steady to his cause; and there he resolved to offer new terms to his victorious pursuers.

Nothing could be more affecting than the king's situation during his abode at Oxford. Saddened by his late melancholy disasters, impressed with the apprehensions of such as hung over him, harassed by the murmurs of those who had followed his cause, and stung with sorrow for his incapacity to relieve them, he now was willing to grant the parliament their own terms, and at any rate to procure a reconciliation. He therefore sent them repeated messages to this purpose; but they did not deign to make him the least reply. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing some bills, to which if he would consent, they would then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations.

A. D. 1646.] In the mean time, Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which promised an easy surrender. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his insolent subjects, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult and violence might be dreaded from the soldiery, who had felt the effects of his opposition. In this desperate extremity, he embraced

a measure which, in any other situation, might justly lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion. He resolved to give himself up to the Scottish army, who had never testified such implacable animosity against him, and to trust to their loyalty for the rest.

That he might the better conceal his design from the people of Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city for allowing three persons to pass. In the night, the king, accompanied by doctor Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, took the road towards London, travelling as Ashburnham's servant. He, in fact, came so near London, that he once entertained some thoughts of entering that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. At last, after passing through many cross-roads and by-ways, he arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark, and discovered himself to lord Leven, the general.

The Scots, who had before given him some general assurances of their fidelity and protection, now seemed greatly surprised at his arrival among them. Instead of bestowing a thought on his interests, they instantly entered into a consultation upon their own. The commissioners of their army sent up an account of the king's arrival to the parliament, and declared that his coming was altogether unasked and unexpected. In the mean time, they prevailed upon the king to give directions for surrendering all his garrisons to the parliament; with which he complied. In return for this condescension, they treated him with very long sermons among the ecclesiastics, and with the most cautious reserve, but very different from respect, among the officers. The preachers of the party indeed insulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face with his misconduct, ordered that psalm to be sung which begins,

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?"

The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words,

"Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For men would me devour."

The audience accordingly sang this psalm, in compassion to majesty in distress.

The parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scots, about delivering up their prisoner. The Scots had, from their first entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament, in order to prevent their plundering the country: much of this, however, remained unpaid, from the unavoidable necessities of the times; and much more was claimed by the Scots than was really due. Nevertheless, they now saw that this was a convenient time for insisting on their arrears; and they resolved to make the king the instrument by which this money was to be obtained. After various debates upon this head between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and insisted upon many punctilios, they agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thousand pounds they would deliver up the king to his enemies: and this was cheerfully complied with. An action so atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended: they returned home, laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men.

From this period to the despotic government of Cromwell, the constitution was convulsed with all the agitations of faction, guilt, ignorance, and enthusiasm. The kingly power being laid low, the parliament attempted to assume the reins; but they were soon to submit in turn to the military power, which, like all democracies, was turbulent, transient, feeble, and bloody.

CHAP. XXXIII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1647 to 1649.

THE king being delivered over by the Scots to the parliamentary commissioners, he was conducted under a guard to Holdenby castle in Northamptonshire. They treated him in confinement with the most rigorous severity, dismissing all his ancient servants, debarring him from all visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends and family.

The civil war was now over; the king had absolved his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear, except those very troops by which they had extended their overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the division between the independents and the presbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the house were of the presbyterian sect; but the majority of the army were stanch independents. At the head of this sect was Cromwell, who secretly directed its operations, and invigorated all its measures.

Oliver Cromwell, whose talents now began to appear in full lustre, was the son of a private gentleman of Huntingdon; but being the son of a second brother, he inherited a very small paternal fortune. He had been sent to Cambridge; but his inclinations not at that time turning to the calm occupations of elegant literature, he was remarkable only for the profligacy of his conduct, and the dissipation of his paternal fortune. It was, perhaps, his poverty that induced him to fall into the opposite extreme shortly after; for, from being one of the most debauched men in the kingdom, he became the most rigid and abstemious. The same vehemence of temper which had transported him into the extremes of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. He endeavoured to improve his shattered fortunes by agriculture; but this expedient served only to plunge him into farther difficulties. He was even determined to go over and settle in New England; but was prevented by the king's ordinance to the contrary. From accident or intrigue, he was chosen member for the town of Cambridge, in the long parliament; but he seemed at first to possess no talents for oratory, his person being ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. He made up, however, by zeal and perseverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unshaken intrepidity, much dissimulation, and a thorough conviction of the rectitude of his cause, he rose, through the gradations of preferment, to the post of lieutenant-general under Fairfax, but, in reality, possessing the supreme command over the whole army.

Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterian party, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army, and sending the rest to Ireland. It may easily be supposed, that for every reason the troops were as unwilling to be disbanded, as to be led over into a country as yet uncivilized, uncultivated, and barbarous. Cromwell took care to inspire them with a horror of either: they loved him for his bravery and religious zeal, and still more for his seeming affection to them. Instead, therefore, of submitting, they resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war. This the commons, in turn, treated with great severity; they voted, that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, to obstruct the relief of the kingdom of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace.

The army now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth; and complained, that they had secured the general tranquillity, while they were at the same time deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. In opposition, therefore, to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to represent the body of peers; the soldiers elected two men out of each company, to represent the house of commons; and these were called the Agitators of the army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrived an easy method underhand of conducting and promoting the sedition of the army.

This fierce assembly, having debated for a very short time, declared that they found many grievances to be redressed; and began by specifying such as they desired to be most speedily removed. The very same conduct which had formerly been used with success by the parliament against their sovereign, was now put in practice by the army against the parliament. As the commons granted every request, the agitators rose in their demands: the former accused the army of mutiny and sedition; the army retorted the charge, and alleged that the king had been deposed only to make way for their usurpations.

The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a prisoner at Holdenby Castle; and as his countenance might add some authority to that side which should obtain it, Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, while he apparently exclaimed against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly, a party of five hundred horse appeared at the castle, under the command of one Joyce, who had been originally a tailor, but who, in the present confusion of all ranks and orders, was advanced to the rank of cornet. Without any opposition, he entered the king's apartment, armed with pistols, and told him that he must prepare to go with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army," replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" asked the king. Joyce pointed to his followers. "Your warrant," replied Charles, "is written in fair characters." And then, without farther delay, he went into his coach, and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triploe-heath, near Royston. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was instantly invested with the supreme command.

It was now that the commons perceived a settled design in the army to prescribe laws to their employers; and they did not fail to spread the alarm through the city. But it was too late to resist; the army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's; so that the commons now began to think of temporizing. The declaration by which they had voted the military petitioners enemies to the state, was recalled, and erased from their journal-book. But all submission was vain; the army still rose in their demands, in proportion as those demands were gratified, until at last they entirely threw off the mask, and claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation.

But as too precipitate an assumption of authority might appear invidious, Cromwell began by accusing eleven members of the house as guilty of high-treason, and enemies to the army. The members accused were the leaders of the presbyterian party, the very men who had prescribed such rigorous measures to the king, and now, in their turn, were threatened with popular resentment. As they were the leading men in the house, the commons were willing to protect them; but the army insisting on their dismission, they voluntarily left the house, rather than be compelled to withdraw.

At last the citizens of London, who had been ever foremost in sedition, began to open their eyes, and to perceive that the constitution was totally overturned. They saw an oppressive parliament now subjected to a more oppressive army: they found their religion abolished, their king a captive, and no hopes of redress but from another scene of slaughter. In this exigence, therefore, the common-council assembled the militia of the city; the works were manned, and a manifesto published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the house of commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city militia should be disbanded, the multitude rose, besieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse that vote which they had passed so lately.

In this manner was this wretched house intimidated on either side; obliged at one time to obey the army, at another to comply with the clamours of the city rabble. This assembly was, in consequence, divided into parties, as usual; one part siding with the seditious citizens, while the minority, with the two speakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. In such an universal confusion, it is not to be expected that any thing less than a separation of the parties could take place; and accordingly the two speakers, with sixty-two members, secretly retired from the house, and threw themselves under the protection of the army, then encamped upon Hounslow-heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations; their integrity was extolled; and the whole body of the soldiery, a formidable force of twenty thousand men, now moved forward to reinstate them.

In the mean time, the remaining members resolved to act with vigour, and resist the encroachments of the army. They chose new speakers; they gave orders for enlisting troops; they ordered the trained bands to man the lines; and the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolu-

tion only held while the enemy was thought at a distance; for when the formidable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission; the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers, and the rest of the members, peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accused as causes of the tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to prison, and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having disobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who had been sent by the army a prisoner to Hampton Court. The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand, and the presbyterians in the name of either house, on the other hand, treated separately with him in private. He had at one time even hopes, that, in these struggles for power, he might have been chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected that the kingdom, at last sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would, like a froward child, hushed with its own importunities, settle into its former tranquil constitution. However, in all his miseries and doubts, though at first led about with his army, and afterwards kept a prisoner by them at Hampton, such was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour. Though a captive in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he still supported the dignity of a monarch; and he never one moment sunk from the consciousness of his own superiority.

It is true, that at first he was treated with some flattering marks of distinction; he was permitted to converse with his old servants, his chaplains were admitted to attend him, and celebrate divine service in their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed, was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting, on these occasions, was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved: he was heard to declare, that he had never beheld such an affecting scene before; and we must do justice to this man's feelings, as he was himself a tender father.

But those flattering instances of respect and submission were of no long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the house of commons, the independents began to abate of their expressions of duty and respect.

The king, therefore, was now more strictly guarded; they would hardly allow his domestics to converse with him in private, and spies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He was every hour threatened with false dangers of Cromwell's contrivance; by which he was taught to fear for his personal safety. The spies and creatures of that artful man were sedulously employed in raising the king's terrors, and representing to him the danger of his situation. These at length prevailed, and Charles resolved to withdraw himself from the army. Cromwell considered, that if he should escape from the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open to his ambition; if he should be apprehended, the late attempt would aggravate his guilt, and apologize for any succeeding severity.

Early in the evening, the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed; and about an hour after midnight, he went down the back stairs, attended by Ashburnham and Legge, both gentlemen of his bedchamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and travelling through the Forest all night, arrived at Titchfield, the seat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone towards the shore, and expressed great anxiety that a ship, which Ashburnham had promised to be in readiness, was not to be seen. At Titchfield, he deliberated with his friends upon his next excursion, and they advised him to cross over to the Isle of Wight, where Hammond was governor, who, though a creature of Cromwell, was yet a nephew of doctor Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauspicious protector it was resolved to have recourse; Ashburnham and Berkeley were sent before to exact a promise from this officer, that, if he would not protect the king, he

would not detain him. Hammond seemed surprised at their demand; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but at the same time alleged his duty to his employers. He therefore attended the king's gentlemen to Tichfield, with a guard of soldiers, and remained in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou hast undone me!" Ashburnham shed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and despatch the governor; but the king repressed his ardour. When Hammond came into his presence, he repeated his professions of regard; Charles submitted to his fate, and, without farther delay, attended him to Carisbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight, where he at first found himself treated with marks of duty and respect.

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, the parliament, now modelled as it was by the army, became every day more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was strengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repress any tendency to factious division among them. Nor were his fears without just cause; for had it not been for the quickness of his penetration, and the boldness of his activity, the whole army would have been thrown into a state of ungovernable frenzy.

Among the independents, who, in general, were for having no ecclesiastical subordination, a set of men grew up called *Levellers*, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, than Christ. They declared that all men were equal; that all degrees and ranks should be levelled, and an exact partition of property established in the nation. This ferment spread through the army; and as it was a doctrine well suited to the poverty of the daring soldiery, it promised every day to become more dangerous and fatal. Several petitions were presented, urging the justice of a partition, and threatening vengeance on a refusal of redress.

Cromwell now saw that he was upon the point of losing all the fruits of his former schemes and dangers; and dreaded this new faction still more, as they turned his own pretended principles against himself. Thus finding all at stake, he resolved, by one resolute blow, to disperse the faction, or perish in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the terrified assembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what these meetings and murmurings meant; he expostulated with them upon the danger and consequence of their precipitate schemes, and desired them immediately to depart. But instead of obeying, they returned an insolent answer; wherefore, rushing on them in a fury, he laid, with his own hands, two of them dead at his feet. His guards dispersing the rest, he caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot; he sent others prisoners to London; and thus dissipated a faction, no otherwise criminal than in having followed his own example.

This action served still more to increase the power of Cromwell in the camp and in the parliament; and while Fairfax was nominally general of the troops, Oliver was invested with all the power. But his authority soon became irresistible, in consequence of a new and unexpected addition to his successes. The Scots, perhaps ashamed of the reproach of having sold their king, and stimulated by the independents, who took all occasions to mortify them, raised an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the duke of Hamilton; while Langdale, who professed himself at the head of the more bigoted party, who had taken the covenant, marched at the head of his separate body, and both invaded the north of England. Their two armies [A. D. 1648. amounted to about twenty thousand men. But Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle; he attacked them one after the other, routed and dispersed them, took Hamilton prisoner, and, following his blow, entered Scotland, where he settled the government entirely to his satisfaction. An insurrection in Kent was quelled by Fairfax at the same time with the same ease: and nothing but success attended all this bold usurper's criminal attempts.

During these contentions, the king, who was kept a prisoner at Carisbrook,

continued to negociate with the parliament for settling the unspeakable calamities of the kingdom. The parliament saw no other method of destroying military power, but to depress it by the kingly. Frequent proposals for an accommodation passed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obstacle which had all along stood in the way, still kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refusing to abolish episcopacy, though he consented to a suspension of the liturgy of the church. However, the treaty was still carried on with vigour, as the parliament had more to apprehend from the designs of their generals than from the attempts of the king; and, for the first time, they seemed in earnest to conclude their negociations.

But all was now too late; their power was soon totally to expire; for the rebellious army, crowned with success, had returned from the destruction of their enemies, and, sensible of their own power, with furious remonstrances began to demand vengeance on the king. At the same time they advanced to Windsor; and, sending an officer to seize the king's person, where he was lately sent under confinement, they conveyed him to Hurst castle, in Hampshire, opposite the Isle of Wight. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this harsh proceeding, as being contrary to their approbation; it was in vain that they began to issue ordinances for a more effectual opposition; they received a message from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a visit the next day with his army; and in the mean time he ordered them to levy forty thousand pounds upon the city of London for the public service.

The commons, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still courage to resist, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to close their treaty with the king. They had taken into consideration the whole of his concessions; and though they had formerly voted them unsatisfactory, they now renewed the consultation with fresh vigour. After a violent debate, which had lasted three days, it was carried in the king's favour, by a majority of a hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon, in the settlement of the kingdom. This was the last attempt in his favour: for the next day colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house, and seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of Hell. Above a hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the independents, in all not exceeding sixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliamentary rights commonly passed by the name of Pride's *Purge;* and the remaining members were called the *Rump*. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house, a few days before, were entirely illegal, and that the conduct of their general was just and necessary.

Nothing now remained, after the constitution had been destroyed, after the parliament had been ejected, after the religion of the country had been abolished, after the bravest and best of its subjects had been slain, but to murder the king! This vile parliament, if it now deserves the name, was composed of a medley of the most obscure citizens, and the officers of the army. In this assembly, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was therefore resolved, that a high court of justice should be appointed to try his majesty for this newly invented treason. For the sake of form, they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other house; but here there was virtue enough left unanimously to reject the horrid proposal.

A. D. 1649.] But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary; they voted that the people were the origin of all just power; a fact which, though true, they never could bring home to themselves. To add to their zeal, a woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions, desired admittance, and communicated a revelation which she had received from heaven. She assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the

king from Hurst castle to Windsor, and thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their sovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair had become venerably gray, rather by the pressure of anxiety, than the hand of time; while the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood, a solitary figure of majesty in distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. He had been long attended only by an old decrepit servant, whose name was sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate, without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reserved for the same punishment with his master, having leave to take a last farewell as he departed from Windsor, threw himself at the king's feet, crying out, "My dear master!" The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you." These were severe distresses: however, he could not be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be despatched by private assassination.

The interval, from the sixth to the twentieth of January, was spent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of a hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met on the trial. The members who attended were the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

The king was now conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and, the next day, was brought before the high court to take his trial. While the crier was calling over the names of the commissioners for trying him, nobody answering for lord Fairfax, a female voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "No, nor a tenth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box from which the voice proceeded, it was discovered that these bold answers came from the lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

When the king was brought before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he still sustained the dignity of a king; he surveyed the members of the court with a stern haughty air; and, without moving his hat, sat down, while the members also were covered. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which followed since the commencement of the war: at that part of the charge he could not suppress a smile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer.

The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from that which he now received. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal; observed, that he was himself the king and fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; that, having been intrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognising a power founded on usurpation; that he was willing before a proper tribunal to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence, lest he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for, the constitution.

Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted that they

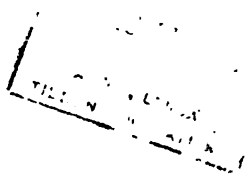
had received their power from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of a court that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted and overruled the king in his attempts to reply.

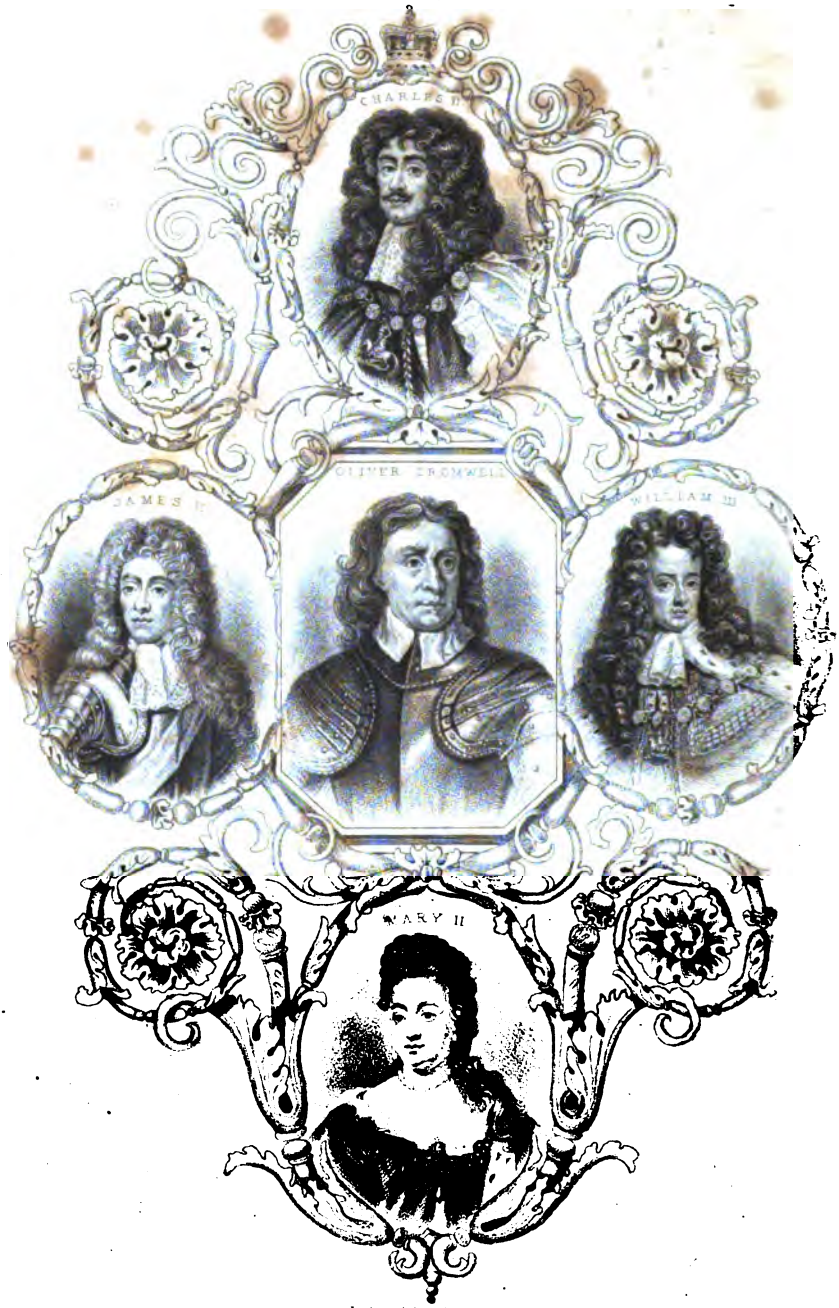
In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created court, as he was proceeding thither, he was insulted by the soldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Justice! justice! Execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted. His judges having now examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed that he intended to resign the crown to his son; but the court refused compliance, and considered his request as an artifice to delay justice.

The conduct of the king, under all these instances of low-bred malice, was great, firm, and equal; in going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble were again instigated to cry out Justice and Execution. They reviled him with the most bitter reproaches. Among other insults, one miscreant presumed to spit in the face of his sovereign. He patiently bore their insolence. "Poor souls," cried he, "they would treat their generals in the same manner for sixpence." Those of the populace who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. A soldier, more compassionate than the rest, could not help imploring a blessing upon his royal head. An officer, overhearing him, struck the honest sentinel to the ground before the king; who could not help saying, that the punishment exceeded the offence.

At his return to Whitehall, he desired the permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for the execution of the sentence. All that remained of his family now in England were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of eight years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, "My child," said he, "they will cut off thy father's head; yes, they will cut off my head, and make thee a king. But mark what I say, thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads when they can take them; and thy head too they will cut off at last, and therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by them." The child, bursting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first."

Every night during the interval between his sentence and execution, the king slept soundly as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early, and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended that this should increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the mild and steady virtues of his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers under the command of colonel Tomlinson; and on it were to be seen the block, the axe, and two executioners in masks. The people in crowds stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king surveyed all these preparations with calm composure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shewn him the example; that he had no other object in his warlike preparations than to preserve that authority entire which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors; but, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his





Engraved by R. Burles

Published by Henry Fisher Caxton London 1836

Maker. He owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledged his son as his successor; and signified his attachment to the protestant religion as professed in the church of England. So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert.

While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him, "There is, sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. It will soon carry you a great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you will find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten—a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." "You exchange," replied the bishop, "a temporal for an eternal crown—a good exchange." Charles having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word, "Remember." Then he laid his neck on the block; and, when he had stretched out his hands as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from his body at a blow, while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor!" The spectators testified their horror at the sad spectacle in sighs, tears, and lamentations; the tide of their duty and affection began to return, and each blamed himself either for active disloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits that used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance; and all united in their detestation of those dark hypocrites, who, to satisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treason.

Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and [A. D. 1649. the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His visage was pleasing, but melancholy; and it is probable that the continual troubles in which he was involved might have made that impression on his countenance. As for his character, the reader will deduce it with more precision and satisfaction to himself from the detail of his conduct, than from any summary given of it by the historian. It will suffice to say, that all his faults seem to have arisen from the error of his education; while all his virtues (and he possessed many) were the genuine offspring of his heart. He lived at a time when the established exercise of the prerogative was at variance with the genius of the people; and, governing by old rules and precedents, instead of accommodating himself to the changes of the times, he fell, and drew down, as he sunk, the constitution in ruins round him. Many kings before him expired by treason or assassination; but never, since the times of Agis the Lacedæmonian, was there any other sacrificed by his subjects with all the formalities of justice. Many were the miseries sustained by the nation in bringing this monarch to the block; and more were yet to be endured previous to the settlement of the constitution: yet these struggles were ultimately productive of domestic happiness and security; the laws became more precise, the monarch's privileges better ascertained, and the subject's duty better delineated; all became more peaceable, as if a previous fermentation in the constitution was necessary for its subsequent refinement.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE COMMONWEALTH.—A. D. 1649 to 1658.

CROMWELL, who had secretly solicited and contrived the king's death, now began to feel wishes to which he had been hitherto a stranger. His prospects widening as he rose, his first principles of liberty were all lost in the unbounded stretch of power that lay before him. When the peers met on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days after, the commons voted that the house of lords,

being useless and dangerous, should be abolished. They voted it high-treason to acknowledge Charles Stuart, son of the late king, as successor to the throne. A great seal was made, on one side of which were engraven the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription: "The great seal of England." On the reverse was represented the house of commons sitting, with this motto: "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." The forms of all public business were changed from the king's name to that of the keepers of the liberties of England.

The reigning party now proceeded to try those gallant men, whose attachment to their late sovereign had been the most remarkable. The duke of Hamilton and lord Capel were condemned and executed; the earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence; the earl of Norwich and sir John Owen were condemned, but afterwards pardoned by the commons.

The Scots, who had in the beginning shewn themselves so averse to the royal family, having by a long train of success totally suppressed all insurrections in its favour, now began to relent from their various persecutions. Their loyalty began to return; and the insolence of the independents, with their victories, served to inflame them still more. The execution of their favourite duke Hamilton also, who was put to death not only in defiance of the laws of war, but of nations, was no small vexation; they therefore determined to acknowledge prince Charles for their king. But their love of liberty was still predominant, and seemed to combat with their manifold resentments. At the same time that they resolved upon raising him to the throne, they abridged his power with every limitation which they had attempted to impose on their late sovereign.

Charles, after the death of his father, having passed some time at Paris, and finding no prospect of assistance from that quarter, was glad to accept of any conditions. He possessed neither the virtues nor the constancy of his father; and being attached to no religion as yet, he agreed to all their proposals, being satisfied with even the formalities of royalty. It is remarkable, that, while the Scots were thus inviting their king over, they were, nevertheless, cruelly punishing those who had adhered to his cause. Among others, the marquis of Montrose, one of the bravest, politest, and most finished characters of that age, was taken prisoner, as he endeavoured to raise the Highlanders in the royal cause; and, being brought to Edinburgh, was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, then quartered, and his limbs stuck up in the principal towns of the kingdom. Yet, notwithstanding all this severity to his followers, Charles ventured into Scotland, and had the mortification to enter the gate of Edinburgh, where the limbs of that faithful adherent were still exposed.

Being now entirely at the mercy of the gloomy and austere zealots who had been the cause of his father's misfortunes, he soon found that he had only exchanged exile for imprisonment. He was surrounded and incessantly importuned by the fanatical clergy, who obtruded their religious instructions, and obliged him to listen to long sermons, in which they seldom failed to stigmatize the late king as a tyrant, to accuse his mother of idolatry, and himself of an untoward disposition. Six sermons a day were his usual allowance; and though they laboured to outgo each other in absurdity, yet he was denied the small consolation of laughter. In short, the clergy having brought royalty under their feet, were resolved to keep it still subservient, and to trample upon it with all the contumely of successful upstarts. Charles for a while bore all their insolence with hypocritical tranquillity, and even pretended to be highly edified by their instructions. He once, indeed, attempted to escape from among them; but, being brought back, he owned the greatness of his error; he testified repentance for what he had done, and looked about for another opportunity of escaping.

In the mean time, Cromwell, who had been appointed to the command of the army in Ireland, prosecuted the war in that kingdom with his usual success. He had to combat against the royalists, commanded by the duke of Ormond, and the native Irish, led on by O'Neal. But such ill-connected and barbarous troops could give very little opposition to Cromwell's more numerous forces, conducted by such a general, and emboldened by long success.

He soon overran the whole country; and, after some time, all the towns revolted in his favour, and opened their gates at his approach. But in these conquests, as in all the rest of his actions, there appeared a brutal ferocity that would tarnish the most heroic valour. In order to intimidate the natives from defending their towns, he, with a barbarous policy, put every garrison that made any resistance to the sword. He entered the city of Drogheda by storm, and indiscriminately butchered men, women, and children; so that only one escaped the dreadful carnage to give an account of the massacre. He was now in the train of speedily reducing the whole kingdom to subjection, when he was called over by the parliament to defend his [A. D. 1650. own country against the Scots, who, having espoused the royal cause, had raised a considerable army to support it.

After Cromwell's return to England, upon taking his seat, he received the thanks of the house, by the mouth of the speaker, for the services he had done the commonwealth in Ireland. They then proceeded to deliberate upon choosing a general for conducting the war in Scotland, which Fairfax refusing upon principle, as he had all along declined opposing the presbyterians, the command necessarily devolved upon Cromwell. Fairfax, from that time forward, declined meddling in public affairs; but, sending his commission of generalissimo to the house, he retired, to spend the remainder of his life in peace and privacy. Cromwell, eager to pursue the path of ambition that now lay before him, and being declared captain-general of the forces, boldly set forward for Scotland, at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men.

The Scots, in the mean time, who had invited over their wretched king to be a prisoner, not a ruler, among them, prepared to meet the invasion. They had given the command of their army to general Lesley, a good officer, who formed a proper plan for their defence. This prudent commander knew, that, though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline and experience to the English; and he kept himself carefully within his entrenchments. After some previous motions on one side and the other, Cromwell, at last, saw himself in a very disadvantageous post near Dunbar, and his antagonist waiting deliberately to take advantage of his situation. But the madness of the Scottish clergy saved him from the imminent disgrace which was likely to attend him, and to their vain inspirations he owed his security. These had, it seems, been night and day wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they at last fancied that they had obtained the superiority. Revelations, they said, were made to them, that the heretical army, together with Agag the general, would be delivered into their hands. Upon the assurances of these visions, they obliged their general, in spite of all his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, and give the English battle.

The English had also their visions and their assurances. Cromwell, in his turn, had been wrestling with the Lord, and had come off with success. When he was told that the Scots were coming down to engage, he assured his soldiers that the Lord had delivered the enemy into his hands; and he ordered his army to sing psalms, as if already possessed of a certain victory.

The Scots, though double the number of the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter, while Cromwell, it is said, did not lose above forty men in all.

The unfortunate king, who hated all the Scottish army, and only dreaded Cromwell, was well enough pleased at the defeat, which belied all the assurances of his oppressors. It was attended also with this good consequence to him, that it served to introduce him to a greater share of power than he had hitherto been permitted to enjoy. He now, therefore, put himself at the head of the Scottish troops that had survived the defeat: and these he strengthened by the royalists, whom the covenanters had some time before excluded from his service. Cromwell, however, still followed [A. D. 1651. his blow, pursued the king's forces towards Perth, and, cutting off their provision, made it impossible for Charles to maintain his forces in that country.

In this terrible exigence, he embraced a resolution worthy of a prince who was willing to hazard all for empire. Observing that the way was open to England, he resolved immediately to march into that country, where he

expected to be reinforced by all the royalists. His generals were persuaded to enter into the same views; and with one consent the Scottish army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, made an irruption southwards.

But Charles soon found himself disappointed in the expectation of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell from him in great numbers. The English, affrighted at the name of his opponent, dreaded to join him; but his mortifications were still more increased as he arrived at Worcester, when informed that Cromwell was marching against him with hasty strides, with an army increased to between thirty and forty thousand men. The news had scarcely arrived, when that active general himself appeared; and, falling upon the town on all sides, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets were strewed with slaughter, the whole Scottish army were either killed or taken prisoners, and the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly.

Imagination can scarcely conceive adventures more romantic, or distresses more severe, than those which attended the young king's escape from the scene of slaughter. After his hair was cut off, the better to disguise his person, he wrought for some days in the habit of a peasant, cutting faggots in a wood. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was sincerely attached to his cause. In this attempt, however, he was disappointed, every pass being guarded to prevent his escape. Being obliged to return, he met one colonel Careless, who, like himself, had escaped the carnage at Worcester; and it was in his company that he was obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the thick branches of which they passed the day together, while they heard the soldiers of the enemy in pursuit of them below. Thence he passed with imminent danger, feeling all the varieties of famine, fatigue, and pain, till he arrived at the house of colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, in Staffordshire. There he deliberated about the means of escaping into France; and Bristol being supposed the most convenient port, it was agreed that he should ride thither, before this gentleman's sister, on a visit to Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey, he every day met with persons whose faces he knew; and at one time he passed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army.

When they arrived at Mrs. Norton's, the first person they saw was one of his own chaplains sitting at the door, amusing himself with seeing people play at bowls. The king, after having taken proper care of his horse in the stable, was shewn to an apartment, which Mrs. Lane had provided for him, as it was said he had the ague. The butler, however, being sent to him with some refreshment, no sooner beheld his face, which was very pale with anxiety and fatigue, than he recollected his king and master, and falling upon his knees, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, cried out, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." The king was alarmed, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and the honest servant punctually obeyed him.

No ship being found that would for a month set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He therefore repaired to the house of colonel Wyndham, in Dorsetshire, where he was cordially received; that gentleman's family having ever been loyal. His mother, a venerable matron, seemed to think the end of her life nobly rewarded, in having it in her power to give protection to her king. She expressed no dissatisfaction at having lost three sons and one grandchild in the defence of his cause, since she was honoured in being instrumental to his own preservation.

Pursuing thence his journey to the sea-side, he once more had a very providential escape from a little inn, where he put up for the night. The day had been appointed by parliament for a solemn fast; and a fanatical weaver, who had been a soldier in the parliament army, was preaching against the king in a little chapel fronting the house. Charles, to avoid suspicion, was himself among the audience. It happened that a smith, of the same principles with the weaver, had been examining the horses belonging to the passengers,

and came to assure the preacher that he knew, by the fashion of the shoes, that one of the strangers' horses came from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But Charles had taken timely precautions, and had left the inn before the constable's arrival.

At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked. He was known to so many, that, if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it would have been impossible for him to escape. After six weeks' wandering and concealment, he arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had, at different times, been privy to his escape.

In the mean time Cromwell, crowned with success, returned in triumph to London, where he was met by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor of London, and the other magistrates, in all their formalities. His first care was to take advantage of his late success, by depressing the Scots, who had so lately withstood the work of the Gospel, as he called it. An act was passed for abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the English commonwealth. It was empowered, however, to send some members to the English parliament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice; and the people of that country, now freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with their present government. The prudent conduct of Monk, who was left by Cromwell to complete their subjection, served much to reconcile the minds of the people, harassed with dissensions, of which they never well understood the cause.

In this manner the English parliament, by the means of Crom- [A. D. 1652.
well, spread their uncontested authority over all the British dominions. Ireland was totally subdued by Ireton and Ludlow. All the settlements in America, that had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit; Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought easily under subjection. Thus mankind saw, with astonishment, a parliament, composed of sixty or seventy obscure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanimity and success. Without any acknowledged subordination, except a council of state consisting of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses were made, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with economy and exactness. Few private persons became rich by the plunder of the public; the revenues of the crown, the lands of the bishops, and a tax of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds each month, supplied the wants of the government, and gave vigour to all their proceedings.

The parliament having thus reduced their native dominions to perfect obedience, next resolved to chastise the Dutch, who had given but very slight causes of complaint. It happened that one doctor Dorislaus, who was of the number of the late king's judges, being sent by the parliament as their envoy to Holland, was assassinated by one of the royal party who had taken refuge there. Some time after, also, Mr. St. John, appointed their ambassador to that court, was insulted by the friends of the prince of Orange. These were thought motives sufficient to induce the commonwealth of England to declare war against them. The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity and courage of Blake, their admiral; who though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet surpassed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other side, the Dutch opposed to him their famous admiral Van Tromp, to whom they have never since produced an equal. Many were the engagements between these celebrated admirals: but sea-fights rarely prove decisive; and the vanquished are soon seen to make head against the victors. Several dreadful encounters, therefore, rather served to shew the excellence of the admirals, than to determine their superiority. The Dutch, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the loss of their trade, and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for a peace; but the parliament gave them a very unfavourable answer. It was the policy of that body, to keep their navy on foot as long as they could; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by sea, it would diminish the power of general Cromwell by land, which was now become very formidable to them.

This great aspirer quickly perceived their designs; and from the first saw that they dreaded his growing power, and wished its diminution. All his measures were conducted with an intrepidity that marked his character; and he now saw that it was not necessary to wear the mask of subordination any A. D. 1653.] longer. Secure in the attachment of the army, he resolved to make another daring effort; and persuaded the officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with disdain. The petition was soon drawn up and presented, in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many years they had sitten, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new-model the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis. They alleged that it was now full time to give place to others; and, however meritorious their actions might have been, yet the rest of the nation had some right in turn to shew their patriotism in the service of their country.

The house was highly offended at the presumption of the army, although they had seen but too lately, that their own power was wholly founded on that very presumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who should present such petitions should be deemed guilty of high-treason. To this the officers made a very warm remonstrance, and the parliament as angry a reply; while the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what Cromwell had long wished, and had well foreseen. He was sitting in council with his officers when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating; upon which he rose up in seeming fury, and, turning to major Vernon, cried out, "That he was compelled to do a thing that made the very hair of his head stand on end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred soldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for some time. When the question was ready to be put, he suddenly started up, and began to load the parliament with the vilest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public; upon which, stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members, "For shame," said he, "get you gone. Give place to honester men: to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament; I tell you you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Henry Vane exclaiming against this conduct, "Sir Harry," cried Cromwell with a loud voice, "O sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, he said, "Thou art a whore-master;" to another, "Thou art an adulterer;" to a third, "Thou art a drunkard;" and to a fourth, "Thou art a glutton." "It is you," continued he to the members, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away," cried he, "that bauble." After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall.

Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was abolished, and the whole command, civil and military, centred in Cromwell only. The people, however, who were spectators in silent wonder of all these precipitate transactions, expressed no disapprobation at the dissolution of a parliament that had overturned the constitution, and destroyed the king. On the contrary, the usurper received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the corporations, and the army, for having dismissed a parliament that had subjected them to the most cruel impositions.

But this politic man was too cautious to be seduced by their praise, or driven on by their exhortations. Unwilling to put forth all his power at once, he resolved still to amuse the people with the form of a commonwealth, which it was the delusion of the times to admire, and to give them a parliament that would be entirely subservient to his commands. For this purpose, consulting with some of the principal officers, it was decreed, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and thirty-nine persons, under the denomination of a parliament; and he undertook himself to make the choice.

The persons pitched upon for exercising this seemingly important trust were the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprised that, during the administration of such a group of characters, he alone must govern, or that they must soon throw up the reigns of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice justified his sagacity. To go farther than others into the absurdities of fanaticism was the chief qualification which each of these valued himself upon. Their very names, composed of cant phrases borrowed from scripture, and rendered ridiculous by their misapplication, served to shew their excess of folly. Not only the names of Zorobabel, Habakkuk, and Mesopotamia, were given to those ignorant creatures, but sometimes whole sentences from scripture. One of them particularly, who was called Praise-God Barebone, a canting leather-seller, gave his name to this odd assembly; and it was called Barebone's parliament.

Their attempts at legislation were entirely correspondent to their stations and characters. As they were chiefly composed of Antinomians, a sect that, after receiving the Spirit, supposed themselves incapable of error, and of fifth-monarchy men, who every hour expected Christ's coming on earth, they began by choosing eight of their tribe to seek the Lord in prayer, while the rest calmly sat down to deliberate upon the suppression of the clergy, the universities, the courts of justice; and, instead of all this, it was their intent to substitute the law of Moses.

To this hopeful assembly was committed the treaty of peace with the Dutch; but the ambassadors from that nation, though themselves presbyterians, were quite carnal-minded to these. They were regarded by the new parliament as worldly men, intent on commerce and industry, and therefore, not to be treated with. The saintly members insisted that the man of sin should be put away, and a new birth obtained by prayer and meditation. The ambassadors, finding themselves unable to converse with them in their way, gave up the treaty as hopeless.

The very vulgar began now to exclaim against so foolish a legislature; and they themselves seemed not insensible of the ridicule which every day was thrown out against them. Cromwell was probably well enough pleased to find that his power was likely to receive no diminution from their endeavours; but he began to be ashamed of their complicated absurdities. He had carefully chosen many persons among them entirely devoted to his interests, and these he commanded to dismiss the assembly. Accordingly, by concert, they met earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and, observing to each other that this parliament had sitten long enough, they hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse, their speaker, at their head, and into his hands they resigned the authority with which he had invested them.

Cromwell accepted their resignation with pleasure; but being told that some of the number were refractory, he sent colonel White to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They had placed one Moyer in the chair by that time the colonel had arrived; and being asked what they did there, he replied very gravely, that "They were seeking the Lord." "Then you may go elsewhere," cried White; "for, to my certain knowledge, the Lord has not been here these many years."

This shadow of a parliament being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England Nothing now could withstand his authority; the mayor and aldermen were sent for, to give solemnity to his appointment; and he was instituted into his new office at Whitehall, in the palace of the kings of England. He was to be addressed by the title of highness; and his power was proclaimed in London and other parts of the kingdom. Thus an obscure and vulgar man, at the age of fifty-four, rose to unbounded power, first by following small events in his favour, and at length by directing great ones.

It was, indeed, in a great measure necessary that some person should take the supreme command; for affairs were brought into such a situation by the furious animosities of the contending parties, that nothing but absolute power could prevent a renewal of bloodshed and confusion. Cromwell, therefore, might have said with some justice, upon his installation, that he accepted the

dignity of protector merely that he might preserve the peace of the nation; and this, it must be owned, he effected with equal conduct, moderation, and success. The government of the kingdom was adjusted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor to be under thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their offices for life, or during good behaviour; and, in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, with such powers as the king had possessed. The power of the sword was vested in him jointly with the parliament when sitting, or with the council at intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to sit five months without prorogation. A standing army was established of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and funds were assigned for their support. The protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. Of all those clauses, the standing army was alone sufficient for Cromwell's purpose: for while he possessed that instrument, he could mould the rest of the constitution to his pleasure at any time.

Cromwell chose his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality and care: while his activity, vigilance, and resolution, were such, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection, before they took effect.

His management of foreign affairs, though his schemes were by no means political, yet well corresponded with his character, and, for a while, were attended with success. The Dutch, having been humbled by repeated defeats, A. D. 1654.] and totally abridged in their commercial concerns, were obliged at last to sue for peace, which he gave them upon terms rather too favourable. He insisted upon their paying deference to the British flag. He compelled them to abandon the interests of the king, to pay eighty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification for former expenses, and to restore to the English East-India company a part of those dominions of which they had been dispossessed by the Dutch during the former reign, in that distant part of the world.

A. D. 1655.] He was not less successful in his negociations with the court of France. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, deemed it necessary to pay deference to the protector; and, desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, submitted to Cromwell's imperious character, and thus procured ends equally beneficial to both.

The court of Spain was not less assiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendship, but was not so successful. This vast monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now reduced so low as to be scarcely able to defend itself. Cromwell, however, who knew nothing of foreign politics, still continued to regard its power with an eye of jealousy, and came into an association with France to depress it still more. He lent that court a body of six thousand men to attack the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands; and, upon obtaining a signal victory by his assistance near Dunkirk, the French put that town, which they had just taken from the Spaniards, into his hands, as a reward for his attachment.

But it was by sea that he humbled the power of Spain with still more effectual success. Blake, who had long made himself formidable to the Dutch, and whose fame was spread over Europe, now became still more dreadful to the Spanish monarchy. He sailed with a fleet into the Mediterranean, whither, since the time of the crusades, no English fleet had ever ventured to advance. He there conquered all that ventured to oppose him. Casting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the English commerce had suffered from the duke of Tuscany. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to make peace, and restrain his piratical subjects from farther injuring the English. He then went to Tunis, and having made the same demands, he was desired by the bey of

that place to look at the two castles, Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake shewed him that he was not slow in accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour, burned the shipping there, and then sailed out triumphantly to pursue his voyage. At Cadiz, he took two galleons, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. At the Canaries he burned a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships: and, returning home to England to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within sight of his native country, he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his cause; he was a zealous republican in principle, and his aim was to serve his country, not to establish a tyrant. "It is still our duty," he would say to the seamen, "to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall."

At the same time that Blake's expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of admiral Penn and Venables, with about four thousand soldiers, to attack the island of Hispaniola. Failing, however, in this, and being driven off by the Spaniards, they steered to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conquest, that, upon the return of the expedition, Penn and Venables were sent to the Tower, for their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

All these successes might rather be ascribed to the spirit of the times than the conductor of them. Cromwell was possessed of but two arts in perfection, that of managing the army, by which he ruled, and obtaining the secrets of his enemies that were plotting against him. For the first, his valour and canting zeal were sufficient; for the latter, it is said he paid sixty thousand pounds a year to his spies to procure intelligence. But he took care to make the nation refund those extraordinary sums which he expended for such information. One or two conspiracies entered into by the royalists, which were detected and punished, served him as a pretext to lay a heavy tax upon all of that party, of a tenth penny on all their possessions. In order to raise this oppressive imposition, ten major-generals were instituted, who divided the whole kingdom into so many military jurisdictions. These men had power to subject whom they pleased to a payment of this tax, and to imprison such as denied their jurisdiction. Under colour of these powers, they exercised the most arbitrary authority; the people had no protection against their exactions: the very mask of liberty was thrown off, and all property was at the disposal of a military tribunal. It was in vain that the nation cried out for a free parliament; Cromwell assembled one, in consequence of their clamours; but as speedily dissolved it, when he found it refractory to his commands.

In this state of universal dejection, in which Scotland and Ireland were treated as conquered provinces, in which the protector issued his absolute orders, without even the mask of his former hypocrisy, and in which all trust and confidence were lost in every social meeting, the people were struck with a new instance of the usurper's ambition. As parliaments [A. D. 1656. were ever dear to the people, it was resolved to give them one; but such as should be entirely of the protector's choosing, and chiefly composed of his own creatures. Lest any of a different complexion should presume to enter the house, guards were placed at the door, and none admitted but such as produced a warrant from his council. The principal design of convening this assembly was, that they should offer him the crown, with the title of king, and all the other ensigns of royalty.

His creatures, therefore, infused into this assembly a high opinion of the merits of the protector, and hinted that confusion prevailed in legal proceedings without the name of a king. No man, they said, was acquainted with the extent or limits of the present magistrate's authority; but those of a king had been well ascertained by the experience of ages. At last the motion was made in form by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the regal dignity. The majority of the house being Cromwell's creatures, it may easily be supposed that the bill was voted according to his secret wishes; and nothing now remained, but his own consent, [A. D. 1657. to have his name enrolled among the kings of England.

Whether it was his original intention, by having this bill carried through the house, to shew that he was magnanimous enough to refuse the offer; or whether, finding some of those on whom he most depended, averse to his taking the title, cannot now be known. Certain it is, his doubts continued for some days; and the conference which he carried on with the members who were sent to make him the offer, seems to argue that he was desirous of being compelled to accept what he feared openly to assume. The obscurity of his answers, the absurdity of his speeches on this occasion, (for they still remain,) shew plainly a mind at variance with itself, and combating only with a wish to be vanquished. "I confess," said he, "for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say I hope I may be understood in this; for indeed I must be tender what I would say to such an audience as this; I say I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind, and a parliament which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison; nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour that way, because the parliament seems to me to give liberty to me to say any thing to you. As that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them, and if I think they are such, and will be such to them, and are faithful servants, and will be so to the supreme authority and the legislative, wheresoever it is. If I say I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful if I should not tell you so, to the end that you may report it to parliament." In this manner did this most unaccountable of all characters answer their petitions for his assuming the kingly name and dignity. The conference, however, ended in his refusing their offer.

But it must not be supposed that his situation, with all these offered honours, was at this time enviable. Perhaps no station, however mean, or loaded with contempt, could be more truly distressful than his, at a time when the A. D. 1568.] nation was loading him with congratulation and addresses. He had now rendered himself hateful to every party; and he owed his safety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of each other. His arts of dissimulation had been long exhausted; and none could be deceived by them, those of his own party and principles disclaiming the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. The truth seems to be, if we may use a phrase taken from common life, he began with being a dupe to his own enthusiasm, and ended with being a sharper.

The whole nation silently detested his administration; but he had not still been reduced to the extreme of wretchedness, if he could have found domestic consolation. Fleetwood, his son-in-law, actuated with the wildest zeal, detested that character which could use religious professions for the purposes of temporal advancement. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehemently, that she could not behold even her own father intrusted with uncontrollable power. His other daughters were strongly attached to the royal cause; but above all, Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, who, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with that criminal ambition which had led him to trample on the throne.

Every hour added some new disquietude. Lord Fairfax, sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into an engagement to destroy him. His administration, so expensive both at home and abroad, had exhausted his revenue, and he was left considerably in debt. One conspiracy was no sooner detected, than another rose from its ruins, and, to increase his calamity, he was now taught, upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled, *Killing no Murder*. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, or perhaps of those that have since appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. "Shall we," said this popular declaimer, "who would not suffer the lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the wolf?" Cromwell read this spirited treatise, and was never seen to smile more.

All peace was now for ever banished from his mind. He found that the grandeur to which he had sacrificed his former peace was only an inlet to fresh

inquietudes. The fears of assassination haunted him in all his walks, and were perpetually present to his imagination. He wore armour under his clothes, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went, and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, as there he might meet an enemy; solitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by every friend.

A tertian ague kindly came at last to deliver him from this life of horror and anxiety. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he himself began to dread his approaching fate; but he was taught to consider his present disorder as no way fatal, by his fanatic chaplains, on whom he entirely relied. When his chaplain, Goodwin, told him that the elect would never be damned, "Then I am sure," said he, "that I am safe; for I was once in a state of grace." His physicians were sensible of his dangerous case; but he was so much encouraged by the revelations of his preachers, that he considered his recovery as no way doubtful. "I tell you," cried he to the physicians, "that I shall not die of this distemper; I am well assured of my recovery. Favourable answers have been returned from Heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who have a closer correspondence with God than I. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world; and God is far above nature." Upon a fast-day appointed on account of his sickness, his ministers thanked God for the undoubted pledges they had received of his recovery. Notwithstanding these assurances, the fatal symptoms every hour increased; and the physicians were obliged to declare that he could not survive the next fit. The council now therefore came to know his last commands concerning the succession; but his senses were gone, and he was just able to answer yes to their demand, whether his son Richard should be appointed to succeed him. He died on the third day of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate of his life: he was then fifty-nine years old, and had usurped the government nine years.

CHAP. XXXV.

From the Death of OLIVER CROMWELL *to the* RESTORATION. A. D. 1658 to 1660.

WHATEVER might have been the differences of interest after the death of the usurper, the influence of his name was still sufficient to get Richard his son proclaimed protector in his room. It was probably to the numerous parties that were formed in the kingdom, and their hatred of each other, that Richard owed his peaceable advancement to this high station. He was naturally no way ambitious, being rather mild, easy, and good-natured; and honour seemed rather to pursue than to attract him. He had nothing active in his disposition; no talents for business, no knowledge of government, no influence among the soldiery, no importance in council.

It was found necessary, upon his first advancement, to call a parliament, to furnish the supplies to carry on the ordinary operations of government. The house of commons was formed legally enough; but the house of lords consisted only of those persons of no real title, who were advanced to that dignified station by the late protector. But it was not on the parliament that the army chose to rely. The principal malcontent officers established a meeting at general Fleetwood's, which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-house, was called the Cabal of Wallingford. The result of their deliberations was a remonstrance, that the command of the army should be intrusted [A. D. 1659. to some person in whom they might all confide; and it was plainly given to understand that the young protector was not the person.

A proposal so daring and dangerous did not fail to alarm Richard; he

applied to his council, and they referred it to the parliament. Both agreed to consider it as an audacious attempt, and a vote was passed that there should be no meeting or general council of officers, without the protector's permission. This brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The palace of the protector was the next day surrounded by a body of officers; and one Desborough, a man of a clownish brutal nature, penetrating into his apartment with an armed retinue, threatened him if he should refuse. Richard wanted resolution to defend what had been conferred upon him; he dissolved the parliament then, and soon after he signed his own abdication in form.

Henry Cromwell, his younger brother, who was appointed to the command in Ireland, followed the protector's example, and resigned his commission without striking a blow. Richard lived many years after his resignation, at first on the continent, and afterwards upon his paternal fortune at home. He was thought by the ignorant to be unworthy of the happiness of his exaltation; but he knew, by his tranquillity in private, that he had made the most fortunate escape.

The officers, being once more left to themselves, determined to replace the remnant of the old parliament which had beheaded the king, and which Cromwell had so disgracefully turned out of the house. The system which those members maintained was called the good old cause, from their attachment to republican principles; and to these men the cabal of officers for a while delivered up their own authority. The members, who had been secluded by colonel Pride's purge, as it was called, attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The Rump parliament, (for that was the name it went by,) although reinstated by the army, was yet very vigorous in its attempts to lessen the power by which it was replaced. The members began their design of humbling the army by new-modelling part of its forces, by cashiering such of the officers as they feared, and appointing others, on whom they could rely, in their room. These attempts, however, were not unobserved by the officers; and their discontent would have broken out into some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the royalists, or presbyterians, who were considered as the common enemy.

In this exigence, the officers held several conferences, with a design to continue their power. They at length came to a resolution, usual enough in these times, to dissolve that assembly, by which they were so vehemently opposed. Accordingly, Lambert, one of the general officers, drew up a chosen body of troops; and placing them in the streets that led to Westminster-hall, when the speaker Lenthall was proceeding in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewise intercepted, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded or attended their outrages.

The officers, having thus resumed the power they had given, resolved not to part with it for the future upon easy terms. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers; these they called a committee of safety, and pretended to invest them with sovereign authority. Fleetwood, a weak zealot, was made commander-in-chief; Lambert, an artful ambitious man, major-general; Desborough, lieutenant-general; and Monk, who had been invested by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, was appointed major-general of the foot. A military government was now established, which gave the nation the melancholy prospect of endless servitude, and tyranny without redress; but a succour came to relieve the nation from a quarter where it was the least expected.

During these transactions, general Monk was at the head of eight thousand veterans in Scotland, and beheld the distraction of his native country with slender hopes of relieving it. This personage, to whom the nation owes such signal obligations, was at first a soldier of fortune. After some time spent abroad, he was intrusted with a regiment in the service of king Charles, and was usually called by the soldiery, for his good-nature, honest George Monk. He was taken prisoner at the siege of Nantwich, by Fairfax, and soon after sent to the Tower. He did not recover his liberty till after the

total overthrow of the royal party, when Cromwell took him into favour and protection, and sent him to oppose the Irish rebels, against whom he performed signal services. Upon the reduction of that kingdom he was sent over into Scotland, and there intrusted with the supreme command, in which station he was not less esteemed by the Scots, than loved and adored by his own army.

This general, upon hearing that the officers had, by their own authority, dissolved the parliament, protested against the measure, and resolved to defend their invaded privileges. But deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were suspected to be the motive of his actions from the beginning. Whatever might have been his designs, it was impossible to cover them with greater secrecy than he did. As soon as he put his army in motion, to inquire into the causes of the disturbances in the capital, his countenance was eagerly sought by all the contending parties. His brother, a clergyman, who was a zealous royalist, came to him with a message from sir John Granville, in the name of the king. The general asked him if he had communicated the contents of his commission to any other person. His brother replied, to none, except to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain, a man of probity, and in the royal interests. The general, altering his countenance, at once changed the discourse, and would enter into no farther conference with him. The same deep reserve was held through all his subsequent proceedings.

Hearing that the officers were preparing an army to oppose him, and that general Lambert was actually advancing northward to meet him, Monk sent three commissioners to London, with very earnest professions of an accommodation, by which means he relaxed their preparations. His commissioners even proceeded so far as to sign a treaty, which he refused to ratify. Still, however, he made proposals for fresh negociations · and the committee of officers again accepted his fallacious offers.

In the mean time, the people, perceiving that they were not entirely defenceless, began to gather spirit, and to exclaim loudly against the tyranny of the army. Haselrig and Morley, while Lambert was absent, took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. The city-apprentices rose in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament: admiral Lawson came into the river with his squadron, and declared for the parliament; and even the regiments that had been left in London, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered, revolted again to the parliament. The Rump, thus being invited on all hands, again ventured to resume their seats, and to thunder their votes in turn against the officers, and that part of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the troops he conducted, immediately to repair to the garrisons they appointed for them. The soldiers were not slow in obeying the parliamentary orders; and Lambert at last found himself deserted by his whole army. He was soon after committed to the Tower, several of his brother officers were cashiered; and the parliament seemed now to stand on a firmer basis than before.

A. D. 1660.] But they were far from being so secure as they imagined. Monk, though he had heard of their restitution, and therefore might be supposed to have nothing more to do, still continued to march his army towards the capital; all the world equally in doubt as to his motives, and astonished at his reserve. The gentry, on his march, flocked around him with entreaties and addresses, expressing their desire of a new parliament. Fairfax brought him a body of troops, with which he offered to assist in the work of restoration; but Monk continued his inflexible taciturnity. When he had reached St. Alban's, he sent the parliament a message, desiring them to remove such forces as remained in London to country quarters. With this some of the regiments refused to comply: but Monk was resolved to be obeyed; he entered London the next day, turned the soldiers out, and, with his army, took up his quarters in Westminster. He then waited upon the house, which was ready enough to vote him sincere thanks for the services he had done his country. But he, in a blunt manner, assured them, that his only merit was a desire to restore peace to the community; and, therefore, he entreated them

that they would permit a free parliament to be called, as the only balm that could heal the wounds of the constitution. He observed also, that many oaths of admission upon this occasion were unnecessary; and the fewer the obligations of this kind, the clearer would their consciences be.

The hope of being insolent with security soon inspired the citizens to refuse submission to the present government. They resolved to pay no taxes, until the members, formerly excluded by colonel Pride, should be replaced. But the parliament found their general willing to give them the most ready instances of his obedience; he entered the city with his troops, arrested eleven of the most obnoxious of the common-council, and began to destroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, telling them what he had done, and begging they would moderate the severity of their orders. But being urged by the house to proceed, he, with all possible circumstances of contempt, broke the gates and portcullises; and, having exposed the city to the scorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster. But the next day he began to think he had proceeded too vigorously in this act of obedience; he therefore marched into the city again, and desired the mayor to call a common-council, where he made many apologies for his conduct the day before. He assured them of his perseverance in the cause of freedom; and that his army would, for the future, co-operate only in such schemes as they should approve.

This union of the city and the army caused no small alarm in the house of commons. They knew that a free and general parliament was desired by the whole nation; and, in such a case, they were convinced that their own power must have an end. But their fears of punishment were still greater than their uneasiness at dismission; they had been instrumental in bringing their king to the block, in loading the nation with various taxes, and some of them had grown rich by the common plunder; they resolved, therefore, to try every method to gain over the general from his new alliance; even some of them, desperate with guilt and fanaticism, promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his usurpation. But Monk was too just, or too wise, to hearken to such wild proposals; he resolved to restore the secluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election, which was what he desired.

There was no other method to effect this, but by force of arms; wherefore, having previously secured the consent of his officers, and exacted a promise from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he accompanied them to Whitehall. Thence, with a numerous guard, he conducted them to the house of commons, the other members of which were then sitting. They were surprised to see a large body of men entering the place; but soon recollected them for their ancient brethren, who had been formerly tumultuously expelled, and were now as tumultuously restored. The number of the new comers so far exceeded that of the Rump, that the chiefs of this last party now, in their turn, thought proper to withdraw.

The restored members began by repealing those orders by which they had been excluded. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission; they fixed a proper stipend for the support of the fleet and army; and having passed these votes for the composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and gave orders for the immediate assembling a new parliament. Meanwhile, Monk new-modelled his army to the purposes he had in view. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

In the midst of these transactions, his endeavours were very near being defeated by an accident as dangerous as unexpected. Lambert had escaped from the Tower, and began to assemble forces; and, as his activity and principles were sufficiently known, Monk took the earliest precautions to oppose his measures. He despatched colonel Ingoldsby with his own regiment against Lambert, before he should have time to assemble his dependents. That officer had taken possession of Daventry, with four troops of horse; but the greater

part of them joined Ingoldsby, to whom he himself surrendered, not without exhibiting marks of pusillanimity that ill agreed with his former reputation.

The new parliament was not yet assembled, and no person had hitherto dived into the designs of the general. He still persevered in his reserve; and, although the calling a new parliament was but, in other words, to restore the king, yet his expressions never once betrayed the secret of his bosom. Nothing but a security of confidence at last extorted the confession from him. He had been intimate with one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a sedentary, studious disposition, and with him alone did he deliberate upon the great and dangerous enterprise of the restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied for access to the general; but he was desired to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville refused, though twice urged, to deliver his message to any but the general himself; so that Monk, now finding he could depend upon this minister's secrecy, freely opened to him his whole intentions; but, with his usual caution, still scrupled to commit any thing to paper. In consequence of this communication, the king left the Spanish territories, where he very narrowly escaped being detained at Breda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. Thence he retired into Holland, where he resolved to wait for farther advice.

In the mean time, the elections in parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. The presbyterians had long been so harassed by the falsehood, the folly, and the tyranny of their independent coadjutors, that they longed for nothing so ardently as the king's restoration. These, therefore, joined to the royalists, formed a decisive majority in every contest; and, without noise, but with steady resolution, determined to call back the king. Though the former parliament had voted that no one should be elected, who had himself, or whose father had, borne arms for the late king, yet very little regard was any where paid to this ordinance; and in many places the former sufferings of the candidate were his best recommendation.

At length, the long expected day for the sitting of a free parliament arrived, and they chose sir Harbottle Grimstone for their speaker; a man who, though at first attached to the opposite party, was yet a royalist in his heart. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such were their fears, and such dangers attended a freedom of speech, that no one dared for some days to make any mention of his name. They were terrified with former examples of cruelty; and they only shewed their loyalty in their bitter invectives against the late usurper, and in execrations against the murderers of their king. All this time, Monk, with his usual reserve, tried their tempers, and examined the ardour of their wishes; at length he gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one sir John Granville, a servant of the king, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons.

Nothing could exceed the joy and transport with which this message was received. The members for a moment forgot the dignity of their situations, and indulged in a loud exclamation of applause. Granville was called in, and the letter eagerly read. A moment's pause was scarcely allowed: all at once the house burst out into an universal assent to the king's proposals; and, to diffuse the joy more widely, it was voted that the letter and declaration should be immediately published.

The king's declaration was highly relished by every order of the state. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, without any exceptions but such as should be made by parliament. It promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by act of parliament; to satisfy the army under general Monk with respect to their arrears, and to give the same rank to his officers, when they should be received into the king's service.

This declaration was not less pleasing to the lords than to the people. After voting the restitution of the ancient form of government, it was resolved to send the king fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York his brother ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester half that sum. Then both houses erased

from their records all acts that had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, the city of London, were eager in preparing their addresses to be presented to his majesty; and he was soon after proclaimed with great solemnity at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. The people, now freed from all restraint, let loose their transports without bounds. Thousands were seen running about frantic with pleasure; and, as lord Clarendon says, such were the numbers of the loyalists that pressed forward on this occasion, that one could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had lately done so much mischief.

Charles took care to confirm the substance of his declarations to the English commissioners, who were despatched to attend him into his native dominions. Montague, the English admiral, waited upon his majesty to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command as lord high-admiral. The king went on board, and, landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly embraced. Very different was his present triumphant return from the forlorn state in which he left the coast of Sussex. He now saw the same people, that had ardently sought his life, as warmly expressing their pleasure at his safety, and repentance for their past delusions. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourse of people lined the way wherever he passed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies, that they could no longer suppress these emotions of delight to behold their constitution restored, or rather, like a phœnix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous from the ruins of its former conflagration.

Fanaticism, with its long train of gloomy terrors, fled at the approach of freedom; the arts of society and peace began to return: and it had been happy for the people if the arts of luxury had not entered in their train.

CHAP. XXXVI.

CHARLES II.—A. D. 1660 to 1677.

THIS is one of the most extraordinary epochas in English history, in which we see the people tossed into opposite factions, and, as the sea after a storm, still continuing those violent motions by which they were first impelled. We see them at one period of the following reign, with unbounded adulation, soliciting the shackles of arbitrary power; at another, with equal animosity, banishing all the emissaries of unbounded power from the throne; now courting the monarch, and then threatening those on whom he most depended. There seems a clue that can unravel all these inconsistencies. While the people thought the king a protestant, they were willing to intrust him with their lives and fortunes; but when they supposed that he was more inclined to popery, all their confidence vanished, and they were even willing to punish papists, as the most proper method of shewing their resentment against himself.

When Charles came to the throne he was thirty years of age, possessed of an agreeable person, an elegant address, and an engaging manner. His whole demeanour and behaviour were well calculated to support and increase popularity. Accustomed during his exile to live cheerfully among his courtiers, he carried the same endearing familiarities to the throne; and, from the levity of his temper, no injuries were dreaded from his former resentments. But it was soon found that all these advantages were merely superficial. His indolence and love of pleasure made him averse to all kinds of business; his familiarities were prostituted to the worst as well as the best of his subjects; and he took no care to reward his former friends, as he had taken no steps to be avenged of his former enemies.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could come into proper form: a council was composed in which members of the church of England and presbyterians were indiscriminately admitted; and the king's choice of his principal ministers was univer-

sally pleasing to the people. Sir Edward Hyde, who had attended him in his exile, was now created a peer by the title of lord Clarendon, and appointed lord chancellor, and first minister of state. This excellent man is better known now by his merits as an historian than as a statesman; but his integrity and wisdom were equally excellent in both capacities. The marquis, afterwards created duke of Ormond, was appointed lord-steward of the household, the earl of Southampton high treasurer, and sir Edward Nicholas secretary of state. These men, combined by private friendship, and pursuing one common aim, laboured only for the public, and supported its interests with their own.

Notwithstanding the joy of the people was unbounded, yet something was thought to be due to justice, and some vengeance was necessary to be taken upon those who had lately involved the nation in its calamities. Though an act of indemnity was passed, those who had an immediate hand in the king's death were excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, now dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment; their bodies were dug from their graves, dragged to the place of execution, and, after hanging some time, buried under the gallows. Of the rest, who sat in judgment on the late monarch's trial, some were dead, and some were thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of fourscore, were devoted to immediate destruction. These were enthusiasts, who had all along acted from principle, and who, in the general spirit of rage excited against them, shewed a fortitude that might do honour to a better cause.

General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial, pleaded his cause with that undaunted firmness which he had shewn through life. What he had done, he said, was from the impulses of the Spirit of God. He would not, for any benefit to himself, hurt a hair of the poorest man or woman upon earth; and during the usurpation of Cromwell, when all the rest of the world acknowledged his right, or bowed down to his power, he had boldly upbraided the usurper to his face; and all the terrors of imprisonment, and all the allurements of ambition, had not been able to bend him to a compliance to that deceitful tyrant. Harrison's death was marked with the same admirable constancy which he shewed at his trial; so that the greatness of some virtues which he possessed, in some measure counterbalanced the greatness of his guilt.

Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtell, shared the same fate. They bore the scorn of the multitude, and the cruelty of the executioner, not simply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty. Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their execution. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown in the fire before he expired. His head was fixed on the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner, having mangled Coke, approached Peters, besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked how he liked that work. Peters viewed him with an air of scorn: "You have butchered a servant of God in my sight: but I defy your cruelty."

This was all the blood that was shed in so great a restoration. The rest of the king's judges were reprieved, and afterwards dispersed into several prisons. Charles, being directed in all things by Clarendon, gave universal satisfaction, as well by the lenity as the justice of his conduct. The army was disbanded that had for so many years governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were restored; at the same time that the king pretended to preserve an air of moderation and neutrality. In fact, with regard to religion, Charles, in his gayer hours, was a professed deist, and attached to none; but in the latter part of his life, when he began to think more seriously, he shewed an inclination to the catholic persuasion, which he had strongly imbibed in his exile.

But this toleration, in which all were equally included, was not able to remove the fears or quell the enthusiasm of a few determined men, who, by an unexampled combination, were impelled by one common frenzy. One Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against [A. D. 1661. Cromwell, and had as often been pardoned, had by this time persuaded his

followers that, if they would take arms, Jesus would come to put himself at their head. With these expectations, to the number of sixty persons, they issued forth into the streets of London in complete armour, and proclaimed king Jesus wherever they went. They believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and expected the same fortune which had attended Gideon, and the other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them; one unhappy man being asked whom he was for, and answering that he was for God and the king, they slew him on the spot. In this manner they went from street to street, and made a desperate resistance against a body of the trained bands that were sent to attack them. After killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Caen wood, near Hampstead. Being dislodged thence, the next morning they returned to London, and took possession of a house, in which they defended themselves against a body of troops, until the majority were killed. At last, the troops, who had untiled the house, and were tired of slaughter, rushed in, and seized the few that were left alive. They were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they declared that if they were deceived, the Lord himself was their deceiver.

The absurdity, and even ridicule, which attended the professions and expectations of these poor deluded men, struck the people very strongly: and from the gloomy moroseness of enthusiasm, they now went over into the opposite extreme of riot and debauchery. The court itself set them the example: nothing but scenes of gallantry and festivity appeared; the horrors of the late war were become the subject of ridicule; the formality and ignorance of the sectaries were displayed upon the stage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. But, while the king thus rioted, the old faithful friends and followers of his family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought for him and his father, and had lost their whole fortunes in his service, still continued to pine in want and oblivion; while, in the mean time, their persecutors, who had profited by the times, had acquired fortunes during the civil war, and were still permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The sufferers petitioned in vain; the family of the Stuarts were never remarkable for their gratitude; and the amusers, the flatterers, and the concubines of this monarch, enjoyed all his consideration. The wretched royalists murmured without redress; he fled from their gloomy expostulations to scenes of mirth, riot, and festivity.

Nevertheless, his parliaments, both of England and Scotland, seemed willing to make reparation for their former disobedience, by their present concessions. In the English house, monarchy and episcopacy were carried to as great splendour as they had suffered misery and depression. The bishops were permitted to resume their seats in the house of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be vested in the king; and he was empowered to appoint commissioners for regulating corporations, and expelling such members as had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution. An act of uniformity in religion was passed, by A. D. 1662,] which it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; that he should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and should take the oath of canonical obedience. In consequence of this law, above two thousand of the presbyterian clergy relinquished their cures in one day, to the great astonishment of the nation; thus sacrificing their interest to their religion.

But the Scotch parliament went still greater lengths in their prostrations to the king. It was there that his divine, indefeisible, and hereditary right, was asserted in the fullest and most positive terms. His right was extended to their lives and possessions; and from his original grant was said to come all that his subjects might be said to enjoy. They voted him an additional revenue of forty thousand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with the utmost detestation.

This was the time for the king to have made himself independent of all parliaments; and it is said that Southampton, one of his ministers, had thought of procuring his master from the commons the grant of a revenue of

two millions a year, which would effectually render him absolute; but in this his views were obstructed by the great Clarendon, who, though attached to the king, was still more the friend of liberty and the laws. Charles, however, was no way interested in these opposite views of his ministers; he only desired money, in order to prosecute his pleasures, and, provided he had that, he little regarded the manner in which it was obtained.

It was this careless and expensive disposition that first tended to disgust his subjects, and to dispel that intoxication of loyalty which had taken place at his restoration. Though the people were pleased with the mirth and pleasantry of their monarch, they could not help murmuring at his indolence, his debaucheries, and profusion. They could not help remembering the strict frugality and active diligence that marked the usurper's administration; they called to mind the victories they had gained under him, and the vast projects he had undertaken. But they now saw an opposite picture; a court sunk in debauchery, and the taxes of the nation only employed in extending vice, and corrupting the morals of the people. The ejected clergy did not fail to inflame these just resentments in the minds of their audience; but particularly when the nation saw Dunkirk, which had been acquired during the late vigorous administration, now basely sold to the French for a small sum, to supply the king's extravagance, they could put no bounds to their complaints. From this time he found the wheels of government clogged with continual obstructions, and his parliaments reluctantly granting those supplies, which he as meanly condescended to implore.

His continual exigencies drove him constantly to measures no way suited to his inclination. Among others, was his marriage, celebrated at this time with Catherine, the infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princess, possessed, as it should seem, but few personal attractions. It was the portion of this princess that the needy monarch was enamoured of, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies. The chancellor Clarendon, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Southampton, urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children: the king disregarded their advice, and the inauspicious marriage was celebrated accordingly.

But still his necessities were greater than his supplies. He never much loved the steady virtue of lord Clarendon, and imputed to him some of those necessities to which he was reduced. It is said also, that this great minister prevented him from repudiating the queen, which he had thoughts of doing, in order to marry one Mrs. Stuart, on whom he had placed his affections, by procuring that lady to be privately married to the duke of Richmond. However this be, he was now willing to give him up to the resentment of the parliament, to whom he was become obnoxious, in order to [A. D. 1663. obtain some farther supplies. For this purpose he assembled the commons in the Banqueting-house; and, in the close of a flattering speech, replete with professions of eternal gratitude and the warmest affection, he begged a supply for his present occasions, which he said were extremely pressing. They could not resist his humble supplications: they granted him four subsidies; and the clergy, in convocation, followed their example. On this occasion, lord Bristol ventured to impeach the chancellor in the house of peers; but, not supporting his charge for this time, the affair dropped, only in order to be revived in the next session with greater animosity.

It was probably with a view of recruiting the supply for his [A. D. 1664. pleasures, that he was induced to enter into a war with the Dutch, as the money appointed for that purpose would go through his hands. A vote, by his contrivance, was procured in the house of commons, alleging that the wrongs, affronts, and indignities offered by the Dutch, in several quarters of the globe, had in a great measure obstructed the trade of the nation. This was enough for his majesty to proceed upon. As his prodigality always kept him necessitous, he foresaw that he should be able to convert a part of the supplies to his private amusements. His brother also, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of signalizing his courage and conduct, as high-admiral, against a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but also as being one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant religion.

This war began on each side with mutual depredations. The English, under the command of sir Robert Holmes, not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse castle, on the coast of Africa, but likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the isle of Goree. Sailing thence to America, the admiral possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a country which long continued annexed to the English government. On the other hand, De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, sailing to Guinea, dispossessed the English of all their settlements there, except Cape Corse. He then sailed to America, and attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed hos- [A. D. 1665.] tilities on Long Island. Soon after, the two most considerable fleets of each nation met, the one under the duke of York, to the number of a hundred and fourteen sail; the other commanded by Opdam, of nearly equal force. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the engagement, and behaved with great spirit and composure, while his lords and attendants were killed beside him. In the heat of the action, when engaged in close fight with the duke, the Dutch admiral's ship blew up: this accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast; they had nineteen ships sunk and taken; the victors lost only one. This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation; and De Wit, their great minister, whose genius and wisdom were admirable, was obliged to take the command of the fleet upon himself. This extraordinary man quickly became as much master of naval affairs as if he had been from his infancy educated in them. He even improved some parts of the naval art, beyond what expert mariners had ever expected to attain.

The success of the English naturally excited the jealousy of the neighbouring states, particularly France and Denmark, who resolved to protect the Dutch against the superior power of their opposers. The Dutch, [A. D. 1666. being thus strengthened by so powerful an alliance, resolved to face their conquerors once more. De Ruyter, their great admiral, had returned from his expedition to Guinea, and was appointed, at the head of seventy-six sail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who, it was supposed, was then advancing toward the British Channel from Toulon. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert now commanded the English fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under Cromwell, had learned too much to despise the enemy, proposed to despatch prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscough, well acquainted with the force of his enemies, protested against the temerity of this resolution; but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The English and Dutch thus engaging upon unequal terms, a battle ensued, the most memorable in the annals of the ocean. The battle began with incredible fury: the Dutch admiral Evertzen was killed by a cannon-ball, and one vessel of their fleet was blown up, while one of the English ships was taken: darkness parted the combatants for the first day. The second day they renewed the combat with increased animosity; sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight. Upon retreating towards their own coast, the Dutch followed them, where another dreadful conflict was beginning, but parted by the darkness of the night, as before. The morning of the third day, the English were obliged to continue their retreat, and the Dutch persisted in pursuing. Albemarle, who still kept in the rear, and presented a dreadful front to to the enemy, made a desperate resolution to blow up his ship rather than submit to the enemy; when he happily found himself reinforced by prince Rupert with sixteen ships of the line. By this time it was night; and the next morning, after a distant cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued with great violence till they were parted by a mist. Sir George Ayscough, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galoper sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The English retired first into their harbours; both sides claimed the victory, but the Dutch certainly obtained the advantage, though not the glory, of the combat.

A second engagement, equally bloody, followed soon after, with larger fleets on both sides, commanded by the same admirals; and in this the Dutch were

obliged to own themselves vanquished, and retreat into their own harbours. But they were soon in a capacity to out-number the English fleet, by the junction of Beaufort the French admiral. The Dutch fleet appeared [A. D. 1667. in the Thames, conducted by their great admiral; and threw the English into the utmost consternation: a chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to the forts along the banks; but all these were unequal to the present force. Sheerness was soon taken, the Dutch passed forward, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships sunk there by Albemarle's orders. Destroying the shipping in their passage, they advanced with six men-of-war and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore castle, where they burned three men-of-war. The whole city of London was in consternation; it was expected that the Dutch might sail up next tide to London bridge, and destroy, not only the shipping, but even the buildings of the metropolis. But the Dutch were unable to prosecute that project, from the failure of the French, who had promised to give them assistance: spreading, therefore, an alarm along the coast, they returned to their own ports, to boast of their success against their formidable enemies, and of the insult they had offered even to the very harbours of their rivals in naval glory.

Nothing could exceed the indignation felt by the people at this disgrace. But they had lately sustained some accidental calamities which in some measure moderated their rage and their pride. A plague had ravaged the city, which swept away ninety thousand of its inhabitants. This calamity was followed, in the year 1666, by another still more dreadful, as more unexpected: a fire breaking out at a baker's house, who lived in Pudding-lane, near the bridge, it spread with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it till it laid in ashes the most considerable part of the city. The conflagation continued three days; while the wretched inhabitants fled from one street only to be spectators of equal calamities in another. At length, when all hope vanished, and a total destruction was expected, the flames ceased unexpectedly, after having reduced thousands from affluence to misery. As the streets were narrow, and the houses were mostly built with wood, the flames spread the faster; and the unusual dryness of the season prevented the proper supplies of water. But the people were not satisfied with these obvious causes: having been long taught to impute their calamities to the machinations of their enemies, they now ascribed the present misfortune to the same cause, and imputed the burning of the city to a plot laid by the papists. But, happily for that sect, no proofs were brought of their guilt, though all men were willing to credit them. The magistracy, therefore, contented themselves with ascribing it to them, on a monument raised where the fire began, and which still continues as a proof of the blind credulity of the times. This calamity, though at first it affected the fortunes of thousands, in the end proved both beneficial and ornamental to the city. It rose from its ruins in greater beauty than ever: and the streets being widened, and the houses built of brick instead of wood, it became more wholesome and more secure.

These complicated misfortunes did not fail to excite many murmurs among the people: fearful of laying the blame on the king, whose authority was formidable, they very liberally ascribed all their calamities to papists, jesuits, and fanatics. The war with the Dutch was exclaimed against, as unsuccessful and unnecessary; as being an attempt to humble that nation, who were equal enemies of popery themselves. Charles himself also began to be sensible that all the ends for which he had undertaken the Dutch war were likely to prove ineffectual. Whatever projects he might have formed for secreting the money granted him by parliament for his own use, he had hitherto failed in his intention; and, instead of laying up, he found himself considerably in debt. Proposals were, therefore, thrown out for an accommodation, which, after some negociation, the Dutch consented to accept. A treaty was concluded at Breda, by which the colony of New York was ceded by the Dutch to the English, to whom it was a most valuable acquisition.

Upon the whole of this treaty, it was considered as inglorious to the English, as they failed in gaining any redress upon the complaints that gave rise to it. Lord Clarendon, therefore, incurred blame, both for having first advised an unnecessary war, and then for concluding a disgraceful peace. He had been

long declining in the king's favour, and he was no less displeasing to the majority of the people. His severe virtue, his uncomplying temper, and his detestation of factious measures, were unlikely to gain him many partisans in such a court as that of Charles, that had been taught to regard every thing serious as somewhat criminal. There were many accusations now, therefore, brought up against him: the sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace at Chatham, were all added to the accumulation of his guilt; but particularly his imputed ambition was urged among his crimes. His daughter had, while yet in Paris, commenced an amour with the duke of York, and had permitted his gallantries to transgress the bounds of virtue. Charles, who then loved Clarendon, and who was unwilling that he should suffer the mortification of a parent, obliged the duke to marry his daughter; and this marriage, which was just in itself, became culpable in the minister. A building likewise of more expense than his slender fortune could afford, had been undertaken by him; and this was regarded as a structure raised by the plunder of the public. Fewer accusations than these would have been sufficient to disgrace him with Charles; he ordered the seals to be taken from him, and given to sir Orlando Bridgman.

This seemed the signal for Clarendon's enemies to step in, and effect his entire overthrow. The house of commons, in their address to the king, gave him thanks for the dismission of that nobleman; and immediately a charge was opened against him in the house, by Mr. Seymour, consisting of seventeen articles. These, which were only a catalogue of the popular rumours before mentioned, appeared at first sight false or frivolous. However, Clarendon finding the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, running with impetuosity against him, thought proper to withdraw to France. The legislature then passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, while the earl continued to reside in a private manner at Paris, where he employed his leisure in reducing his history of the civil war into form, for which he had before collected materials.

A. D. 1668.] A confederacy of great importance, which goes by the name of the Triple Alliance, was formed by Charles soon after the fall of this great statesman, as if to shew that he could still supply his place. It was conducted by sir William Temple, one of the great ornaments of English literature, who united the philosopher and the statesman, and was equally great in both characters. This alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from completing his conquests in the Netherlands. That monarch had already subdued the greater part of that delightful country; when he was unexpectedly stopped in the midst of his career by this league, in which it was agreed by the contracting powers, that they would constitute themselves arbiters of the differences between France and Spain, and check the inordinate pretensions of either.

To this foreign confederacy, succeeded one of a domestic nature, that did not promise such beneficial effects as the former. The king had long been fluctuating between his pride and his pleasures; the one urged him to extend his prerogative, the other to enjoy the good things that fortune threw in his way. He therefore would be likely to find the greatest satisfaction in those ministers who could flatter both his wishes at once. He was excited, by the active spirit of his brother, to rise above humble solicitations to his parlia-
A. D. 1670.] ment; and was beset by some desperate counsellors, who importuned and encouraged him to assert his own independence. The principal of those were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the appellation of the Cabal, a word containing the initial letters of their names. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, or one more fitted to destroy all that liberty had been establishing for ages.

Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of a daring and impetuous spirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence and intrigue. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of lord Shaftesbury, was the most extraordinary man of his age: he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the presbyterians; he was a favourite of Cromwell, and afterwards had a considerable hand in the Restoration; he was turbulent, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising; well acquainted with the blind attachment of parties, he

surmounted all shame; and while he had the character of never betraying any of his friends, yet he changed his party as it suited his convenience. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, of some wit, and great vivacity, well fitted to unite and harmonize the graver tempers of which this junto was composed. Arlington was a man of moderate capacity: his intentions were good, but he wanted courage to persevere in them. The duke of Lauderdale was not defective in natural, and still less in acquired talents; but neither was his address graceful, nor his understanding just: he was ambitious, obstinate, insolent, and sullen. These were the men to whom Charles gave up the conduct of his affairs, and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties which produced the most dangerous symptoms.

A secret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland, were the first consequences of their advice. The duke of York had the confidence boldly to declare himself a catholic; and to alarm the fears of the nation still more, a liberty of conscience was allowed to all sectaries, whether protestant dissenters, or papists. These measures were considered by the people as destructive, not only of their liberties, but of their religion, which they valued more. A proclamation was issued, containing very rigorous clauses in favour of pressing; another full of menaces against those who ventured to speak undutifully of his majesty's measures; and even against those who heard such discourses, unless they informed in due time against the offenders. These measures, though still within bounds, were yet no way suitable to that legal administration, which, upon his restoration, he had promised to establish.

The English now saw themselves engaged in a league with France against the Dutch; and consequently, whether victorious or vanquished, their efforts were like to be equally unsuccessful. The French had for some years been growing into power; and now, under the conduct of their ambitious monarch, Louis XIV., they began to threaten the liberties of Europe, and particularly the protestant religion, of which that prince had shewn himself a determined enemy. It gave the people, therefore, a gloomy prospect, to see a union formed, which, if successful, must totally subvert that balance of power which the protestants aimed at preserving; nor were they less apprehensive of their own sovereign, who, though he pretended to turn all religion to ridicule in his gayer hours, yet was secretly attached to the catholics, or was very much suspected of being so. The first events of this war were very correspondent to their fears of French treachery. The English and French [A. D. 1672. combined fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the marechal d'Etrées, met the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety sail, commanded by admiral De Ruyter; and a furious battle ensued. In this engagement, the gallant Sandwich, who commanded the English van, drove his ship into the midst of the enemy, beat off the admiral that ventured to attack him, sunk one ship that attempted to board him, and also three fire-ships. Though his vessel was torn with shot, and out of a thousand men there only remained four hundred, he still continued to thunder with his artillery in the midst of the engagement. At last, a fire-ship, more fortunate than the former, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was inevitable. Sandwich, however, refused to quit his ship, though warned by sir Edward Haddock, his captain; he perished in the flames, while the engagement continued to rage all around him. Night parted the combatants; the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss sustained by the two maritime powers was nearly equal; but the French suffered very little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was even supposed that they had orders for this conduct, and to spare their own ships, while the Dutch and English should grow weak by their mutual animosities.

The combined powers were much more successful against the Dutch by land. Louis conquered all before him, crossed the Rhine, took all the frontier towns of the enemy, and threatened the new republic with a final dissolution. Terms were proposed to them by the two conquerors. Louis offered them such as would have deprived them of all power of resisting an invasion from France by land. Those of Charles exposed them equally to every inva-

sion from sea. At last, the murmurs of the English, at seeing this brave and industrious people, the supporters of the protestant cause, totally sunk, and on the brink of destruction, were too loud not to impress the king. He was A. D. 1673.] obliged to re-assemble the parliament, to take the sense of the nation upon his conduct; and he soon saw how his subjects stood affected.

The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed upon this meeting of the parliament. Before the commons entered upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a constant practice in the house for many years, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections; but, by Shaftesbury's advice, several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor; so that the whole house in time might be filled with members clandestinely called up by the court. The house was no sooner assembled, and the speaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made against this method of election; and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all sectaries was next taken into consideration, and a remonstrance drawn up against that exercise of the prerogative. The commons persisted in their opposition to it; and represented that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and the two houses. Charles, therefore, found himself obliged reluctantly to retract his declaration; but, that he might do it with a better grace, he asked the opinion of the house of peers, who advised him to comply. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, and the most entire duty to the king. He, on his part, assured them, that he would willingly pass any law which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

Having abridged the king's stretches of power in these points, they went still farther, and resolved to make the conformity of national principles still more general. A law was passed, entitled the Test Act, imposing an oath on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides the taking the oaths of allegiance and the king's supremacy, they were obliged to receive the sacrament once a year in the established church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the dissenters had also seconded the efforts of the commons against the king's declaration for indulgence, a bill was passed for their ease and relief, which, however, went with some difficulty through the house of peers.

But still the great object of their meeting was to be inquired into; for the war against the Dutch continued to rage with great animosity. Several sea-engagements succeeded each other very rapidly, which brought on no decisive action, both nations claiming the victory after every battle. The commons, therefore, weary of the war, and distrustful even of success, resolved that the standing army was a grievance. They next declared, that they would grant no more supplies to carry on the Dutch war, unless it appeared that the enemy continued so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions. To cut short these disagreeable altercations, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and, with that intention, he went unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher of the black rod to summon the house of commons to attend. It happened that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, "To the chair!" Upon which the following motions were instantly made in a tumultuous manner: That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors of the king were a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance: and then the house rose in great confusion. The king soon saw that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on the war, which was so odious to them; he resolved, therefore, to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. For A. D. 1674.] form's sake he asked the advice of his parliament, who, concurring heartily in his intentions, a peace was concluded accordingly.

This turn in the system of the king's politics was very pleasing to the

nation in general; but the cabal quickly saw that it would be the destruction of all their future attempts and power. Shaftesbury, therefore, was the first to desert them, and to go over to the country party, who received him with open arms, and trusted him with unbounded reserve. Clifford was dead. Buckingham was desirous of imitating Shaftesbury's example. Lauderdale and Arlington were exposed to all the effects of national resentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the former, which, however, were never prosecuted; and as for the other, he every day grew more and more out of favour with the king, and contemptible to the people. This was an end of the power of a junto that had laid a settled plan for overturning the constitution, and fixing unlimited monarchy upon its ruins.

In the mean time, the war between the Dutch and the French went on with the greatest vigour; and although the latter were repressed for a while, they still continued making encroachments upon the enemy's territories. The Dutch forces were commanded by the prince of Orange, who was possessed of courage, activity, vigilance, and patience; but he was inferior in genius to the consummate generals who were opposed to him. He was, therefore, always unsuccessful; but still found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against his victorious enemies. These ineffectual struggles for the preservation of his country's freedom interested the English strongly in his favour; so that, from being his opposers, they now wished to lend him assistance. They considered their alliance with France as threatening subversion to the protestant religion; and they longed for an union with him, as the only means of security. The commons therefore addressed [A. D. 1677. the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the growing greatness of France; and they assured him, in case of a war, that they would not be backward in their supplies. Charles was not displeased with the latter part of their address, as money was necessary for his pleasures. He therefore told them that unless they granted him six hundred thousand pounds, it would be impossible for him to give them a satisfactory answer. The commons refused to trust to his majesty's professions; his well known profusion was before their eyes. The king reproved them for their diffidence, and immediately ordered them to adjourn. The marriage of the duke of York's eldest daughter, the princess Mary, who had a fair prospect of the crown, with the prince of Orange, was a measure that gave great satisfaction in these general disquietudes about religion. The negociation was brought about by the king's own desire; and the protestants now saw a happy prospect before them of a succession that would be favourable to their much-loved Reformation. A negociation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed soon after, which was rather favourable to the latter. But the mutual animosities of these states not being as yet sufficiently quelled, the war was continued for some time. The king, therefore, to satisfy his parliament, who declared loudly against the French, sent over an army of three thousand men to the continent under the command of the duke of Mon- [A. D. 1678. mouth, to secure Ostend. A fleet also was fitted out with great diligence; and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the emperor. These vigorous measures brought about the famous treaty of Nimeguen, which gave a general peace to Europe. But, though peace was secured abroad, the discontents of the people still continued at home.

CHAP. XXXVII.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1677 to 1685.

THIS reign presents the most amazing contrasts of levity and cruelty, of mirth and gloomy suspicion. Ever since the fatal league with France, the people had entertained violent jealousies against the court. The fears and discontents of the nation were vented without restraint; the apprehensions of a popish successor, an abandoned court, and a parliament which, though sometimes assertors of liberty, yet continued for seventeen years without change; these naturally rendered the minds of mankind timid and suspicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreak their ill humour.

sion from sea. At last, the murmurs of the English, at seeing this brave and industrious people, the supporters of the protestant cause, totally sunk, and on the brink of destruction, were too loud not to impress the king. He was A. D. 1673.] obliged to re-assemble the parliament, to take the sense of the nation upon his conduct; and he soon saw how his subjects stood affected.

The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed upon this meeting of the parliament. Before the commons entered upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a constant practice in the house for many years, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections; but, by Shaftesbury's advice, several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor; so that the whole house in time might be filled with members clandestinely called up by the court. The house was no sooner assembled, and the speaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made against this method of election; and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all sectaries was next taken into consideration, and a remonstrance drawn up against that exercise of the prerogative. The commons persisted in their opposition to it; and represented that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and the two houses. Charles, therefore, found himself obliged reluctantly to retract his declaration; but, that he might do it with a better grace, he asked the opinion of the house of peers, who advised him to comply. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, and the most entire duty to the king. He, on his part, assured them, that he would willingly pass any law which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

Having abridged the king's stretches of power in these points, they went still farther, and resolved to make the conformity of national principles still more general. A law was passed, entitled the Test Act, imposing an oath on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides the taking the oaths of allegiance and the king's supremacy, they were obliged to receive the sacrament once a year in the established church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the dissenters had also seconded the efforts of the commons against the king's declaration for indulgence, a bill was passed for their ease and relief, which, however, went with some difficulty through the house of peers.

But still the great object of their meeting was to be inquired into; for the war against the Dutch continued to rage with great animosity. Several sea-engagements succeeded each other very rapidly, which brought on no decisive action, both nations claiming the victory after every battle. The commons, therefore, weary of the war, and distrustful even of success, resolved that the standing army was a grievance. They next declared, that they would grant no more supplies to carry on the Dutch war, unless it appeared that the enemy continued so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions. To cut short these disagreeable altercations, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and, with that intention, he went unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher of the black rod to summon the house of commons to attend. It happened that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, "To the chair!" Upon which the following motions were instantly made in a tumultuous manner: That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors of the king were a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance: and then the house rose in great confusion. The king soon saw that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on the war, which was so odious to them; he resolved, therefore, to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. For A. D. 1674.] form's sake he asked the advice of his parliament, who, concurring heartily in his intentions, a peace was concluded accordingly.

This turn in the system of the king's politics was very pleasing to the

nation in general; but the cabal quickly saw that it would be the destruction of all their future attempts and power. Shaftesbury, therefore, was the first to desert them, and to go over to the country party, who received him with open arms, and trusted him with unbounded reserve. Clifford was dead. Buckingham was desirous of imitating Shaftesbury's example. Lauderdale and Arlington were exposed to all the effects of national resentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the former, which, however, were never prosecuted; and as for the other, he every day grew more and more out of favour with the king, and contemptible to the people. This was an end of the power of a junto that had laid a settled plan for overturning the constitution, and fixing unlimited monarchy upon its ruins.

In the mean time, the war between the Dutch and the French went on with the greatest vigour; and although the latter were repressed for a while, they still continued making encroachments upon the enemy's territories. The Dutch forces were commanded by the prince of Orange, who was possessed of courage, activity, vigilance, and patience; but he was inferior in genius to the consummate generals who were opposed to him. He was, therefore, always unsuccessful; but still found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against his victorious enemies. These ineffectual struggles for the preservation of his country's freedom interested the English strongly in his favour; so that, from being his opposers, they now wished to lend him assistance. They considered their alliance with France as threatening subversion to the protestant religion; and they longed for an union with him, as the only means of security. The commons therefore addressed [A. D. 1677. the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the growing greatness of France; and they assured him, in case of a war, that they would not be backward in their supplies. Charles was not displeased with the latter part of their address, as money was necessary for his pleasures. He therefore told them that unless they granted him six hundred thousand pounds, it would be impossible for him to give them a satisfactory answer. The commons refused to trust to his majesty's professions; his well-known profusion was before their eyes. The king reproved them for their diffidence, and immediately ordered them to adjourn. The marriage of the duke of York's eldest daughter, the princess Mary, who had a fair prospect of the crown, with the prince of Orange, was a measure that gave great satisfaction in these general disquietudes about religion. The negociation was brought about by the king's own desire; and the protestants now saw a happy prospect before them of a succession that would be favourable to their much-loved Reformation. A negociation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed soon after, which was rather favourable to the latter. But the mutual animosities of these states not being as yet sufficiently quelled, the war was continued for some time. The king, therefore, to satisfy his parliament, who declared loudly against the French, sent over an army of three thousand men to the continent under the command of the duke of Mon- [A. D. 1678. mouth, to secure Ostend. A fleet also was fitted out with great diligence; and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the emperor. These vigorous measures brought about the famous treaty of Nimeguen, which gave a general peace to Europe. But, though peace was secured abroad, the discontents of the people still continued at home.

CHAP. XXXVII.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1677 to 1685.

THIS reign presents the most amazing contrasts of levity and cruelty, of mirth and gloomy suspicion. Ever since the fatal league with France, the people had entertained violent jealousies against the court. The fears and discontents of the nation were vented without restraint; the apprehensions of a popish successor, an abandoned court, and a parliament which, though sometimes assertors of liberty, yet continued for seventeen years without change; these naturally rendered the minds of mankind timid and suspicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreak their ill humour.

When the spirit of the English is once roused, they either find objects of suspicion, or make them. On the twelfth of August, one Kirby, a chemist, accosted the king as he was walking in the Park. "Sir," said he, "keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk." Being questioned, in consequence of this strange intimation, he offered to produce one Dr. Tongue, a weak credulous clergyman, who had told him, that two persons, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to murder the king; and that sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken the same task by poison. Tongue was introduced to the king, with a bundle of papers relating to this pretended conspiracy, and was referred to the lord-treasurer Danby. He declared to him that the papers were thrust under his door, and that he knew the author of them, who desired that his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the resentment of the Jesuits.

This information appeared so vague and unsatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. However, Tongue was not to be repressed in the ardour of his loyalty; he went again to the lord-treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, written by Jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to one Bedingfield, a Jesuit, who was confessor to the duke of York, and who resided there. These letters had actually been received a few hours before by the duke; but he had shewn them to the king as a forgery, of which he knew not the drift or the meaning. This incident tended to confirm the king in his incredulity. He desired, however, that it might be concealed, as it might raise a flame in the nation; but the duke, solicitous to prove his innocence, insisted upon a more deliberate discussion, which turned out very different from his expectations.

Titus Oates, who was the fountain of all this dreadful intelligence, was produced soon after, who, with seeming reluctance, came to give his intelligence. This man affirmed that he had fallen under the suspicion of the Jesuits, and that he had concealed himself in order to avoid their resentment. This Titus Oates was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain to a man-of-war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained in the English seminary of that city. The fathers of that college sent him with some despatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue among them; so that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his support. At a time when he was supposed to have been intrusted with a secret involving the fate of kings, he was allowed to remain in such necessity, that Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread.

He had two methods of proceeding, either to ingratiate himself by this information with the ministry, or to alarm the people, and thus turn their fears to his advantage. He chose the latter method. He went, therefore, with his two companions, to sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and before him deposed to a narrative dressed up in terrors fit to make an impression on the vulgar. The pope, he said, considered himself as entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of those kingdoms. This, which was St. Peter's patrimony, he had delivered up to the Jesuits; and Oliva, the general of that order, was his delegate. Several English catholic lords, whose names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of state: lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, sir William Godolphin privy seal, Coleman, the duke's secretary, was made secretary of state, Langhorne attorney-general, lord Bellasis general of the forces, lord Petre lieutenant-general, and lord Stafford paymaster. The king, whom the Jesuits called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried by them, and condemned as a heretic. He asserted, that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confessor La Chaise, had offered ten thousand pounds to any man who should kill the king. Ten thousand pounds

had been offered to sir George Wakeman to poison him; but he was mercenary, and demanded fifteen thousand; which demand was complied with. Lest these means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been employed by the Jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas for each, to stab the king at Windsor. Coleman was deeply involved in the plot, and had given a guinea to the messenger who carried orders for the assassination. Grove and Pickering, to make sure work, were employed to shoot the king, and that too with silver bullets. The former was to receive fifteen hundred pounds for his pains; the latter, being a pious man, thirty thousand masses. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint dropped out of his pistol at one time, and at another the priming. Oates went on to say that he himself was chiefly employed in carrying notes and letters among the Jesuits, all tending to the same end, of murdering the king. A wager of a hundred pounds was made, and the money deposited, that the king should eat no more Christmas pies The great fire of London had been the work of the Jesuits: several other fires were resolved on, and a paper model was already framed for firing the city anew. Fire-balls were called among them Tewkesbury mustard-pills. Twenty thousand catholics in London were prepared to rise; and Coleman had remitted two hundred thousand pounds to assist the rebels in Ireland. The crown was to be offered to the duke of York, in consequence of the success of these probable schemes, on condition of extirpating the protestant religion. Upon his refusal—"To pot James must go," as the Jesuits were said to express it.

In consequence of this dreadful information, sufficiently marked with absurdity, vulgarity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people; although, during his examination before the council, he so betrayed the grossness of his impostures, that he contradicted himself in every step of his narration. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the catholic designs. The king asked him what sort of a man his old acquaintance Don John was. Oates replied that he was a tall lean man; which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. Though he pretended a great intimacy with Coleman, yet he knew him not when placed very near him, and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad by candle-light. He was guilty of the same mistake with regard to sir George Wakeman.

But these improbabilities had no weight against the general wish, if I may so express it, that they should be true. The violent animosity which had been excited against the catholics in general, made the people find a gloomy pleasure in hoping for an opportunity of satiating their hatred. The more improbable any account seemed, the more unlikely it was that any impostor should invent improbabilities, and therefore it appeared more like truth.

A great number of the Jesuits mentioned by Oates were immediately taken into custody. Coleman, who was said to have acted so strenuous a part in the conspiracy, at first retired; but next day surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and some of his papers, by Oates's directions, were secured. These papers, which were such as might be naturally expected from a zealous catholic in his situation, were converted into very dangerous evidence against him. He had without doubt maintained, with the French king's confessor, the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and other catholics abroad, a close correspondence, in which there was a distant project on foot for bringing back popery, upon the accession of the duke of York. But these letters contained nothing that served as proof in the present information; and their very silence in that respect, though they appeared imprudent enough in others, was a proof against Oates's pretended discovery. However, when the contents of those letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic which the former narrative had begun. The two plots were brought to strengthen each other, and confounded into one. Coleman's letters shewed there had actually been designs on foot, and Oates's narrative was supposed to give the particulars.

In this fluctuation of passions, an accident served to confirm the prejudices of the people, and put it beyond a doubt that Oates's narrative was nothing but the truth. Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who had been so active in develop-

ing the whole mystery of the popish machinations, after having been missing some days, was found dead in a ditch near Primrose-hill, in the way to Hampstead. His own sword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound; so that it appeared he was dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets; and there was a broad livid mark quite round his neck, which was dislocated. The cause of his death remains, and must still continue, a secret; but the people, already enraged against the papists, did not hesitate a moment to ascribe it to them. No doubt now remained of the veracity of Oates; the voice of the whole nation united against them; and the populace were exasperated to such a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of that unhappy sect. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession, preceded by seventy clergymen; and every one who saw it, made no doubt that his death could be caused by the papists only. Even the better sort of people were infected with this vulgar prejudice; and such was the general conviction of popish guilt, that no person, with any regard to personal safety, could express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey.

It only remained for the parliament to repress these delusions, and to bring back the people to calm and deliberate inquiry. But the parliament testified greater credulity than even the vulgar. The cry of "plot" was immediately echoed from one house to another: the country party would not let slip such an opportunity of managing the passions of the people; the courtiers were afraid of being thought disloyal, if they should doubt the innocence of the pretended assassins of their king. Danby, the prime minister, entered into it very furiously; and though the king told him that he had thus given the houses a handle to ruin himself, and to disturb the affairs of government, yet this minister persevered, till he found the king's prognostic but too true.

The king himself, whose safety was thus threatened and defended, was the only person who treated the plot with becoming contempt. He made several efforts for stifling an inquiry, which was likely to involve the kingdom in confusion, and must at any rate hurt his brother, who had more than once professed his resolution to defend the catholic religion.

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, an address was voted for a solemn fast. It was requested that all papers tending to throw light upon so horrible a conspiracy might be laid before the house; that all papists should remove from London; that access should be denied at court to all unknown and suspicious persons, and that the trained bands in London and Westminster should be in readiness to march. They voted, after hearing Oates's evidence, that there was a damnable and hellish plot contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, and for rooting out the protestant religion. Oates, who had acknowledged the accusations against his morals to be true, was, however, recommended by parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged, by a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year, to proceed in forging new informations.

The encouragement given to Oates, did not fail to bring in others also, who hoped to profit by the delusion of the times. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was, like the former, of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently passed himself for a man of quality. This man, at his own desire, was arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London, where he declared before the council that he had seen the body of sir Edmondbury Godfrey at Somerset-house, where the queen lived. He said that a servant of lord Bellasis offered to give him four thousand pounds if he would carry it off. He was questioned about the plot, but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, he thought it would be better to share the emoluments of the plot, and he gave an ample account of it. This narrative he made to tally as well as he could with the information of Oates, which had been published; but to render it the more acceptable, he added some circumstances of his own, still more tremendous, and still more absurd, than those of Oates. He said that ten

thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington-bay, and were immediately to seize Hull. He affirmed that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raise an army in Radnorshire; that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London; that he himself had been tampered with to murder a man, and was to receive four thousand pounds for that service, besides the pope's blessing; that the king was to be assassinated, the protestants butchered, and the kingdom offered to One, if he would consent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope should continue to govern without him. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenell, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. But the most terrible part of all was, that Spain was to invade England with forty thousand men, who were ready at St. Iago in the character of pilgrims; though at this time Spain was actually unable to raise ten thousand men to supply her own garrisons in Flanders.

These narrations carry their own refutation; the infamy of the witnesses, the contradiction in their testimony, the improbability of it, the low vulgarity of the information, unlike what men trusted with great affairs would be apt to form, all these serve to raise our horror against these base villains, and our pity at the delusion of the times that could credit such reports. In order to give a confident air to the discovery, Bedloe published a pamphlet, with this title, "A Narrative and impartial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot carried on for burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster, with their Suburbs, &c. by Captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid Design, and one of the Popish Committees for carrying on such Fires." The papists were thus become so obnoxious, that vote after vote passed against them in the house of commons. They were called idolaters; and such as did not concur in acknowledging the truth of the epithet, were expelled the house without ceremony. Even the duke of York was permitted to keep his place in the house by a majority of only two. "I would not," said one of the lords, "have so much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here, not so much as a popish dog or a popish bitch, not so much as a popish cat to mew or pur about our king." This was wretched eloquence; but it was admirably suited to the times.

Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witnesses, who all along had enlarged their narratives in proportion as they were greedily received, went a step farther, and ventured to accuse the queen. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; the lords rejected it with becoming disdain. The king received the news of it with his usual good-humour. "They think," said he, "that I have a mind to a new wife; but I will not suffer an innocent woman to be abused." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants. But his favour with the parliament soon procured his release.

Coleman was the first who was brought to trial, as being most obnoxious to those who pretended to fear the introduction of popery. His letters were produced against him. They plainly testified a violent zeal for the catholic cause; and that alone at present was sufficient to convict him. But Oates and Bedloe came in to make his condemnation sure. The former swore that he had sent fourscore guineas to a ruffian who undertook to kill the king. The date of the transaction he fixed in the month of August, but would not fix the particular day. Coleman could have proved that he was in the country the greatest part of that month, and therefore the witness would not be particular. Bedloe swore that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the Jesuits, appointing him a papal secretary of state, and that he had consented to the king's assassination. After this unfortunate man's sentence, thus procured by these vipers, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession; but as he was, in reality, possessed of no treasonable secrets, he would not procure life by falsehood and imposture. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

The trial of Coleman was succeeded by those of Ireland, Pick- [A. D. 1679.
ering, and Grove. Ireland, a Jesuit, was accused by Oates and Bedloe, the only witnesses against him; and they swore that he was one of the fifty

Jesuits who had signed the great resolve against the king. He affirmed, and proved, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August, a time when Oates asserted he was in London. The jury brought him in guilty, and the judge commended their verdict. It was in the same manner sworn that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath to assassinate the king, and had provided themselves with screwed pistols and silver bullets. They solemnly protested their innocence, yet they were found guilty. All these unhappy men went to execution protesting their innocence; a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators; their being Jesuits banished even pity from their sufferings.

The animosities of the people, however, seemed a little appeased by the execution of these four; but a new train of evidence was now discovered, that kindled the flame once more. One Miles Prance, a goldsmith, and a professed Roman catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in sir Edmondbury's murder; and, upon his denial, had been loaded with heavy irons, and thrown into the condemned hold, a place cold, dark, and noisome. There the poor wretch lay groaning and exclaiming that he was not guilty; but being next day carried before lord Shaftesbury, and threatened with severe punishment in case of obstinacy, he demanded if a confession would procure his pardon. Being assured of that, he had no longer courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. He soon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king; but the same rigours being employed against him, he was induced to confirm his first information. The murder, he said, was committed in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerard and Kelly, two Irish priests; that Laurence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green, cushion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of the palace, followed sir Edmondbury at a distance, from ten in the morning till seven in the evening; but that passing by Somerset-house, Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, he was soon strangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerset-house, whence it was removed to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe.

Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence: though Bedloe's narrative and Prance's information were totally irreconcileable, and though their testimony was invalidated by contrary evidence, all was in vain: the prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at execution; and, as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable. But, instead of stopping the current of credulity, it only increased the people's animosity against a protestant, who could at once be guilty of a popish plot, of murder, and of denying it in his last moments.

This frightful persecution continued for some time; and the king, contrary to his own judgment, was obliged to give way to the popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were brought to their trial: Langhorne soon after. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man spread the alarm still farther, and even asserted that two hundred thousand papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omer's, that Oates was in that seminary at the time he swore he was in London. But, as they were papists, their testimony could gain no manner of credit. All pleas availed them nothing; the Jesuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, with their latest breath denying the crimes for which they died.

The informers had less success on the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who, though they swore with their usual animosity, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt; and it is probable the judge and jury were afraid of venturing so far.

The viscount Stafford was the last man that fell a sacrifice to these bloody wretches: the witnesses produced against him were Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore that he saw Fenwick, the Jesuit, deliver to Stafford a commission from the general of the Jesuits, constituting him pay-master of the papal army. Dugdale gave testimony that the prisoner had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the king. Turberville affirmed that Stafford, in his own house at Paris, had made him the same proposal. The

clamour and outrage of the populace against the prisoner were very great; he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged and quartered; but the king changed the sentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where even his persecutors could not forbear shedding tears at the serene fortitude which shone in every feature, motion, and accent, of this aged nobleman. Some other lords, who were taken up and imprisoned upon the former evidence, were tried and acquitted some time after, when the people began to recover from their frenzy.

But while these prosecutions were going forward, raised by the credulity of the people, and seconded by the artifice of the parliament, other designs equally vindictive were carried on. The lord-treasurer Danby was impeached in the house of commons by Seymour his enemy. The principal charge against him was his having written a letter to Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, directing him to sell the king's good offices at the treaty of Nimeguen, to the king of France, for a certain sum of money; contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even those of his own kingdom. This was a charge he could not deny; and, though the king was more culpable than the minister, yet the prosecution was carried on against him with rigour. But he had the happiness to find the king resolved to defend him. Charles assured the parliament, that, as he had acted in every thing by his orders, he deemed him entirely blameless; and though he would deprive him of all his employments, yet he would positively insist on his personal safety. The lords were obliged to submit: however, they went on to impeach him, and Danby was sent to the Tower; but no worse consequences ensued.

These serious proceedings had all been carried on by a house of commons that had now continued undissolved for above seventeen years; the king, therefore, was resolved to try a new one, which he knew could not be more manageable than the former. However, the new parliament did not in the least abate in the activity and obstinacy of their predecessors. The king, indeed, changed his council, by the advice of sir William Temple, and admitted into it many of both parties, by which he hoped to appease his opponents; but the antipathy to popery had taken too fast a possession of men's minds to be removed by so feeble a remedy. This house resolved to strike at the root of the evil which threatened them from a popish successor; and, after some deliberations, a bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the duke of York from the crowns of England and Ireland. It was by that intended that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession to the duke; and that all acts of royalty which this prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but deemed treason. This important bill passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine.

Nor did their efforts rest here; the commons voted the king's standing army and guards to be illegal. They proceeded to establish limits to the king's power of imprisoning delinquents at will. It was now that the celebrated statute called the Habeas-Corpus act was passed, which confirms the subject in an absolute security from oppressive power. By this act, it was prohibited to send any one to prisons beyond the sea: no judge, under severe penalties, was to refuse to any prisoner his writ of *habeas-corpus*, by which the gaoler was to produce in court the body of the prisoner, whence the writ had its name, and to certify the cause of his imprisonment and detention. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances. Every prisoner must be indicted the first term of his commitment, and brought to trial the subsequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by court, can be re-committed for the same offence.

This law alone would have been sufficient to endear the parliament that made it to posterity; and it would have been well if they had rested there. The duke of York had retired to Brussels during these troubles; but an indisposition of the king led him back to England, to be ready, in case of any sinister accident, to assert his right to the throne. After prevailing upon his brother to disgrace the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the king, by one Miss Walters, and now become very popular, he himself retired to Scotland,

under pretence of still quieting the apprehensions of the English nation; but, in reality, to strengthen his interests there. This session served still more to inflame the country party, who were strongly attached to the duke of Monmouth, and were resolved to support him against the duke of York. Mobs, petitions, pope-burnings, were artifices employed to keep up the terrors of popery, and alarm the court. The parliament had shewn favour to the various tribes of informers, and that served to increase the number of these miscreants; but plots themselves also became more numerous. Plot was set up against plot; and the people were still kept suspended in dreadful apprehension.

The Meal-Tub Plot, as it was called, was brought forward to the public on this occasion. One Dangerfield, more infamous, if possible, than Oates and Bedloe, a wretch who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported, for felony and coining, hatched a plot in conjunction with a midwife, whose name was Cellier, a Roman-catholic, of abandoned character. Dangerfield began by declaring that there was a design on foot to set up a new form of government, and remove the king and the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodgings of colonel Mansel; and then conducted the custom-house officers to his apartment, to search for smuggled merchandise. The papers were found; and the council, having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be searched; and in the house of Cellier, the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub; whence the plot had its name. Dangerfield, being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which, though probably entirely of his own contrivance, he ascribed to the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. He said that the design was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates, to assassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax, and others, of having been concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brother. Upon this information the earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were sent to the Tower, and the king himself was suspected of encouraging this imposture.

But it was not by plots alone the adverse parties endeavoured to supplant each other. Tumultuous petitions on the one hand, and flattering addresses on the other, were sent up from all quarters. Wherever the country party prevailed, petitions, filled with grievances and apprehensions, were sent to the king with an air of humble insolence. Wherever the church, or the court party, prevailed, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those who endeavoured to disturb the public tranquillity. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*. Whig and Tory also were first used as terms of mutual reproach at this time. The Whigs were so denominated from a cant name given to the sour Scotch conventiclers, (*whig* being milk turned sour.) The Tories were denominated from the Irish banditti so called, whose usual manner of bidding people deliver was by the Irish word *torse*, or give me.

As this parliament seemed even to surpass the former in jealousy and resentment, the king was induced to dissolve it; and could willingly have never applied to another. But his necessities, caused by his want of economy, and his numberless needy dependents, obliged him to call another. A. D. 1680.] However, every change seemed only to inflame the evil; and his new parliament seemed willing to outdo even their predecessors. Every step they took betrayed that zeal with which they were animated. They voted the legality of petitioning the king; they fell with extreme violence on the abhorrers, who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. Great numbers of these were seized by their order, from all parts of England, and committed to close custody: and the liberty of the subject, which had been so carefully guarded by their own recent law, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commit-

ments. One Stawell, of Exeter, was the person that put a stop to their proceedings; he refused to obey the sergeant at arms who was sent to apprehend him; he stood upon his defence, and said he knew no law by which they pretended to commit him. The house, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evasion. They inserted in their votes, that Stawell was indisposed; and a month's time was allowed him for his recovery. It is happy for the nation, that, should the commons at any time overleap the bounds of their authority, and order men capriciously to be committed to prison, there is no power, in case of resistance, that can compel the prisoner to submit to their decrees.

But the chief point which the commons laboured to obtain, was the *Exclusion Bill*, which, though the former house had voted it, was never passed into a law. Shaftesbury, and many considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the duke of York, that they could find safety in no measure but his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of James would make room for their own patron. The catholic bigotry of the duke of York influenced numbers; and his tyrannies, which were practised without control while he continued in Scotland, rendered him odious to thousands. In a week, therefore, after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides; the bill was defended by lord Russel, sir William Jones, sir Francis Winnington, sir Henry Capel, sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague. It was opposed by sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state; sir John Earnley, chancellor of the exchequer; by Hyde, Seymour, and Temple. The bill passed by a great majority in the house of commons, but was opposed in the house of peers with better success. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex, argued for it. Halifax chiefly conducted the arguments against it. The king was present during the whole debate, and had the pleasure of seeing the bill thrown out by a great majority. All the bishops, except three, voted against it; for they were of opinion that the church of England was in much greater danger from the prevalence of presbyterianism than of popery.

The commons were extremely mortified and enraged at the rejection of their favourite bill; and, to shew how strongly they resented the indulgence that was shewn to popery, they passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters, and for repealing such acts as tended to their persecution. They proceeded to bring in bills, which, though contributing to secure the liberty of the subject, yet probably at that period were only calculated to excite them to insurrection. They had thoughts of renewing the triennial act; of continuing the judges in their offices during good behaviour; of ordering an association for the defence of his majesty's person, and the security of the protestant religion. They voted that, till the exclusion bill should be enacted, they could not, consistently with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any supply; and, to prevent his taking other methods to get money, they voted, that whoever should advance money upon any branches of the king's revenue, should be responsible to parliament for his conduct. The king, finding that there were no hopes of extorting either money or obedience from the com-
A. D. 1681.] mons, came to a resolution of once more dissolving the parliament. His usher of the black-rod accordingly came to dissolve them, while they were voting that the dissenters should be encouraged, and that the papists had burned the city of London.

The parliament thus dissolved, it was considered as a doubt, whether the king would ever call another; however, the desire he had of being supplied with money surmounted his fears from every violence a parliament might offer. But it had always been supposed that the neighbourhood of London, at once both potent and factious, was an improper place for assembling a parliament that would be steadfast in the king's interests; he therefore resolved at once to punish the Londoners, by shewing his suspicions of their loyalty, and to reward the inhabitants of Oxford, by bringing down his parliament to that city. Accordingly, a parliament was ordered to assemble at Oxford; and measures were taken on both sides to engage the partisans to

be strenuous in their resolutions. In this, as in the late parliament, the country party predominated: the parliamentary leaders came to that city, attended not only by their servants, but with numerous bands of their retainers. The four London members were followed by great multitudes wearing ribands, in which were woven these words, "No popery! No slavery!" The king was not behind them in the number and formidable appearance of his guards; so that the parliament rather bore the appearance of a military congress than of a civil assembly.

This parliament trod exactly in the steps of the former. The commons, having chosen the same speaker who had filled the chair in the last parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations. The bill for exclusion was more fiercely urged than ever. Ernley, one of the king's ministers, proposed that the duke should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England; and that, upon the king's death, the next heir should be constituted regent, with regal power. Yet even this expedient, which left the duke the bare title of king, could not obtain the attention of the house. Nothing but a total exclusion could satisfy them.

Each party had now for some time reviled and ridiculed each other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice, at last, was attended with an incident that deserves notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent on the duchess of Portsmouth, one of the king's mistresses, used to supply her with these occasional publications. But he was resolved to add to their number, by his own endeavours; and employed one Everard, a Scotchman, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was actually a spy for the opposite party; and, supposing this a trick to entrap him, he discovered the whole to sir William Waller, an eminent justice of peace; and to convince him of the truth of his information, posted him and two other persons privately, where they heard the whole conference between Fitzharris and himself. The libel, composed between them, was replete with rancour and scurrility. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened at that very time to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Seeing himself in the hands of a party from which he expected no mercy, he resolved to side with them, and throw the odium of the libel upon the court, who, he said, were willing to draw up a libel, which should be imputed to the exclusionists, and thus render them hateful to the people. He enhanced his services with the country party by a new popish plot, still more tremendous than any of the foregoing. He brought in the duke of York as a principal accomplice in this plot, and as a contriver in the murder of sir Edmondbury Godfrey.

The king imprisoned Fitzharris; the commons avowed his cause. They voted that he should be impeached by themselves, to screen him from the ordinary forms of justice; the lords rejected the impeachment; the commons asserted their right; a commotion was likely to ensue; and the king, to break off the contest, went to the house and dissolved the parliament, with a fixed resolution never to call another.

This vigorous measure was a blow that the parliament did not expect; and nothing but the necessity of the times could have justified the king's manner of proceeding. From that moment, which ended the parliamentary commotions, Charles seemed to rule with despotic power; and he was resolved to leave the succession to his brother, but clogged with all the faults and misfortunes of his own administration. His temper, which had always been easy and merciful, now became arbitrary, and even cruel; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs.

He resolved to humble the presbyterians: these were divested of their employments and their places, and their offices given to such as held with the court, and approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy began to testify their zeal and their principles by their writings and their sermons; but, though among these the partisans of the king were the most numerous, those of the opposite faction were the most enterprising. The king openly espoused the cause of the former; and thus placing himself at

the head of a faction, he deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party, of their charter. It was not till after an abject submission that he restored it to them, having previously subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority.

Terrors also were not wanting to confirm this new species of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to his trial before a jury, and condemned and executed. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had long been encouraged and supported by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their ancient drivers, and offered their evidence against those who had first put them in motion. The king's ministers, with a horrid satisfaction, gave them countenance and encouragement; so that soon the same cruelties and the same injustice were practised against presbyterian schemes, that had been employed against catholic treasons.

The first person that fell under the displeasure of the ministry, was one Stephen College, a London joiner, who had become so noted for his zeal against popery, that he went by the name of the Protestant Joiner. He had attended the city members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol; he had sometimes been heard to speak irreverently of the king, and was now presented by the grand jury of London as guilty of sedition. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court; and the grand jury, named by them, rejected the bill against College. However, the court were not to be foiled so; they sent the prisoner to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed, and there tried him before a partial judge and a packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others who had already given evidence against the catholics; and the nation saw themselves reduced to a ridiculous dilemma upon their testimony. The jury, who were royalists, could not accept their evidence, as they believed them to be abandoned liars; nor yet could they reject it, as they were taught by their opponents to think their evidence sufficient for conviction. College defended himself with great presence of mind, and invalidated their testimony. But all was in vain. The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, brought him in guilty, and the spectators testified their inhuman pleasure with a shout of applause. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude, and at the place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

But higher vengeance was demanded by the king, whose resentment was chiefly levelled against the earl of Shaftesbury; and not without reason. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses, against this intriguing and formidable man. A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, witnesses were examined, who swore to such incredible circumstances as must have invalidated their testimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers, indeed, a draught of an association was found, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the earl's hand-writing, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any body, or signified his approbation of any such project. The sheriffs had summoned a jury whose principles coincided with those of the earl: and that probably, more than any want of proof, procured his safety.

The power of the crown by this time became irresistible. The punishment of the city of London was so mortifying a circumstance, that all [A. D. 1683. the other corporations in England soon began to fear the same treatment, and most of them were successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring these charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown. Resistance now, however justifiable, could not be safe; and all prudent men saw no other expedient, but peaceably submitting to the present grievances. But there was a party in England that still cherished their former ideas of freedom, and were resolved to hazard every danger in its defence.

This, like all other combinations, was made up of men, some guided by principle to the subversion of the present despotic power, some by interest, and many more by revenge. Some time before, in the year 1681, the king had been seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, which gave a great alarm

to the public. Shaftesbury had even then attempted to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and united with the duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and lord Grey: in case of the king's death, they conspired to rise in arms, and vindicate their opinions by the sword. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial, for some time put a stop to these designs; but they soon revived with his release. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, sir Gilbert Gerard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire. Lord Russel fixed a correspondence with sir William Courtenay, sir Francis Rowe, and sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the West. Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, an independent clergyman, and a restless plotter, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. It was now that this turbulent man found his schemes most likely to take effect. After the disappointment and destruction of a hundred plots, he at last began to be sure of the present. But this scheme, like all the former, was disappointed. The caution of lord Russel, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprise, saved the kingdom from the horrors of civil war; while Shaftesbury was so struck with a sense of his impending danger, that he left his house, and lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open insurrection. At last, enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened to begin with his friends alone. However, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of success, and fled out of the kingdom to Amsterdam, where he ended his turbulent life soon after, without being pitied by his friends, or feared by his enemies.

The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded the views of the conspirators, did not suppress them. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great man of that name. These corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents in Scotland, and resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection, though they widely differed in principles from each other. Monmouth aspired at the crown; Russel and Hampden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the republic, and Essex joined in the same wish. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who, having no principles, sought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private interest in the confusion.

Such were the leaders of this conspiracy, and such their motives. But there was also a set of subordinate conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these men were colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer, lieutenant-colonel Walcot, of the same stamp, Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party man, Ferguson, the dissenting minister, and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen. But Rumsey and Ferguson were the only persons who had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. These men in their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions. They proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket: Rumbold, one of the party, possessed a farm upon that road, called the Rye-house; and thence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye-house Plot. They deliberated upon a scheme of stopping the king's coach by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and shooting him through the hedges. The house in which the king lived at Newmarket took fire accidentally, and he was obliged to leave Newmarket eight days sooner than was expected, to which circumstance his safety was ascribed.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who, finding himself in danger of a prosecution for arresting the lord-mayor of London, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, no sooner understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidence, and they surrendered themselves accordingly. Shephard, another conspirator, being apprehended, confessed all he knew, and general orders were soon issued out for apprehending the rest of the leaders of the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded; Russel was sent to the Tower; Grey escaped; Howard was taken, concealed in a chimney; Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, were soon after arrested, and had the mortification to find lord Howard an evidence against them.

Walcot was first brought to trial and condemned, together with Hone and Rouse, two associates in the conspiracy, upon the evidence of Rumsey, West, and Shephard. They died penitent, acknowledging the justice of the sentence by which they were executed. A much greater sacrifice was shortly after to follow. This was the lord Russel, (son of the earl of Bedford,) who had numberless good qualities, and had been led into this conspiracy from a conviction of the duke's intentions to restore popery. He was liberal, popular, humane, and brave. All his virtues were so many crimes in the present suspicious disposition of the court. The chief evidence against him was lord Howard, a man of very bad character, one of the conspirators, who was now contented to take life upon such terms, and to accept of infamous safety. This witness swore that Russel was engaged in the design of an insurrection; but he acquitted him, as did also Rumsey and West, of being privy to the assassination. His own candour would not allow him to deny the design in which he really was concerned; but his confession was not sufficient to convict him. To the fact which principally aimed at his life there was but one witness, and the law required two: this was overruled; for justice, during this whole reign, was too weak for the prevailing party. The jury, who were zealous royalists, after a short deliberation, pronounced the prisoner guilty. After his condemnation, the king was strongly solicited in his favour. Even money, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds, was offered to the duchess of Portsmouth, by the earl of Bedford. But Charles was inexorable. He dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Russel, and resented his former activity in promoting the bill of exclusion. Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Russel, offered to effect his escape, by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room. The duke of Monmouth sent a message to him, offering to surrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. Lord Russel generously rejected both these expedients, and resigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His consort, the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, finding that all supplications were vain, took leave of her husband without shedding a tear; while, as he parted from her, he turned to those about him—"Now," said he, "the bitterness of death is over." Before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch—"I have now done with time," said he, "and must henceforth think of eternity." The scaffold for his execution was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; he laid his head on the block without the least change of countenance, and at two strokes it was severed from his body.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary army against the late king, and was even named on the high court of justice that tried him, but had not taken his seat among the judges. He had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and went into voluntary banishment upon the Restoration. His affairs, however, requiring his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained his request. But all his hopes and all his reasonings were formed upon republican principles. For his adored republic he had written and fought, and went into banishment, and ventured to return. It may easily be conceived how obnoxious a man of such principles was to a court that now was not even content with limitations to its power. The ministry went so far as to take illegal methods to procure his condemnation. The only witness that deposed against Sidney was lord Howard, and the law required two. In order, therefore, to make out a second witness, a very extraordinary expedient was adopted. In ransacking his closet, some discourses on government were found in his own handwriting, containing principles favourable to liberty, and in themselves no way subversive of a limited government. By overstraining some of these, they were construed into treason. It was in vain he alleged that papers were no evidence; that it could not be proved they were written by him: that, if proved, the papers themselves contained nothing criminal. His defence was overruled; the violent and inhuman Jeffries, who was now chief-justice, easily prevailed on a partial jury to declare him guilty; and his execution soon followed.

One can scarcely contemplate the transactions of this reign without horror: such a picture of factious guilt on each side, a court at once immersed in sensuality and blood, a people armed against each other with the most deadly animosity, and no single party to be found with sense enough to stem the general torrent of rancour and factious suspicion.

Hampden was tried soon after; and as there was nothing to affect his life, he was fined forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had fled to the West Indies, was brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and shared the same fate. Lord Essex, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether the bigotry of the times might not have induced some assassin to commit the crime, cannot now be known.

This was the last blood that was shed for an imputation of plots or conspiracies, which continued during the greatest part of this reign. Nevertheless, the cruelty and the gloomy suspicion of the duke of York, who, since the dissolution of the last parliament, daily advanced in power, were dreadful to the nation. Titus Oates was fined a hundred thousand pounds for calling him a popish traitor; and he was imprisoned till he could pay it, which he was utterly incapable of. A like illegal sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt, for the same offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds, for having, in some private letters, reflected on the government. Of all those who were concerned in the late conspiracy, scarcely one escaped the severity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth, and he was the most culpable of any.

At this period, the government of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but, to please his subjects by an act of popularity, he judged it proper to marry the lady Anne, his niece, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. This was one of the last transactions of this extraordinary reign. The king was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, yet he Feb. 6, 1685.] languished only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. During his illness some clergymen of the church of England attended him, to whom he discovered a total indifference. Catholic priests were brought to his bedside, and from their hands he received the rites of their communion. Two papers were found in his closet, containing arguments in favour of that persuasion. These were soon after published by James his successor, by which he greatly injured his own popularity and his brother's memory.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

JAMES II.—A. D. 1685 to 1688.

The duke of York, who succeeded his brother by the title of king James the Second, had been bred a papist by his mother, and was strongly bigoted to his principles. It is the property of that religion almost ever to contract the sphere of the understanding: and, until people are in some measure disengaged from its prejudices, it is impossible to lay a just claim to extensive views, or consistency of design. The intellects of this prince were naturally weak; and the education he had received rendered him still more feeble. He therefore conceived the impracticable project of reigning in the arbitrary manner of his predecessor, and of changing the established religion of his country, at a time when his person was hated, and the established religion passionately loved. The people, though they despised the administration of his predecessor, yet loved the king. They were willing to bear with the faults of one whose whole behaviour was one continued instance of affability; but they were by no means willing to grant the same indulgence to James, as they knew him to be gloomy, proud, bigoted, and cruel.

His reign began with acts of imprudence. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, that had been voted to the late king for his life only, were

levied by James, without a new act for that purpose. He likewise went openly to mass with all the ensigns of his dignity, and even sent one Caryl as his agent to Rome, to make submissions to the pope, to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the catholic church. These were but inauspicious symptoms in the very beginning of his reign; but the progress no way fell short of the commencement.

He had, long before the beginning of his reign, had an intrigue with Mrs. Sedley, whom he afterwards created countess of Dorchester; but being now told that, as he was to convert his people, the sanctity of his manners ought to correspond with his professions, Mrs. Sedley was discarded, and he resigned himself to the advice of the queen, who was as much governed by priests as he. From the suggestions of these men, and particularly the Jesuits, all measures were taken. One day, when the Spanish ambassador ventured to advise his majesty against placing too much confidence in such kind of people,—"Is it not the custom in Spain," said James, "for the king to consult with his confessor?" "Yes," answered the ambassador, "and that is the reason our affairs succeed so very ill."

But though his actions might serve to demonstrate his aims, yet his first parliament, which was mostly composed of zealous Tories, were strongly biassed to comply with all the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously that they would settle on the present king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king at the time of his decease. For this favour James assured them of his resolution to secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no answer could be extorted from him with regard to religion; for that he was secretly resolved to alter.

To pave the way for his intended conversion of his people, it was necessary to undeceive them with regard to the late rumour of a popish plot; and Oates, the contriver, was the first object of royal indignation. He was tried for perjury on two indictments: one, for swearing that he was present at a consultation of Jesuits in London, the twenty-fourth of April, 1679; and another for swearing that father Ireland was in London in the beginning of September of the same year. He was convicted on the evidence of above two-and-twenty persons on the first, and of twenty-seven on the latter indictment. His sentence was, to pay a fine of a thousand marks on each indictment; to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. Oates, long accustomed to a life of infamy and struggle, supported himself under every punishment that justice could inflict. He avowed his innocence; called Heaven to witness his veracity; and he knew that there was a large party who were willing to take his word. Though the whipping was so cruel, that it appeared evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that dreadful punishment, yet Oates survived it all, and lived to king William's reign, when he had a pension of four hundred pounds a year settled upon him. Thus Oates remains as a stain upon the times in every part of his conduct. It is a stain upon them that he was first believed; it is a stain upon them that he was caressed, that he was tyrannically punished, and that he was afterwards rewarded.

The duke of Monmouth, who had been, since his last conspiracy, pardoned, but ordered to depart from the kingdom, had retired to Holland. Being dismissed from that country, by the prince of Orange, upon James's accession, he went to Brussels, where, finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he resolved to retaliate, and make an attempt upon the kingdom. He had ever been the darling of the people; and some averred that Charles had married the duke's mother, and owned his legitimacy at his death. The earl of Argyle seconded his views in Scotland, and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection; so that while Monmouth should attempt to make a rising in the West, Argyle was also to try his endeavours in the North.

Argyle was the first who landed in Scotland, where he published his manifestoes, put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and strove to influence the people in his cause. But a formidable body of the king's forces coming against him, his army fell away; and he himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken prisoner by a peasant, who

found him standing up to his neck in a pool. He was then carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed.

The fate of Argyle was but a bad encouragement to the unfortunate Monmouth, who landed in Dorsetshire with scarcely a hundred followers. However, his name was so popular, and so great was the hatred of the people both for the person and religion of James, that in four days he had assembled a body of above two thousand men. They were indeed all of them the lowest of the people, and his declarations were suited entirely to their prejudices. He called the king the duke of York, and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and Essex, and even the poisoning of the late king.

The parliament was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they presented an address to the king, assuring him of their loyalty, zeal, and assistance. The duke of Albemarle, raising a body of four thousand militia, advanced, in order to block him up in Lyme; but finding his soldiers disaffected to the king, he soon after retreated with precipitation.

In the mean time, the duke advanced to Taunton, where he was reinforced by considerable numbers. Twenty young maids of some rank presented Monmouth with a pair of colours, their handiwork, together with a copy of the Bible. There he assumed the title of king, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. His numbers had now increased to six thousand men; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss numbers who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome, and was proclaimed in all those places; but he lost the hour of action, in receiving and claiming these empty honours.

The king was not a little alarmed at this invasion, but still more at the success of an undertaking that at first sight appeared so desperate. Six regiments of British troops were called over from Holland, and a body of regulars, to the number of three thousand men, were sent, under the command of the earl of Feversham, and Churchill, to check the progress of the rebels. They took post at Sedge-moor, near Bridgewater, and were joined by the militia of the country in considerable numbers. It was there that Monmouth resolved, by a desperate effort, to lose his life or gain the kingdom. The negligent disposition made by Feversham invited him to the attack; and his faithful followers shewed what courage and principle could do against discipline and superior numbers. They drove the royal infantry from their ground, and were upon the point of gaining the victory, when the misconduct of Monmouth, and the cowardice of lord Grey, who commanded the horse, brought all to ruin. This nobleman fled at the first onset; and the rebels, being charged in flank by the victorious army, gave way, after three hours' contest. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit; and thus ended an enterprise, rashly begun, and feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him; he then exchanged clothes with a shepherd, and fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themselves with fern. The discovery of the shepherd in Monmouth's clothes, increased the diligence of the search; and, by the means of blood-hounds, he was detected in his miserable situation with raw pease in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and petitioned, with abject submission, for life. He wrote the most submissive letters to the king; and that monarch, willing to feast his eyes with the miseries of a fallen enemy, gave him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life in the most humiliating terms. He even signed a paper, offered him by the king, declaring his own illegitimacy; and then the stern tyrant assured him, that his crime was of such a nature as could not be pardoned. The duke, perceiving that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, re-collected his spirits, rose up, and retired with an air of disdain. He was followed to the scaffold with great compassion from the populace. He warned

the executioner not to fall into the same error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to redouble the blow. But this only increased the severity of his punishment. The man was seized with an universal trepidation, and he struck a feeble blow; upon which the duke raised his head from the block, as if to reproach him; he gently laid down his head a second time, and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He at last threw the axe down; but the sheriff compelled him to resume the attempt, and at two more blows the head was severed from the body. Such was the end of James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the English people. He was brave, sincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and consequently seduced into an enterprise which exceeded his capacity.

But it would have been well for the insurgents, and fortunate for the king, if the blood that was now shed had been thought a sufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army behaved with the most savage cruelty to the prisoners taken after the battle. The earl of Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged up above twenty prisoners; and he was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, a man of a savage and bloody disposition. This vile fellow, practised in the arts of slaughter at Tangier, where he had served in garrison, took a pleasure in committing instances of wanton barbarity. He ordered a certain number to be put to death, while he and his company were drinking the king's health. Observing their feet to shake in the agonies of death, he cried that they should have music to their dancing, and ordered the trumpets to sound. He ravaged the whole country, without making any distinction between friend or foe. His own regiment, for their peculiar barbarity, went by the name of Kirke's Lambs. A story is told of his offering a young woman the life of her brother, in case of her consenting to his desires, which when she had done, he shewed her her brother hanging out of the window. But this is told of several others who have been notorious for cruelty, and may be the tale of malignity.

But the military severities of the commanders were still inferior to the legal slaughters committed by Judge Jefferies, who was sent down to try the delinquents. The natural brutality of this man's temper was inflamed by continual intoxication. He told the prisoners, that, if they would save him the trouble of trying them, they might expect some favour, otherwise he would execute the law upon them with the utmost severity. Many poor wretches were thus allured into a confession, and found that it only hastened their destruction. No less than eighty were executed at Dorchester; and, on the whole, in the western counties, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. Women were not exempted from the general severity, but suffered for harbouring their nearest kindred. Lady Lisle, though the widow of a regicide, was herself a loyalist. She was apprehended for having sheltered in her house two fugitives from the battle of Sedge-moor. She proved that she was ignorant of their crime when she had given them protection, and the jury seemed inclined to compassion: they twice brought in a favourable verdict; but they were as often sent back by Jefferies, with menaces and reproaches, and at last were constrained to give a verdict against the prisoner.

But the fate of Mrs. Gaunt was still more terrible. Mrs. Gaunt was an anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she had extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane character, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. The abandoned villain, hearing that a reward and indemnity were offered to such as informed against criminals, came in, and betrayed his protectress. His evidence was incontestable; the proofs were strong against her; he was pardoned for his treachery, and she burned alive for her benevolence.

The work of slaughter went forward. One Cornish, a sheriff, who had been long obnoxious to the court, was accused by Goodenough, now turned a common informer, and, in the space of a week, was tried, condemned, and executed. After his death, the perjury of the witnesses appeared so flagrant,

that the king himself expressed some regret, granted his estate to the family and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately created a peer, and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor. This shewed the people that all the former cruelties were pleasing to the king, and that he was resolved to fix his throne upon severity.

It was not to be supposed that these slaughters could acquire the king the love or the confidence of his people; yet he thought this a very favourable juncture for carrying on his schemes of religion and arbitrary power. Such attempts in Charles, however unjust, were in some measure politic, as he had a republican faction to contend with; and it might have been prudent then to overstep justice, in order to obtain security. But the same designs in James were as imprudent as they were impracticable; the republicans were then diminished to an inconsiderable number, and the people were sensible of the advantages of a limited monarchy. However, James began to throw off the mask; and in the house of commons, by his speech, he seemed to think himself exempted from rules of prudence or necessity of dissimulation. He told the house that the militia were found by experience to be of no use; that it was necessary to augment the standing army; and that he had employed many catholic officers, in whose favour he had thought proper to dispense with the test required to be taken by all intrusted by the crown: he found them useful, he said, and he was determined to keep them employed. These stretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into some degree of opposition; but they soon acquiesced in the king's measures; and then the parliament was dissolved for tardy compliance. This was happy for the nation; for it was perhaps impossible to pick out another house of commons that could be more ready to acquiesce in the views of the crown.

A. D. 1686.] The parliament being dismissed, the next step was to secure a catholic interest in the privy-council. Accordingly, four catholic lords were admitted; Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover. The king made no secret of his desires to have his courtiers converted to his own religion; and the earl of Sunderland, who saw that the only way to preferment was by popery, scrupled not to gain favour at that price. Rochester, the treasurer, was discarded, because he refused to conform. In these schemes, James was entirely governed by the counsels of the queen and of his confessor, father Edward Petre, a Jesuit, whom he soon after created a privy-counsellor. Even in Ireland, where the duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause, this nobleman was displaced as being a protestant; and the lord Tyrconnel, a furious Roman Catholic, was placed in his stead. The king, one day, in his attempts to convert his subjects, stooped so low as colonel Kirke; but this daring soldier told him that he was pre-engaged, for he had promised the king of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangier, that if he should ever change his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

It could not be expected that the favour shewn by James to the catholics would be tamely borne by the members of the English church. They had hitherto, indeed, supported the king against his republican enemies, and to their assistance he chiefly owed his crown; but, finding his partiality to the catholics, the clergy of the church of England began to take the alarm, and commenced an opposition to court measures. The pulpits now thundered against popery; and it was urged that it was more formidable from the support granted to it by the king. It was in vain that James attempted to impose silence on these topics; instead of avoiding the controversy, the protestant preachers pursued it with still greater warmth.

Among those who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was one doctor Sharp, a clergyman of London, who declaimed with just severity against those who had been induced to change their religion by such arguments as the popish missionaries were able to produce. This being supposed to reflect upon the king, gave great offence at court; and positive orders were given to the bishop of London to suspend Sharp till his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The bishop refused to comply; and the king resolved to punish the bishop himself for disobedience.

To effect his designs, he determined to revive the high-commission court, which had given the nation so much disgust in the times of his father, and which had been for ever abolished by act of parliament. But the laws were no obstacles to James, when they combated with his inclination. An ecclesiastical commission was issued out anew, by which seven commissioners were invested with a full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. This was a blow to the church which alarmed the kingdom; and, could the authority of this court take place, the king's intentions of converting the nation would naturally follow. Before this tribunal the bishop was summoned; and not only he, but Sharp the preacher, were suspended.

The next step was to allow a liberty of conscience to all sectaries; and he was taught to believe that the truth of the catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. In such a case, the same power that granted liberty of conscience might restrain it, and the catholic religion alone be then permitted to predominate. He therefore issued a declaration of general indulgence, and asserted that nonconformity to the established religion was no longer penal. In order to procure a favourable reception to this edict, he began by paying court to the dissenters, as if it had been principally intended for their benefit. But those sectaries were too cunning and suspicious to be deceived. They knew that the king only meant to establish his own religion at the expense of theirs; and that both his own temper, and the genius of popery, had nothing of the true spirit of toleration in them. They dissembled, however, their distrust for a while; and the king went on silently applauding himself on the success of his schemes.

But his measures were caution itself in England, compared with those which were carried on in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration to the catholics only, without ever attempting to intercede for the dissenters, who were much more numerous. In Ireland, the protestants were totally expelled from all offices of trust and profit, and the catholics were put in their places. Tyrconnel, who was vested with full authority there, carried over, as chancellor, one Fitton, a man who had been taken from a prison, and who had been convicted of forgery and other crimes. This man, a zealous catholic, was heard to say, from the bench, that all protestants were rogues, and that, among forty thousand, there was not one who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain.

These severe measures had sufficiently disgusted every part of the British empire; but, to complete his work, for James did nothing by halves, he publicly sent the earl of Castlemain ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never was so much contempt thrown upon an embassy that was so boldly undertaken. The court of Rome expected little success from measures so blindly conducted. They were sensible that the king was openly striking at those laws and opinions which it was his business to undermine in silence and security. The cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, that the king should be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England. The only proof of complaisance which the king received from his holiness, was his sending a nuncio into England, in return for the embassy that was sent to him.

This failed not to add to the general discontent; and the people supposed that he could never be so rash, as, contrary to an express act of parliament, to admit of a communication with the pope. But what was their surprise, when they saw the nuncio make his public and solemn entry into [A. D. 1687. Windsor: and, because the duke of Somerset refused to attend the ceremony, he was dismissed from his employment of one of the lords of the bed-chamber!

But this was merely the beginning of the king's attempts. The Jesuits soon after were permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom; they exercised the catholic worship in the most public manner, and four catholic bishops, consecrated in the chapel-royal, were sent through the kingdom to exercise their episcopal functions, under the title of apostolic vicars. Their pastoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and distributed through all parts of the kingdom. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their

orders; and a great number of priests and friars arrived in England. Every great office the crown had to bestow was gradually transferred from the protestants; Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in-law, though they had been ever faithful to his interests, were, because protestants, dismissed from their employments. Nothing now remained but to open the doors of the church and universities to the intrusion of the catholics; and this effort was soon after begun.

Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. But his religion was a stumbling-block which the university could not get over; and they presented a petition, beseeching the king to recall his mandate. Their petition was disregarded; and the vice-chancellor, being summoned to appear before the high-commission court, was deprived of his office; yet the university persisted, and father Francis was refused. The king, thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretensions; but he carried on his attempts upon the university of Oxford with still greater vigour.

The place of president of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, being vacant, the king sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, and a man of a bad character in other respects. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the king for recalling his mandate; but, before they received an answer, the day came on which, by their statutes, they were required to proceed to an election. They therefore chose doctor Hough, a man of learning, integrity, and resolution. The king was incensed at their presumption; and, in order to punish them, some ecclesiastical commissioners were sent down, who, finding Farmer a man of scandalous character, issued a mandate for an election. The person now recommended by the king was doctor Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of prostitute character, but who atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows refused to comply with this injunction; which so incensed the king, that he repaired to Oxford, and ordered the fellows to be brought before him. He reproached them with their insolence and disobedience in the most imperious terms, and commanded them to choose Parker without delay. Another refusal on their side served still more to exasperate him: and, finding them resolute in the defence of their privileges, he ejected them all, except two, from their benefices, and Parker was put in possession of the place. Upon this the college was filled with catholics; and Charnock, who was one of the two that remained, was made vice-president.

Every invasion of the ecclesiastical and civil privileges of the nation only seemed to increase the king's ardour for greater violations of right. A [A. D. 1688.] second declaration for liberty of conscience was published, almost in the same terms with the former; but with this peculiar injunction, that all divines should read it after service in their churches. As he thus put it in the power of thousands to refuse, he armed against himself the whole body of the nation. The clergy were known universally to disapprove of the suspending power; and they were now resolved to disobey an order dictated by the most bigoted motives. They were determined to trust their cause to the favour of the people, and to that universal jealousy which prevailed against the encroachments of the crown. The first champions on this service of danger were Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol. These, together with Sancroft the primate, concerted an address, in the form of a petition to the king, which, with the warmest expressions of zeal and submission, remonstrated that they could not read his declaration consistently with their consciences, or the respect they owed the protestant religion. This modest address only inflamed the king's resentment; and he blindly rushed into measures as precipitate as they were tyrannical. He was resolved not to let the slightest and most respectful contradiction pass unpunished. He received the petition with marks of surprise and displeasure. He said to the bishops, that he did not expect such an address from the English church, particularly from some among them, and insisted on full obedience to his mandate. The bishops left his presence under some apprehen-

sions from his fury, but secure in the favour of the people, and the rectitude of their intentions.

The king's measures were now become so odious to the people, that, although the bishops of Durham and Rochester, who were members of the ecclesiastical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the churches of their respective districts, the audience could not hear them with any patience. One minister told his congregation, that though he had positive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it, and therefore they might leave the church; a hint which was quickly adopted. It may easily be supposed that the petitioning bishops had little to dread from the utmost efforts of royal resentment.

As the petition was delivered in private, the king summoned the bishops before the council, and there questioned them whether they would acknowledge it? They for some time declined giving an answer; but, being urged by the chancellor, they at last owned the petition. On their refusing to give bail, an order was immediately drawn up for their commitment to the Tower, and the crown lawyers received directions to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

The king gave orders that they should be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion in their favour. The people were no sooner informed of their danger, than they ran to the river-side, which was lined with incredible multitudes. As the reverend prisoners passed, the populace fell upon their knees; and some even ran into the water, craving their blessing, calling upon heaven to protect them, and encouraging them to suffer nobly in the cause of religion. The bishops were not wanting, by their submissive and humble behaviour, to raise the pity of the spectators; and they still exhorted them to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The very soldiers by whom they were guarded kneeled down before them, and implored their forgiveness. Upon landing, the bishops immediately went to the Tower chapel, to render thanks for those afflictions which they suffered in the cause of truth.

The twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial; and their return was still more splendidly attended than their imprisonment. Twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense crowd of people, waited upon them to Westminster-hall. The cause was looked upon as involving the fate of the nation; and future freedom, or future slavery, awaited the decision. The dispute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. Holloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themselves in favour of the bishops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the night. The next morning, they returned into court, and pronounced the bishops "not guilty." Westminster-hall instantly rang with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the whole extent of the city. They even reached the camp at Hounslow, where the king was at dinner in lord Feversham's tent. His majesty demanding the cause of these rejoicings, and being informed that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting at the delivery of the bishops; "Call you that nothing?" cried he, "but so much the worse for them."

If the bishops testified the readiness of martyrs in support of their religion, James shewed no less ardour in his attempts toward the establishment of his own. Grown odious to every class of his subjects, he still resolved to persist; for it was a part of his character, that those measures he once embraced he always persevered in pursuing. He dismissed the judges Powel and Holloway, who had favoured the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration; and all had refused it, except two hundred. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura.

As he found the clergy every where averse to the harshness of his proceedings, he was willing to try next what he could do with the army. He thought if one regiment should promise implicit obedience, their example would soon induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his late declaration of liberty of conscience should lay down their arms. He was

surprised to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a few Roman-catholic soldiers.

Opposition only served to inflame the zeal of this infatuated monarch. He was continually stimulated by the queen, and the priests about him, to go forward, without receding. A fortunate circumstance happened in his family. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was brought to bed of a son, who was baptised by the name of James. This would, if any thing could at any time, have served to establish him on the throne; but so great was the animosity against him, that a story was propagated that the child was suppositious, and brought to the queen's apartment in a warming-pan. Such was this monarch's pride, that he scorned to take any precautions to refute the calumny. Indeed, all his measures were marked with the characters of pride, cruelty, bigotry, and weakness. In these he was chiefly supported by Father Petre, his confessor, an ambitious, ignorant, and intriguing priest, whom some scruple not to call a concealed creature belonging to the prince of Orange. By that prince's secret directions, it is asserted, though upon no very good authority, that James was hurried on, under the guidance of Petre, from one precipice to another, until he was obliged to give up the reins of that government which he went near to overthrow.

CHAP. XXXIX.

James II. (continued.)—A. D. 1688 to 1689.

William, prince of Orange, had married Mary, the eldest daughter of king James. This princess had been bred a protestant; and as she was presumptive heir of the crown, the people tamely bore the encroachments of the king, in hopes that his protestant successor would rectify those measures he had taken towards the establishment of popery, and the extension of the prerogative of the crown. For this reason the prince gave the king not only advice, but assistance in all emergencies, and had actually supplied him with six thousand troops upon Monmouth's invasion. But now, when a young prince was born, that entirely excluded his hopes by succession, he lent more attention to the complaints of the nation, and began to foment those discontents which before he had endeavoured to suppress.

William was a prince who had, from his earliest entrance into business been immersed in dangers, calamities, and politics. The ambition of France, and the jealousies of Holland, had served to sharpen his talents, and to give him a propensity to intrigue. This great politician and soldier, concealed beneath a phlegmatic appearance, a most violent and boundless ambition; all his actions were levelled at power, while his discourse never betrayed the wishes of his heart. His temper was cold and severe; his genius active and piercing; he was valiant without ostentation, and politic without address. Disdaining the elegance and pleasures of life, yet eager after the phantom of pre-eminence, through his whole life he was indefatigable; and, though an unsuccessful general in the field, he was a formidable negociator in the cabinet. By his intrigues, he saved his own country from ruin, he restored the liberties of England, and preserved the independence of Europe. Thus, though neither his abilities nor his virtues were of the highest kind, there are few persons in history whose actions and conduct have contributed more eminently to the general interests of society and mankind.

This politic prince now plainly saw that James had incurred the most violent hatred of his subjects. He was minutely informed of their discontents; and, by seeming to discourage, still farther increased them. He therefore began by giving Dyckvelt, his envoy, instructions to apply in his name to every sect and denomination in the kingdom. To the church party he sent assurances of favour and regard; and protested that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him against episcopacy. To the nonconformists he sent exhortations not to be deceived by the insidious caresses of their sworn enemy, but to wait for a real and sincere protector. Dyckvelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders of men sent

their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from those dangers with which they were threatened at home.

The prince soon found that every rank was ripe for defection, and received invitations from some of the most considerable persons in the kingdom. Admiral Herbert, and admiral Russel, assured him in person of their own and the national attachment. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, went over to him with assurances of an universal combination against the king. Lord Dumblaine, son of the earl of Danby, being master of a frigate, made several voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even considerable sums of money, to the prince of Orange. Soon after, the bishop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonshire, Dorset, and several other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in their addresses to him, and entreated his speedy descent.

The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their measures against the king. The Whigs hated him upon principles of liberty, the Tories upon principles of religion. The former had ever shewn themselves tenacious of their political rights; the latter were equally obstinate in defence of their religious tenets. James had invaded both; so that for a time all factions were laid asleep, except the general one of driving the tyrant from the throne, which upon every account he was so ill qualified to fill. William determined to accept the invitation of the kingdom; and still more readily embarked in the cause, as he saw that the malcontents had conducted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

The time when the prince entered upon his enterprise was just when the people were in a flame from the recent insult offered to their bishops. He had before this made considerable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ships were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and sums of money raised for other purposes were converted to the advancement of this expedition. The Dutch had always reposed an entire confidence in him; and many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector. He was sure of their protection of his native government, while he should be employed in England; and the troops of some of the German powers were actually marched down to Holland for that purpose Every place was in motion: all Europe saw and expected the descent, except the unfortunate James himself, who, secure in the piety of his intentions, thought nothing could hinder his schemes, as they were calculated to promote the cause of Heaven.

The king of France was the first who apprised him of his danger, and offered to assist him in repelling it. He was willing to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops which James should judge requisite for his security. James, however, could not be convinced that his son-in-law intended an invasion: fully satisfied himself of the sacredness of his authority, he imagined that a like belief prevailed among his subjects. He therefore rejected the French king's proposal; unwilling perhaps to call in foreign aid, when he had an army sufficient at home. When this offer was rejected, Louis again offered to march down his numerous army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus to detain their forces at home to defend themselves. This proposal met with no better reception. Still Louis was unwilling to abandon a friend and ally, whose interest he regarded as closely connected with his own. He ventured to remonstrate with the Dutch against the preparations they were making to invade England. They considered his remonstrance as an officious impertinence, and James himself declined his mediation.

James, having thus rejected the assistance of his friends, and being left to face the danger alone, was astonished with an advice from his minister in Holland, that an invasion was not only projected, but avowed. When he first read the letter containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. He saw the gulf into which he had fallen, and knew not where to seek for protection. His only resource was in retreating from those various precipitate measures into which he had plunged himself. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them

for their common security. He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and penal laws. He restored the charters of different corporations; annulled the high-commission court; reinstated the president and fellows of Magdalen college; and was even reduced to caress those bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted.

But all his concessions were now too late. They were regarded as the symptoms of fear, not of repentance; as the cowardice of guilt, not the conviction of error. Indeed, he soon shewed the people the uncertainty of his reformation; for, hearing that the Dutch fleet was dispersed, he recalled those concessions which he had made in favour of Magdalen college; and to shew his attachment to the Romish church, at the baptism of his new-born son, he named the pope as one of the sponsors.

In the mean time, the declaration of the prince of Orange was industriously dispersed over the kingdom. In this he enumerated all the grievances of which the nation complained; promised his assistance in redressing them; and assured the people that his only aim was to procure the lasting settlement of their liberty and their religion, in a full and free parliament. This declaration was quickly followed by preparations for a vigorous invasion. So well concerted were William's measures, that in three days above four hundred transports were hired; the army fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen with all necessary stores; and the prince set sail from Helvoetsluys with a fleet of near 500 vessels, and an army of above 14,000 men.

Fortune seemed at first every way unfavourable to his enterprise. He encountered a dreadful storm, which put him back; but he soon refitted his fleet, and once more ventured to England. It was given out that this invasion was intended for the coast of France; and many of the English who saw the fleet pass along their coast, little expected to see it land on their own shores. It happened that the same wind which sent them to their destined port, detained the English fleet in the river; so that the Dutch passed the straits of Dover without molestation. Thus, after a voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme, in Torbay, on the fifth of November, which was the anniversary of the gunpowder treason.

Although the invitation from the English was very general, the prince for some time had the mortification to find himself joined by very few. He marched first to Exeter; but the inhabitants of the western counties had been so lately terrified with the executions which had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion, that they continued to observe a strict neutrality. Slight repulses, however, were not able to intimidate a general who had, from his early youth, been taught to encounter adversity. He continued for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malcontents, and at last began to despair of success; but just when he began to deliberate about re-embarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of consequence, and the whole country soon after came flocking to his standard. The first person who joined the prince was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees, the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russel, (son to the earl of Bedford,) Wharton, Godfrey, Howe, came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delaware took up arms in Cheshire; the earl of Danby seized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby; the nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that general combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection of the army, which seemed almost universally tinctured with the spirit of the times. Lord Colchester, son of earl Rivers, was the first officer who deserted to the prince. Lord Lovelace was taken in the like attempt, by the militia under the duke of Beaufort. Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, carried off a considerable part of three regiments of cavalry to the prince. Several officers of distinction informed Feversham, in general, that they could not in conscience fight against the prince of Orange.

The defection of the officers was followed by that of the king's own servants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, and had been invested with a high command in the army; had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; even he deserted among the rest, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some others.

In this alarming defection, the unfortunate James, not knowing where to turn, and on whom to rely, began to think of requesting assistance from France, when it was now too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain. That monarch only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. James imagined that he might have some dependence on his fleet; but the officers and seamen in general were disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself.

He had by this time arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army; and he found that this body amounted to twenty thousand men. It is possible that, had he led these to the combat, without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour, and secured him on the throne. But he was involved in a maze of fears and suspicions; the defection of those he most confided in took away his confidence in all, and deprived him even of the power of deliberation. It was no small addition to his present distress, that the prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, perceiving the desperation of his circumstances, resolved to leave him, and take part with the prevailing side. When he was told that the prince and princess had followed the rest of his favourites, he was stung with the most bitter anguish: "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!"

During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London; a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery. Thus driven to the precipice of his fortunes, invaded by one son-in-law, abandoned by another, despised by his subjects, and hated by those who had suffered beneath his cruelty, he assembled the few noblemen that still adhered to his interests. There, in his forlorn council, he demanded the advice of those he most confided in. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russel, who had been executed in the former reign by the intrigues of James, "My lord," said the king, "you are an honest man, have credit, and can do me signal service." "Ah, sir!" replied the earl, "I am old and feeble; I can do you but little service. I had indeed a son!" James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

The king's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was such as could not procure him the esteem of his friends and adherents. He was naturally timid: and some counsellors about him, either sharing his fears, or secretly attached to the prince, contributed to increase his apprehensions. They reminded him of the fate of his father, and aggravated the turbulence and inconstancy of the people. They at length persuaded him to fly from a nation he could no longer govern, and seek for refuge at the court of France, where he was sure of assistance and protection. The popish courtiers, and above all, the priests, were sensible that they would be made the first sacrifice, upon the prevalence of the opposite party. They were therefore desirous of taking James with them, as his presence would be still their honour and protection abroad.

The prince of Orange was no less desirous of the king's flying over to France, than his most zealous counsellors could be. He was determined to use every expedient to intimidate James, and drive him out of the kingdom. He declined a personal conference with the king's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them. The terms which he proposed implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty: and to urge his measures, he stopped not a moment in his march towards London.

The king, alarmed every day more and more with the prospect of a general disaffection, resolved to hearken to those who advised him to quit the kingdom. To prepare for this, he first sent away the queen, who arrived safely at

Calais, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. He himself soon after disappeared in the night-time, attended only by sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and, disguising himself in a plain dress, went down to Feversham, where he embarked in a small vessel for France. But his misfortunes still continued to pursue him. The vessel was detained by the populace, who, not knowing the person of the king, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now persuaded by the earl of Winchelsea to return to London; where the mob, moved by his distresses, and guided by their natural levity, received him, contrary to his expectations, with shouts and acclamations.

Nothing could be more disagreeable to the prince of Orange than to hear that James was brought back, and, in some measure, triumphantly, to his capital. He had before taken measures to seize upon that authority which the king's dereliction had put into his hands. The bishops and peers, who were now the only authorized magistrates in the state, gave directions, in the present dissolution of government, for keeping the peace of the city. They issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the garrisons, and the army. They made applications to the prince, whose enterprise they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated. It was not, therefore, without extreme mortification, that he found the king returned, to embarrass his proceedings.

The prince of Orange, however, determined to dissemble, and received the news of his return with a haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to push him by threats and severities to relinquish the throne; and his proceedings argued the refined politician. The king having sent lord Feversham on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference previous to the settlement of the throne, that nobleman was put under an arrest, on pretence of his wanting a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where the king then lodged, and to displace the English. James was soon after commanded by a message, which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale. He desired permission to retire to Rochester, a town not far from the sea-coast. This was readily granted him; and it was now perceived that the harsh measures of the prince had taken effect, and that James was meditating an escape from the kingdom.

The king, while he continued at Rochester, seemed willing to receive invitations to resume the crown; but the prince had not been at all this expense and trouble in taking him from a throne, to place him there again. James, therefore, observing that he was entirely neglected by his own subjects, and oppressed by his son-in-law, resolved to seek safety from the king of France, the only friend he had still remaining. He accordingly fled to the sea-side, attended by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, and embarked for the continent. He arrived in safety at Ambleteuse in Picardy, whence he hastened to the court of France, where he still enjoyed the empty title of king, and the appellation of a saint, which flattered him more.

After this manner, the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, seconded by surprising fortune, effected the delivery of the kingdom. It now remained that he should reap the rewards of his toil, and obtain that crown for himself, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. Previously to any regular authority, he continued in the management of all public affairs. By the advice of the house of lords, the only member of the legislature remaining, he was desired to summon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon so imperfect an authority, convened all the members who had sitten in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles the Second, and to these were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common-council. This was the most proper representative of the people that could be summoned, during the present emergency. They unanimously voted the same address with the lords: and the prince being thus supported by legal authority, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, to choose a new parliament. His orders were universally obeyed; every thing went on with regularity, and the prince became possessed of all authority, as if he had regularly succeeded to the throne.

When the house met, which was mostly composed of the [Jan. 22, 1689.
Whig party, after thanks were given to the prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had brought them, they proceeded to the settlement of the kingdom. In a few days they passed a vote, by a great majority, which was sent up to the house of lords for their concurrence. It was to this effect: That king James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract betwixt the king and people, and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government; and the throne was thereby vacant. This vote readily passed the house of commons; but it met with some opposition in the house of lords, and was at length carried by a majority of two voices only.

The king being thus deposed, the next consideration was the appointment of a successor. Some declared for a regent; others proposed that the princess of Orange should be invested with regal power, and the young prince considered as suppositious. The debates ran high. A conference was demanded between the lords and commons; while the prince, with his usual prudence, entered into no intrigues either with electors or members, but kept a total silence, as if he had been no way concerned in the transaction. At last, perceiving that his own name was little mentioned in these disputes, he called together the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Danby, with a few more. He then told them that he had been called over to defend the liberties of the English nation, and that he had happily effected his purpose; that he had heard of several schemes proposed for establishing the government; that, if they should choose a regent, he would never accept that office, the execution of which he knew would be attended with insuperable difficulties; that he would not accept the crown under the princess his wife, though he was convinced of her merits; that, therefore, if either of these schemes should be adopted, he would give them no farther assistance in the settlement of the nation, but would return to his own country, satisfied with his aims to secure the freedom of theirs. This declaration produced the intended effect. After a long debate in both houses, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. It was agreed that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England, while the administration should be placed in the hands of the prince only. The marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the house of lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer in terms of acknowledgment; and that very day William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

CHAP. XL.

WILLIAM III.—A. D. 1689 to 1702.

THE constitution, upon the accession of William to the crown, took a different form from what it had before. As his right to the crown was wholly derived from the choice of the people, they chose to load the benefit with whatever stipulations they thought requisite for their own security. His power was limited on every side; and the jealousy which his new subjects entertained of foreigners still farther obstructed the exercise of his authority. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents, which, previous to his coronation, William was obliged to confirm.

This declaration of rights, maintained that the suspending and dispensing powers, as exercised by king James, were unconstitutional; that all courts of ecclesiastical commission, the levying money, or maintaining a standing army in times of peace, without consent of parliament, grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction, and juries of persons not qualified or not fairly chosen, or (in trials for treason) who were not freeholders, were unlawful. It asserted the freedom of election to parliament, the freedom of speech in par-

liament, and the right of the subject to bear arms, and to petition his sovereign. It provided, that excessive bails should not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments be inflicted; and it concluded with an injunction that parliaments should be frequently assembled. Such was the bill of rights, calculated to secure the liberties of the people; but, having been drawn up in a ferment, it bears all the marks of haste, insufficiency, and inattention.

William was no sooner elected to the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them. From the peaceful and tractable disposition of his own countrymen, he expected a similar disposition among the English; he hoped to find them ready and willing to second his ambition in humbling France, but he found them more apt to fear for the invasion of their domestic liberties.

His reign commenced with an attempt similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. William was a Calvinist, and consequently averse to persecution; he therefore began by attempting to repeal those laws that enjoined uniformity of worship; and, though he could not entirely succeed in his design, a toleration was granted to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles. The papists themselves, who had every thing to fear, experienced the lenity of his government; and, though the laws against them were unrepealed, yet they were seldom put into rigorous execution. Thus, what was criminal in James became virtuous in his successor, as James wanted to introduce persecution by pretending to disown it, while William had no other view than to make religious freedom the test of civil security.

Though William was acknowledged king in England, Scotland and Ireland were still undetermined. The revolution in England had been brought about by a coalition of Whigs and Tories; but in Scotland it was effected by the Whigs almost alone. They soon came to a resolution that king James had, to use their own expression, *forfaulted* his right to the crown, a term which, in the law-language of that country, excluded not only him, but all his posterity. They therefore quickly recognized the authority of William, and took that opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to the nation.

Nothing now remained to the deposed king, of all his former possessions, but Ireland; and he had some hopes of maintaining his ground there, by the assistance which was promised to him from France. Lous XIV. had long been at variance with William, and took every opportunity to form confederacies against him, and to obstruct his government. On the present occasion, being either touched with compassion at the sufferings of James, or willing to weaken a rival kingdom, by promoting its internal dissensions, he granted the deposed monarch a fleet and some troops to assert his pretensions in Ireland, the only part of his dominions that had not openly declared against him.

On the other hand, William was not backward in warding off the threatened blow. He was pleased with the opportunity of gratifying his natural hatred against France; and he hoped to purchase domestic quiet to himself, by turning the spirit of the nation upon the continual object of its aversion and jealousy. The parliament, though divided in all things else, was unanimous in conspiring with him in this; a war was declared against France, and measures were pursued for driving James from Ireland, where he had landed, assisted rather by money than by forces granted him from the French king.

That unhappy prince, having embarked at Brest, arrived at Kinsale in March, and soon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He found the appearances of things in that country equal to his most sanguine expectations. Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, was devoted to his interests; his old army was steady, and a new one raised, amounting together to near forty thousand men. The protestants over the greatest part of Ireland were disarmed; the province of Ulster alone denied his authority; while the papists, confident of success, received

him with shouts of joy, and with superstitious processions, which gave him still greater pleasure.

In this situation, the protestants of Ireland underwent the most oppressive and cruel indignities. Most of those who were attached to the revolution, were obliged to retire into Scotland and England, or hid themselves, or accepted written protections from their enemies. The bravest of them, however, to the number of ten thousand men, gathered round Londonderry, resolved to make their last stand at that place for their religion and liberty. A few also rallied themselves at Enniskillen, and, after their first panic was over, became more numerous by the junction of others.

James continued for some time irresolute what course to pursue; but, as soon as the spring would permit, he went to lay siege to Londonderry, a town of small importance in itself, but rendered famous by the stand which it made on this occasion. Colonel Lundie had been appointed governor of the town by William, but was secretly attached to king James; and, at a council of war, prevailed upon the officers and townsmen to send messengers to the besiegers with an offer of surrender the day following. But the inhabitants, being apprised of his intention, and crying out that they were betrayed, rose in a fury against the governor and council, shot one of the officers whom they suspected, and boldly resolved to maintain the town, though destitute of leaders.

The town was weak in its fortifications, having only a wall eight or nine feet thick, and weaker still in its artillery, there being not above twenty serviceable guns upon the works. The new-made garrison, however, made up every deficiency by courage: one Walker, a dissenting minister, and major Baker, put themselves at the head of these resolute men; and, thus abandoned to their fate, they prepared for a vigorous resistance. The batteries of the besiegers soon began to play upon the town with great fury; and several attacks were made, but always repulsed with resolution. All the success that valour could promise, was on the side of the besieged; but they, after some time, found themselves exhausted by continual fatigue: they were afflicted also with a contagious distemper, which thinned their numbers; and as there were many useless mouths in the city, they began to be reduced to extremities for want of provision. They had even the mortification to see some ships, which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by a boom across the channel, and by the batteries of the enemy. General Kirke attempted in vain to come to their assistance. All he could do was to promise them speedy relief, and to exhort them to bear their miseries a little longer, with assurances of a glorious termination of them all. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision, and supported life by eating horses, dogs, and all kinds of vermin, while even this loathsome food began to fail them. They had still farther the misery of seeing above four thousand of their fellow-protestants, from different parts of the country, driven by Rosen, James's general, under the walls of the town, where they were kept three whole days without provisions. Kirke, in the mean time, who had been sent to their relief, continued inactive, debating with himself between the prudence and necessity of his assistance. At last, receiving intelligence that the garrison, sunk with fatigue and famine, had sent proposals of capitulation, he resolved upon an attempt to throw provisions into the place, by means of three victuallers, and a frigate to cover them. As soon as these vessels sailed up the river, the eyes of all were fixed upon them; the besiegers eager to destroy, and the garrison as resolute for their defence. The foremost of the victuallers at the first shock broke the boom, but was stranded by the violence of her own shock. Upon this, a shout burst from the besiegers, which reached the camp and the city. They advanced with fury against a prize which they considered as inevitable; while the smoke of cannon on both sides wrapped the whole scene in darkness. But, to the astonishment of all, in a little time the victualler was seen emerging from imminent danger, having gotten off by the rebound of her own guns, while she led up her little squadron to the very walls of the town. The joy of the inhabitants, at this unexpected relief, was only equalled by the rage and disappointment of the besiegers, who were so dispirited by the suc-

cess of this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost above nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed on to embark for England, with an address of thanks to king William, for the seasonable relief they had received.

The Enniskilleners were no less remarkable than the former for the valour and perseverance with which they espoused the interests of William. And indeed the bigotry and cruelty of the papists upon that occasion were sufficient to rouse the tamest into opposition. The protestants, by an act of the popish parliament under king James, were divested of those lands which they had possessed since the Irish rebellion. Two thousand five hundred persons of that persuasion, who had sought safety by flight, were found guilty of treason, and attainted. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter; the people were plundered; the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of the citizens, were pillaged, to supply a quantity of brass, which was converted into coin, and passed, by royal mandate, for above forty times its real value. Not content with this, James imposed, by his own authority, a tax of twenty thousand pounds a month on personal property, and levied it by a commission under the great seal. All vacancies in public schools were supplied by popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin was cut off, and that institution converted into a popish seminary. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district, to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; many perished with hunger, still more by being forced from their homes during the severest inclemencies of the season.

But their sufferings were soon to have an end. William at length perceived that his neglect of Ireland had been an error that required more than usual diligence to redress. He was afraid to send the late king's army to fight against him, and therefore ordered twenty-three new regiments to be raised for that purpose. These, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, together with the Enniskilleners, were appointed for the reduction of Ireland; and, next to king William himself, Schomberg was appointed to command.

Schomberg was an officer of German extraction, who had long been the faithful servant of William, and had now past a life of eighty years almost continually in the field. The method of carrying on the war in Ireland, however, was a mode of operation with which he was entirely unacquainted. The forces he had to combat were incursive, barbarous, and shy; those he had to command were tumultuary, ungovernable, and brave. He considered not the dangers which threatened the health of his troops by being confined to one place; and he kept them in a low moist camp, near Dundalk, almost without firing of any kind; so that the men fell into fevers and fluxes, and died in great abundance. The enemy was not less afflicted with similar disorders. Both armies remained for some time in sight of each other; and at last, the rainy season approaching, both, as if by mutual agreement, quitted their camps at the same time, and retired into winter-quarters, without attempting to take the advantage of each other's retreat.

A. D. 1690.] The bad success of the campaign, and the miserable situation of the protestants in Ireland, at length induced king William to attempt their relief in person, at the opening of the ensuing spring; and he accordingly landed at Carrickfergus, where he found himself at the head of an army of six-and-thirty thousand effective men, which was more than a match for the forces of James, although they amounted to above ten thousand more.

William, having received news that the French fleet had sailed for the coast of England, resolved, by measures of speed and vigour, to prevent the impression which that circumstance might make upon the minds of his soldiers; and therefore hastened to advance against James, who, he heard, had quitted Dublin, and had stationed his army at Ardee and Dundalk.

All the measures taken by William were dictated by prudence and valour; those pursued by his opponents seemed dictated by obstinacy and infatuation. They neglected to harass him in his difficult march from the north; they neglected to oppose him at the strong pass of Newry: as he advanced, they

fell back, first from Dundalk, and then from Ardee; and at last they fixed their camp in a strong station, on the other side of the Boyne. It was upon the opposite banks of this river that both armies came in sight of each other, inflamed with all the animosities arising from religion, hatred, and revenge. The river Boyne at this place was not so deep but that men might wade over on foot; however, the banks were rugged, and rendered dangerous by old houses and ditches, which served to defend the latent enemy. William had no sooner arrived, than he rode along the bank of the river, in sight of both armies, to make proper observations upon the plan of battle; but in the mean time, being perceived by the enemy, a cannon was privately brought out and planted against him, where he was sitting. The shot killed several of his followers; and he himself was wounded in the shoulder. A report of his being slain was instantly propagated through the Irish camp, and even reached Paris; but William, as soon as his wound was dressed, rode through the camp, and quickly undeceived his army.

Upon retiring to his tent, after the danger of the day, he continued in meditation till nine o'clock in the evening, when, for the sake of form, he summoned a council of war, in which, without asking advice, he declared his resolution to force a passage over the river the next morning. The duke of Schomberg attempted at first to expostulate with him upon the danger of the undertaking: but, finding his master inflexible, he retired to his tent with a discontented aspect, as if he had a prescience of his own misfortune.

Early in the morning, at six o'clock, king William gave [July 1, 1690. orders to force a passage over the river. This the army undertook in three different places; and, after a furious cannonading, the battle began with unusual vigour. The Irish troops, though reckoned equal to any in Europe abroad, have always fought indifferently at home. After an obstinate resistance, they fled with precipitation, leaving the French and Swiss regiments, who came to their assistance, to make the best retreat they could. William led on his horse in person, and contributed, by his activity and vigilance, to secure the victory. James was not in the battle, but stood aloof, during the action, on the hill of Donore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and, at intervals, was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing those of the enemy, "O spare my English subjects!"

The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the protestants about one third of that number. The victory was splendid, and almost decisive; but the death of the duke of Schomberg, who was shot as he was crossing the water, seemed to outweigh the whole loss sustained by the enemy. This old soldier of fortune had fought under almost every power in Europe. His skill in war was unparalleled, and his fidelity equal to his courage. The number of battles in which he had been personally engaged, was said to equal the number of his years, and he died at the age of eighty-two. He was killed by a discharge from his own troops, who, not knowing that he had been accidentally hurried into the midst of the enemy, fired upon the body of men by whom he was surrounded, and mortally wounded him.

James, while his troops were yet fighting, quitted his station; and leaving orders to defend the pass at Duleek, he made the best of his way to Dublin, despairing of future success. O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to say upon this occasion, that, if the English would exchange generals, the conquered army would fight the battle with them over again.

This blow totally depressed the hopes of James. He fled to Dublin, advised the magistrates to obtain the best terms they could from the victor, and then set out for Waterford, where he embarked for France, in a vessel fitted for his reception. Had he possessed either conduct or courage, he might still have headed his troops, and fought with advantage; but prudence forsook him with good fortune, and he returned to retrieve his affairs abroad, while he deserted them in the only place where they were defensible.

His friends, however, were determined to second those in- [A. D. 1691. terests which he himself had abandoned. Limerick, a strong city in the province of Munster, still held out for the late king, and braved all the attempts of William's army to reduce it. Sarsfield, a popular and experienced general, put himself at the head of the army that had been routed at the Boyne, and

went farther into the country to defend the banks of the river Shannon, where he resolved to await the enemy. James, who would not defend the country himself, determined that none but such as were agreeable to him should defend it. He therefore appointed St. Ruth, a French general, who had signalized himself against the protestants in France, to command over Sarsfield, which gave the Irish universal discontent, as it shewed that the king could neither rely on their skill nor their fidelity. On the other hand, general Ginckel, who had been appointed to command the English army in the absence of William, who was gone over to England, advanced with his forces towards the Shannon, in order to pass that broad and dangerous river. The only place where it was fordable, was at Athlone, a strong walled town, built on both sides of the river, and defending that important pass. The part of the town on the hither side of the river was taken sword in hand by the English; but the part on the opposite bank, being defended with great vigour, for a while was thought impregnable. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a body of forlorn hope should ford the stream in the face of the enemy, which desperate attempt was performed with great resolution; the enemy were driven from their works, and the town surrendered at discretion. St. Ruth marched his army to give relief, but too late; for, when he approached the walls, his own guns were turned against him. He no sooner saw this, than his fears increased in proportion to his former confidence; and dreading the impetuosity of a victorious enemy in his very camp, he marched off instantly, and took post at Aghrim, ten miles off. There he determined to await the English army, and decide the fate of Ireland at one blow.

Ginckel, having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his force did not exceed eighteen thousand men, while that of the enemy was above twenty-five thousand. The Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation, being drawn out upon a rising ground, before which lay a bog, that, to appearance, was passable only in two places. Their right was fortified by entrenchments, and their left secured by the castle of Aghrim. Ginckel, having observed their situation, gave the necessary orders for the attack; and, after a furious cannonading, the English army, at twelve o'clock, began to force the two passages of the bog, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but at length the troops on the right, by the help of some field-pieces, carried their point. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English army was advanced to the right of the Irish, and at length obliged it to give ground. In the mean time, a more general attack was made upon the centre; the English wading through the middle of the bog up to the waist in mud, and rallying with some difficulty upon the firm ground on the other side, renewed the combat with great fury. At length, St. Ruth being killed by a cannon-ball, his fate so dispirited his troops, that they gave way on all sides, and retreated to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, after having lost above five thousand of the flower of their army. Limerick, the last retreat of the Irish forces, made a brave defence; but soon seeing the enemy advanced within ten paces of the bridge-foot, and perceiving themselves surrounded, they determined to capitulate: a negociation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides. The catholics, by this capitulation, were restored to the enjoyment of those liberties, in the exercise of their religion, which they had possessed in the reign of Charles the Second. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. In consequence of this, about fourteen thousand of those who had fought for king James went over into France, having transports provided by government for conveying them thither.

When they arrived in France, they were thanked for their loyalty by James, who told them that they should still fight for their old master, and that he had obtained an order from the king of France for their being new-clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

In this manner, all the expectations which might arise from the attachment of the Irish, were entirely at an end: that kingdom submitted peaceably to the English government, and James was to look for other assistance to prop

his declining pretensions. His chief hopes lay in a conspiracy among his English adherents, and in the succours which were promised to him by the French king. The leader of the conspiracy was the first to disappoint his expectations. This was originally hatched in Scotland by sir James Montgomery, a person, who, from being an adherent of William, now turned against him; but, as the project was ill conceived, so it was lightly discovered by the instigator. To this another succeeded, which seemed to threaten more serious consequences, as it was chiefly managed by the Whig party, who were the most formidable in the state. A number of these joined themselves to the Tory party, and both made advances to the adherents of the late king. They assembled together; and the result of their deliberations was, that the restoration of James was to be entirely effected by foreign forces; that he should sail for Scotland, and be there joined by five thousand Swedes, who, because they were of the protestant religion, it was thought would remove a part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners; that assistance should at the same time be sent from France, and that full liberty of conscience should be proclaimed throughout the kingdom. In order to lose no time, it was resolved to send over two trusty persons to France, to consult with the banished monarch; and lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were the persons appointed for this dangerous embassy. Accordingly, Ashton hired a small vessel for this purpose; and the two conspirators went secretly on board, happy in the supposed secrecy of their schemes; but there had been previous information given of their intentions; and lord Carmarthen had them both seized, just at the time they thought themselves out of all danger. The conspirators refused to inform; their trials were therefore hurried on about a fortnight after they were taken, in order, by the terrors of death, to force a discovery. They were both condemned: Ashton was executed, without making any confession; lord Preston had not the same resolution. Upon an offer of pardon, he discovered a great number of associates, among whom the duke of Ormond, lord Dartmouth, and lord Clarendon, were foremost.

The reduction of Ireland, and the wretched success of the late conspiracy, made the French at last sensible of their impolitic parsimony in losing a kingdom, whose divisions would no longer be of use to them. They were willing, therefore, to concur with the fugitive king, and resolved to make a descent upon England in his favour. In pursuance of this scheme, the French king supplied James with an army consisting of a body of French troops, some English and Scotch refugees, and the Irish regiments which had been transported from Limerick into France, now become excellent sol- [A. D. 1692. diers by long discipline and severe duty. This army was assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, and was commanded by king James in person. More than three hundred transports were provided for landing it on the English coast; and Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent. His orders were, at all events, to attack the enemy, in case they should oppose him; so that every thing promised the banished king a change of fortune.

These preparations on the side of France were soon known at the English court, and every precaution taken for a vigorous opposition. All the secret machinations of the banished king's adherents were discovered to the English ministry by spies; and by these they found, with some mortification, that the Tories were more faithful than even the Whigs, who had placed king William on the throne. The duke of Marlborough, lord Godolphin, and even the princess Anne herself, were violently suspected of disaffection; the fleet, the army, and the church, were seen mistaking their desire of novelty for a return of duty to their banished sovereign. However, preparations were made to resist the growing storm with great tranquillity and resolution. Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and he soon appeared with ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fireships; an immense force, and what Europe had seldom seen before that time. At the head of this formidable squadron he set sail for the coast of France, and at last, near La Hogue, discovered the enemy under admiral Tourville, who prepared to give him battle. Accordingly, the engagement began between the two admirals with great fury; the rest of the fleet on each side followed

the example. This memorable engagement lasted for ten hours, and all James's hopes depended on the event. Victory at last declaring on the side of numbers, the French fled for Conquet Road. The pursuit continued for two days following; three French ships of the line were destroyed, and eighteen more burned by sir George Rooke, which had taken refuge in the bay of La Hogue. In this manner all the preparations on the side of France were frustrated; and so decisive was the blow, that from that time France seemed to relinquish all claims to the ocean.

James was now reduced to the lowest ebb of despondence; his designs upon England were quite frustrated, so that nothing was left to his friends, but the hope of assassinating the monarch on the throne. These base attempts, as barbarous as they were useless, were not entirely disagreeable to the temper of James. It is said he encouraged and proposed them; but they all proved unserviceable to his cause, and only ended in the destruction of the undertakers. From that time till he died, which was above nine years, he continued to reside at St Germain's, a pensioner on the bounties of Louis, and assisted by occasional liberalities from his daughter and friends in England. He died on the fifth day of September, in the year 1701, after having laboured under a tedious sickness; and many miracles, as the people thought, were wrought at his tomb. Indeed, the latter part of his life was calculated to inspire the superstitious with reverence for his piety. He subjected himself to acts of uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seemed to have vanished with his greatness; he became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and, in his last illness, conjured his son to prefer religion to every worldly advantage—a counsel which that prince strictly obeyed. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

The defeat at La Hogue confirmed king William's safety, and secured his title to the crown. The Jacobites were ever feeble, but they were now a disunited faction; new parties arose among those who had been friends to the revolution; and the want of a common enemy produced dissensions among themselves. William now began to find as much opposition and uneasiness from his parliament at home as from the enemy in the field. His chief motive for accepting the crown was, to engage England more deeply in the concerns of Europe. It had ever been the object of his wish, and the scope of his ambition, to humble the French, whom he considered as the most formidable enemies of that liberty which he idolized; and all his politics consisted in forming alliances against them. Many of the English, on the other hand, had neither the same animosity against the French, nor the same terrors of their increasing power. These, therefore, considered the interest of the nation as sacrificed to foreign connexions, and complained that the war on the continent fell most heavily on them, though they had the least interest in its success. To these motives of discontent were added, the king's partiality to his own countrymen, his proud reserve, and his sullen silence, so unlike the behaviour of former kings. William little regarded those discontents which he knew must be consequent on all government: accustomed to opposition, he heard their complaints with the most phlegmatic indifference, and employed all his attention only on the balance of power, and the interest of Europe. Thus, while he incessantly watched over the schemes of contending kings and nations, he was unmindful of the cultivation of internal polity; and, as he formed alliances abroad, increased the influence of party at home. Patriotism began to be ridiculed as an ideal virtue; the practice of bribing a majority in parliament became universal; the example of the great was caught up by the vulgar; principle, and even decency, were gradually banished; talents lay uncultivated, and the ignorant and profligate were received into favour.

When he accepted the crown, the king was resolved to preserve, as much as he was able, that share of prerogative which still was left him. He was as yet entirely unacquainted with the nature of a limited monarchy, which was not at that time thoroughly understood in any part of Europe, except England alone. He, therefore, often controverted the views of his

parliament, and suffered himself to be directed by weak and arbitrary counsels. One of the first instances of this was in the opposition he gave to a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments to the space of three years. This bill had passed the two houses, and was sent up to receive the royal assent, as usual; but the nation was surprised to find that the king was resolved to exert his prerogative on this occasion, and to refuse his assent to an act which was then considered as beneficial to the nation. Both houses took the alarm: the commons came to a resolution, that whoever advised the king to this measure, was an enemy to his country; and the people were taught to echo their resentment. The bill thus rejected, lay dormant for another season; but being again brought in, the king found himself obliged, though reluctantly, to comply.

The same opposition, and the same event, attended a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason, by which the accused was allowed a copy of his indictment, and a list of the names of his jury, two days before his trial, together with counsel to plead in his defence. It was farther enacted, that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two faithful witnesses: a law that gave the subject a perfect security from the terrors of the throne.

It was in the midst of these laws, beneficial to the subject, that the Jacobites still conceived hopes of restoring their fallen monarch, and, being uneasy themselves, supposed the whole kingdom shared their disquietudes. While one part proceeded against William in the bolder manner, by attempting to excite an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate [A. D. 1696. conspirators, formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in James's army, a man of undaunted courage, which was still more inflamed by his bigotry to the religion of the church of Rome, undertook the bold task of seizing or assassinating the king. This design he imparted to Harrison, Charnock, Porter, and sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and, after various consultations, it was resolved to attack the king, on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays: and the scene of their ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. To secure success, it was agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen; and each conspirator began to engage proper persons to assist in this dangerous enterprise. When their number was complete, they waited with impatience for the hour of action; but some of the under actors, seized with fear or remorse, resolved to prevent the execution by a timely discovery. One Prendergast, an Irish officer, gave information of the plot, but refused to mention the persons who were concerned as associates in the undertaking. His information was at first disregarded; but it was soon confirmed by La Rue, a Frenchman, and still more by the flight of sir George Barclay, who began to perceive that the whole was discovered. The night subsequent to the intended day of assassination, a considerable number of the conspirators were apprehended, and the whole discovery was communicated to the privy-council. Prendergast became an evidence for the crown, and the conspirators were brought to their trial. The first who suffered were, Robert Charnock, (one of the two fellows of Magdalen college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the protestant religion,) lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys. They were found guilty of high-treason, and suffered at Tyburn. Sir John Friend, and sir William Perkins, were next arraigned; and although they made a very good and, as it should seem, a very sufficient defence, yet lord chief-justice Holt, who was too well known to act rather as counsel against the prisoners than as a solicitor in their favour, influenced the jury to find them guilty. They both suffered at Tyburn with great constancy, denying the charge, and testifying their abhorrence of the assassination. In the course of the month, Rookwood, Cranbourne, and Lowic, were tried by a special commission as conspirators; and being found guilty, shared the fate of the former. But the case of sir John Fenwick was considered as one of the greatest stretches of power during this reign. This gentleman, whose name had been mentioned among the rest of the conspirators, was apprehended in his way to France. There was little evidence against him, except an intercepted letter which he wrote to his wife. It is true he offered to discover all he knew of a

conspiracy against the king; but when he came to enter into the detail, he so managed his information, that it could affect no individual concerned. King A. D. 1697.] William, therefore, sent over word from Holland, where he then was, that unless the prisoner could make more important discoveries, he should be brought to his trial. The only material evidences against him, were one Porter, and Goodman: but of these, lady Fenwick had the good fortune to secrete one, so that only Porter, a single witness, remained; and his unsupported evidence, by the late law, was insufficient to affect the life of the prisoner. However, the house of commons were resolved to inflict that punishment upon him which the laws were unable to execute. As he had, in his discoveries, made very free with the names of many persons in that house, admiral Russel insisted that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his own character in particular. Sir John Fenwick was ordered to the bar of house, and there exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery. He refused, and a bill of attainder was preferred against him, which was passed by a large majority. He was furnished with a copy of the indictment, and allowed counsel at the bar of the house; and the law officers of the crown were called upon to open the evidence. After much disputation, in which passion and revenge were rather attended to than reason, the bill was committed, and sent up to the house of lords, where sir John Fenwick was found guilty, by a majority only of seven voices. The prisoner solicited the mediation of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The lords gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend on the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for pardon, and they insisted on his trusting to their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and terrors of death. At last he chose death as the least terrible; and he suffered beheading on Tower-hill with great composure. His death proved the insufficiency of any laws to protect the subject, when a majority of the powerful shall think proper to dispense with them!

This stretch of power in the parliament was in some measure compensated by their diligence in restraining the universal corruption that seemed at that time to prevail over the kingdom. They were assiduously employed in bringing those to justice who had grown wealthy by public plunder, and increasing the number of those laws which restrained the arts of peculation. The number of these, while they seemed calculated for the benefit of the nation, were in reality symptoms of the general depravity; for the more numerous the laws, the more corrupt the state.

The king, however, on his part, became at length fatigued with opposing the laws which parliament every day were laying round his authority, and gave up the contest. He admitted every restraint upon the prerogative in England, on condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. War, and the balance of power in Europe, were all he knew, or indeed desired to understand. Provided the parliament furnished him with supplies for these purposes, he permitted them to rule the internal policy at their pleasure. For the prosecution of the war with France, the sums of money granted him were incredible. The nation, not contented with furnishing him such sums of money as they were capable of raising by the taxes of the year, mortgaged those taxes, and involved themselves in debts which they have never since been able to discharge. For all that profusion of wealth granted to maintain the imaginary balance of Europe, England received in return the empty reward of military glory in Flanders, and the consciousness of having given their allies, particularly the Dutch, frequent opportunities of being ungrateful.

Sept. 15, 1697.] The war with France continued during the greatest part of this king's reign; but at length the treaty of Ryswick put an end to those contentions in which England had engaged without policy, and came off without advantage. At the general pacification, her interests seemed entirely deserted; and for all the treasures she had sent to the continent, and all the blood which she had shed there, the only equivalent she received was an acknowledgment of king William's title from the king of France.

The king, now freed from a foreign war, laid himself out to strengthen his

authority at home; but he shewed that he was ill acquainted with the disposition of the people he was to govern. As he could not bear the thoughts of being a king without military command, he conceived hopes of keeping up, during peace, the forces that were granted him in time of danger; but what was his mortification to find the commons pass a vote, that all the forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded, and that those retained should be natural-born subjects of England! A monarch bred up in camps as he was, and who knew scarcely any other pleasure than that of reviewing troops and dictating to generals, could not think of laying down at once all his power and all his amusements. He professed himself, therefore, highly displeased with the vote of the commons; and his indignation was kindled to such a pitch, that he actually conceived a design of abandoning the government. His ministers, however, di- [A. D. 1699. verted him from his resolution, and persuaded him to consent to the enactment of the bill.

These altercations between the king and parliament continued during the remainder of this reign. William considered the commons as a body of men desirous of power for themselves, and consequently bent upon obstructing all his projects to secure the liberties of Europe. He seemed but little attached to any particular party in the house, all of whom, he found, at times deserted or opposed him. He therefore veered to Whigs and Tories indiscriminately, as interest or immediate exigence demanded. He was taught to consider England as a place of labour, anxiety, and altercation. If he had any time for amusement or relaxation, he retired to Loo in Holland, where, among a few friends, he gave a loose to those coarse festivities, which alone he was capable of relishing. It was there he planned the different successions of the princes of Europe, and laboured to undermine the schemes and the power of Louis, his rival in politics and in fame.

However feeble his desire of other amusements might have been, he could scarcely live without being at variance with France. Peace had not long subsisted with that nation, when he began to think of resources for carrying on a new war, and for enlisting his English subjects in the confederacy. Several arts were used for inducing the people to second his aims; and the whole nation at last seemed to join in desiring a war with that kingdom. He had been in Holland concerting with his allies operations for a new campaign. He had engaged in a negociation with the prince of Hesse, who assured him, that, if he would besiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The elector of Hanover had resolved to concur in the same measures; the king of the Romans, and prince Louis of Baden, undertook to invest Landau, while the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement into Italy; but death put a period to his projects and his ambition.

William was naturally of a very feeble constitution; and it was by this time almost exhausted, by a series of continual disquietude and action. He had endeavoured to repair his constitution, or at least conceal its decays, by exercise and riding. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he was thrown with such violence, that his collar-bone was fractured. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced, and in the evening he returned to Kensington in a coach. The jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture; but the bones were replaced under Bidloo his physician. This accident, in a robust constitution would have been a trifling misfortune; but in him it was fatal. For some time he appeared in a fair way of recovery; but, falling asleep on his couch, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa, which soon became dangerous and desperate. Perceiving his end approaching, the objects of his former care lay still next his heart; and the fate of Europe seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from archbishop Tenison, he died in the fifty-second year of his age, after [Mar. 8, 1702. having reigned thirteen years. He was in his person of a middle stature, a

thin body, and delicate constitution. He had an aequiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He left behind him the character of a great politician, though he had never been popular; and that of a formidable general, though he was seldom victorious. His deportment was grave, phlegmatic, and sullen; nor did he ever shew any fire, but in the day of battle. He despised flattery, yet loved dominion. Greater as the stadtholder of Holland than as king of England; to the one he was a father, to the other a suspicious friend. His character and success served to shew that moderate abilities will achieve the greatest purposes, if the objects aimed at be pursued with perseverance, and planned without unnecessary or ostentatious refinement.

CHAP. XLI.

ANNE.—A. D. 1702 to 1706.

THE nearer we approach to our own times, the more important every occurrence becomes; and those battles or treaties, which in remoter times are deservedly forgotten, as we come down are necessary to be known, our own private interests being generally blended with every event; and the accounts of public welfare make often a transcript of private happiness. The loss of king William was thought at first irreparable; but the kingdom soon found that the happiness of any reign is to be estimated as much from the general manners of the times, as the private virtues of the monarch. Queen Anne, his successor, with no very shining talents, and few exalted virtues, yet governed with glory, and left her people happy.

Anne, married to prince George of Denmark, ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. She was the second daughter of king James by his first wife, the daughter of chancellor Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon. As she had been taught in the preceding part of her life to suffer many mortifications from the reigning king, she had thus learned to conceal her resentments; and the natural tranquillity of her temper still more contributed to make her overlook and pardon every opposition. She either was insensible of any disrespect shewn to her, or had wisdom to assume the appearance of insensibility.

The late king, whose whole life had been spent in one continued opposition to the king of France, and all whose politics consisted in forming alliances against him, had left England on the eve of a war with that monarch. The present queen, who generally took the advice of her ministry in every important transaction, was upon this occasion urged by opposing counsels; a part of her ministry were for war, while another part as sincerely declared for peace.

At the head of those who opposed a war with France was the earl of Rochester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, first-cousin to the queen, and the chief of the Tory faction. This minister proposed in council that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and at most act as auxiliaries only. He urged the impossibility of England's reaping any advantage from the most distinguished success upon the continent, and exposed the folly of loading the nation with debts to increase the riches of its commercial rivals.

In the van of those who declared for prosecuting the late king's intentions of going to war with France, was the earl, since better known by the title of the duke, of Marlborough. This nobleman had begun life as a court-page, and was raised by king James to a peerage. Having deserted his old master, he attached himself in appearance to king William, but had still a secret partiality in favour of the Tories, from whom he had received his first employments. Ever willing to thwart and undermine the measures of William, he became a favourite of Anne for that very reason; she loved a man who still professed reverence and veneration for her father, and paid the utmost attention to herself. But Marlborough had still another hold upon the queen's affections and esteem. He was married to a lady who was the queen's peculiar confidante, and who governed her, in every action of life, with unbounded authority. By this canal Marlborough actually directed the queen in all her

resolutions; and, while his rivals strove to advance their reputation in the council, he was more effectually securing his in the closet.

It was not, therefore, without private reasons, that Marlborough supported the arguments for an active war. It first gave him an opportunity of taking a different side of the question from the earl of Rochester, whose influence he desired to lessen; but he had, in the next place, hopes of being appointed general of the forces that should be sent over to the continent; a command that would gratify his ambition in all its varieties. He therefore observed in council, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements. He affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless England would enter as a principal in the quarrel. His opinion preponderated; the queen resolved to declare war, and communicated her intention to the house of commons, by whom it was approved, and war was proclaimed accordingly.

Louis XIV., once arrived at the summit of glory, but long since grown familiar with disappointment and disgrace, still kept spurring on an exhausted kingdom to second the views of his ambition. He now, upon the death of William, expected to enter upon a field open for conquest and fame. The vigilance of his late rival had blasted all his laurels, and circumscribed his power; for even though defeated, William still was formidable. At the news of his death, the French monarch could not suppress his rapture; and his court at Versailles seemed to have forgotten their usual decency in the effusions of their satisfaction. The people at Paris openly rejoiced at the event; and the whole kingdom testified their rapture by every public demonstration of joy. But their pleasure was soon to have an end. A much more formidable enemy was now rising up to oppose them; a more refined politician, a more skilful general, backed by the confidence of an indulgent mistress, and the efforts of a willing nation.

The king of France was, in the queen's declaration of war, taxed with having taken possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe; to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; and with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen and her throne, by acknowledging the title of the Pretender. He was accused of attempting to unite the crown of Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandson upon the throne of that kingdom, and thus endeavouring to destroy the equality of power that subsisted among the states of Europe.

This declaration of war, on the part of the English, was seconded by similar declarations from the Dutch and Germans, all on the same day. The French monarch could not suppress his anger at such a combination; but his chief resentment fell upon the Dutch. He declared, with great emotion, that as for those gentlemen pedlars, the Dutch, they should one day repent their insolence and presumption, in declaring war against one whose power they had formerly felt and dreaded. However, the affairs of the allies were no way influenced by his threats. Marlborough had his views gratified, in being appointed general of the English forces; and he was equally flattered by the Dutch, who, though their countryman, the earl of Athlone, had a right to share the command, gave the English peer the chief direction of their army; and it must be confessed, that few men shone more, either in debate or action, than he; serene in the midst of danger, and indefatigable in the cabinet: so that he became the most formidable enemy to France that England had produced since the conquering times of Cressy and Agincourt.

A great part of the history of this reign consists of battles fought upon the continent, which, though of very little advantage to the interests of the nation, were very great additions to its honour. These triumphs, it is true, are passed away, and nothing remains of them; but they are too recent to be omitted in silence, and the fame of them, though it be empty, still continues to be loud.

The earl of Marlborough had learned the first rudiments of the art of war under the famous marshal Turenne, having been a volunteer in his army. He was, at first, rather more remarkable for the beauty of his person than the greatness of his talent, and he went in the French camp by the name of the Handsome Englishman; but Turenne, who saw deeper into mankind, per

ceived the superiority of his talents, and prognosticated his future greatness. The first attempt that Marlborough made to deviate from the general practices of the army, which were founded in error, was to advance the subaltern officers, whose merit had hitherto been neglected. Regardless of seniority, wherever he found abilities, he was sure to promote them; and thus he had all the upper ranks of commanders rather remarkable for their skill and talents, than for their age and experience.

In his first campaign, the beginning of July, he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he found himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries, and long disciplined by the best officers of the age. He was opposed, on the side of France, by the duke of Burgundy, grandson to the king, a youth more qualified to grace a court, than to conduct an army; but the real acting general was the marshal Boufflers, who commanded under him, an officer of courage and activity. But wherever Marlborough advanced, the French were obliged to retire before him, leaving all Spanish Guelderland at his discretion. The duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving Boufflers to command alone. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of the enemy's progress, retired towards Brabant, where Marlborough had no design to pursue; contented with ending the campaign by taking the city of Liege, in which he found an immense sum of money, and a great number of prisoners. By the success of this campaign, Marlborough raised his military character, and confirmed himself in the confidence of the allies, naturally inclined to distrust a foreign commander.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, was received with the most flattering testimonies of public approbation. He was thanked for his services by the house of commons, and was created a duke by the queen. His good fortune seemed to console the nation for some unsuccessful expeditions at sea. Sir John Munden had permitted a French squadron of fourteen ships to escape him, by taking shelter in the harbour of Corunna; for which he was dismissed from the service by prince George. An attempt was also made upon Cadiz by sea and land, sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of Ormond the land forces; but this also miscarried. The English arms, however, were crowned with success at Vigo. The duke of Ormond landed with five-and-twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from the town; and the fleet forcing its way into the harbour, eight French ships that had taken refuge there were burned or otherwise destroyed by the enemy, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the English. Ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons, and above a million of money in silver, which was of more benefit to the captors than to the public. The advantage acquired by this expedition was counterbalanced by the base conduct of some officers in the West Indies. Admiral Benbow, a bold rough seaman, had been stationed in that part of the world with ten ships, to distress the enemy's trade. Being informed that Du Casse, the French admiral, was in those seas with a force equal to his own, he resolved to attack him; and soon after discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, steering along the shore. He quickly gave orders to his captains, formed the line of battle, and the engagement began. He found, however, that the rest of the fleet had taken some disgust at his conduct; and that they permitted him, almost alone, to sustain the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till night, and he determined to renew it the next morning, but had the mortification to perceive that all the rest of the ships had fallen back, except one, who joined with him in urging the pursuit of the enemy. For four days did this intrepid seaman, assisted only by one ship, pursue and engage the enemy, while his cowardly officers, at a distance behind, remained spectators of his activity. His last day's battle was more furious than all the former; alone, and unsustained by the rest, he engaged the whole French squadron, when his leg was shattered by a cannon-ball. He then ordered that they should place him in a cradle, upon the quarter-deck; and there he continued to give orders as before, till at last the ship became quite disabled, and was unfit to continue the chase. When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the

admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too," cried Benbow, "but I would rather have lost both my legs than see the dishonour of this day. But do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." He soon after died of his wounds; and his cowardly associates, Kirby and Wade, were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. Hudson died before his trial. Constable, Vincent, and Fog, came off with slighter punishment. Kirby and Wade were sent home in the Bristol man of war, and, on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board the ship, by virtue of a warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time.

The next parliament, which was convened by the queen, was highly pleased with the glare of success which attended the English arms on the continent. The house of commons was mostly composed of the Tory party; and, although they were not so friendly to the war as the Whigs, they voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land-forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. It was never considered how little necessary these great efforts were, either to the happiness or protection of the people; they were exerted against the French, and that was an answer to every demand. A short time after, the queen gave the house of commons to understand, that the allies pressed her to augment her forces. The commons were as ready to grant as she to demand; and it was resolved that ten thousand men should be added to the army on the continent, but upon condition that the Dutch should break off all commerce with France and Spain. The Dutch complied without hesitation; sensible that while England fought their battles, they might a little relax their industry.

The duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of [A. D. 1703. April, and, assembling the allied army, resolved to shew that his former successes only spurred him on to new triumphs. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne, the residence of the elector of Cologne. This held out but a short time against the successive attacks of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, the celebrated Coehorn, and general Fagel. He next retook Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered prisoners of war. The siege of Limburg being then undertaken, the place surrendered in two days; and, by the conquest of this place, the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the designs of the enemy. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which, in all probability, would have produced events of greater importance, had not the duke of Marlborough been restrained by the Dutch, who began to be influenced by the Louvestein faction, ever averse to a war with France.

The duke was resolved in his next campaign to act more offensively; and, furnished with proper powers from the queen, he informed the [A. D. 1704. Dutch that it was his intention to march to the relief of the empire, which had been for some time oppressed by the French forces. The states-general, either willing to second his efforts, or fearing to weaken the alliance by distrust, gave him full power to march as he thought proper, with assurances of their assistance in all his endeavours. The French king now appointed marshal Villeroy to head the army of opposition; for Boufflers was no longer thought an equal to the enterprising duke.

Villeroy was son of the French king's governor, and had been educated with that monarch. He had been always the favourite of Louis, and had long been a sharer in his amusements, his campaigns, and his glory. He was brave, generous, and polite, but unequal to the great task of commanding an army; and still more so, when opposed to so great a rival. Marlborough, therefore, who was peculiarly famous for studying the disposition and abilities of the general he was to oppose, having no very great fears from his present antagonist, instead of going forward to meet him, flew to the succour of the emperor, as had been already agreed at the commencement of the campaign. The English general, who was resolved to strike a vigorous blow for his relief, traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians, stationed at Donawert to oppose him, then passed the Danube with his triumphant army, and laid the dukedom of Bavaria, that had sided with the enemy, under contribution. Villeroy, who at first attempted to follow his motions, seemed

all at once to have lost sight of his enemy; nor was he apprised of his route, till informed of his successes. Marshal Tallard prepared by another route to obstruct the duke of Marlborough's retreat with an army of thirty thousand men. He was soon after joined by the Bavarian forces, so that the army in that part of the continent amounted to sixty thousand veterans, commanded by the two best reputed generals then in France.

Tallard had established his reputation by many former victories; he was active and penetrating, and had risen by his merits alone to the first station in the army. But his ardour often rose to impetuosity; and he was so short-sighted as to be incapable of seeing objects at a very small distance. The duke of Bavaria was equally experienced in the field, and had still stronger motives for his activity. His country was ravaged and pillaged before his eyes, and nothing remained of his possessions but the army which he commanded. It was in vain that he sent entreaties to the enemy to stop the fury of their incursions, and to spare his people: the only answer he received was, that it lay in his own power to make his enemies friends, by alliance or submission. To oppose these powerful generals, Marlborough was now joined by a body of thirty thousand men, under the conduct of prince Eugene, whose troops were well disciplined, but still more formidable by the conduct and fame of their general. Prince Eugene had been bred up from his infancy in camps, he was almost equal to Marlborough in intrigue, and his superior in the art of war. Their talents were of a similar kind; and, instead of any mean rivalship or jealousy between such eminent persons, they concurred in the same designs; for the same good sense determined them always to the same object.

This allied army, at the head of which Eugene and Marlborough commanded, amounted to about fifty-two thousand men, troops that had long been accustomed to conquer, and that had seen the French, the Turks, and the Russians fly before them. The French, as was already observed, amounted to sixty thousand, who had shared in the conquests of their great monarch, and had been familiar with victory. Both armies, after many marchings and countermarchings, approached each other. The French were posted on a hill near the town of Hochstet; their right covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzengen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. It was in this advantageous position that the allied army resolved to attack them. As this engagement, which has since been known by the name of the battle of Blenheim, both from the talents of the generals, the improvements in the art of war, and the number and discipline of the troops, is reckoned the most remarkable of this century, it demands a more particular detail than I have usually allotted to such narrations.

The right wing of the French, which was covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, was commanded by mareschal Tallard. Their left, defended by another village, was commanded by the duke of Bavaria, and under him by general Marsin, an experienced Frenchman. In the front of their army ran a rivulet, which seemed to defend them from an attack; and in this position they were willing to await the enemy, rather than offer battle. On the other hand, Marlborough and Eugene were stimulated to engage them at any rate, by an intercepted letter from Villeroy, who was left behind, intimating that he was preparing to cut off all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the allied forces advanced into the plain, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued to about half after twelve. Then the troops advanced to the attack; the right under the direction of prince Eugene, the left headed by Marlborough, and opposed to mareschal Tallard.

Marlborough, at the head of his English troops, having passed the rivulet, Aug. 2, 1704.] attacked the cavalry of Tallard with great bravery. This general was at that time reviewing the disposition of his troops to the left; and his cavalry fought for some time without the presence of their commander. Prince Eugene on the left had not yet attacked the forces of the

elector: and it was near an hour before he could bring up his troops to the engagement.

Tallard was no sooner informed that his right was attacked by the duke, than he flew to its head, where he found a furious encounter already begun; his cavalry being thrice driven back, and rallying as often. He had posted a large body of forces in the village of Blenheim; and he made an attempt to bring them to the charge. They were attacked by a detachment of Marlborough's forces so vigorously, that, instead of assisting the main body, they could hardly maintain their ground. All the French cavalry, being attacked in flank, were totally defeated. The English army, thus half victorious, penetrated between the two bodies of the French commanded by the mareschal and elector, while at the same time the forces in the village of Blenheim were separated by another detachment. In this distressed situation, Tallard flew to rally some squadrons; but, from his short-sightedness, mistaking a detachment of the enemy for his own, he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops, who were in English pay. In the mean time, prince Eugene, after having been thrice repulsed, threw the enemy into confusion. The rout then became general, and the flight precipitate. The consternation was such, that the French soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, without knowing where they fled. The officers lost all their authority, and there was no general left to secure a retreat.

The allies now being masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thousand men had been posted in the beginning of the action, and still kept their ground. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of the army, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the most complete victories that was ever gained. Twelve thousand French and Bavarians were slain in the field, or drowned in the Danube, and thirteen thousand were made prisoners of war. Of the allies, about five thousand men were killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by mareschal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre by placing so large a body of troops in Blenheim, and his suffering the English to cross the rivulet, and form on the other side.

The next day, when the duke of Marlborough visited his prisoner, the mareschal, intending a compliment, assured him that he had overcome the best troops in the world; "I hope, sir," replied the duke, "you will except those troops by whom they were conquered." A country of a hundred leagues in extent fell by this defeat into the hands of the victors. Not contented with these conquests, the duke, soon after he had closed the campaign, repaired to Berlin, where he procured a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians to serve under prince Eugene in Italy. Thence he proceeded to negotiate for succours at the court of Hanover, and soon after returned to England, where he found the people in a frenzy of joy. He was received as the deliverer of the state, as one who had retrieved the glory of the nation. The parliament and the people were ready to second him in all his designs. The manor of Woodstock was conferred upon him for his services by both houses; an eulogium was pronounced upon his important services by the lord-keeper as he entered the house of lords. The queen was not only pleased with these marks of respect shewn him, but also ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodstock-park a magnificent palace for the duke, which remains to this day a monument, as the best judges now begin to think, not less of his victories, than of the skill of the architect who raised it.

In the mean time, the arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the Danube. The ministry of England, understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron at Brest, sent sir Cloudesly Shovel, and sir George Rooke, to watch their motions. Sir George, however, had farther orders to convoy a body of forces in transport-ships to Barcelona, upon which a fruitless attack was made by the prince of Hesse. Finding no hopes, therefore, from this expedition, in two days after the troops were re-embarked, sir George Rooke, joined by sir Cloudesly, called a council of war on board the fleet as they lay off the coast of Africa.

In this they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, a city then belonging to the Spaniards, at that time ill provided with a garrison, as neither expecting nor fearing such an attempt.

The town of Gibraltar stands upon a tongue of land, as the mariners call it, and defended by a rock inaccessible on every side but one. The prince of Hesse landed his troops, to the number of eighteen hundred, on the continent adjoining, and summoned the town to surrender, but without effect. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and, perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at a place called the South Mole-head, he ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. Those officers who happened to be nearest the mole immediately manned their boats, without orders, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. But their exertions were premature: for the Spaniards sprang a mine, by which two lieutenants, and about a hundred men, were killed and wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains, Hicks and Jumper, took possession of a platform, and kept their ground, until they were sustained by captain Whitaker and the rest of the seamen, who took a redoubt between the mole and the town, by storm. Then the governor capitulated, and the prince of Hesse entered the place amazed at the success of the attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications. When the news of this conquest reached England, it was some time in debate whether it was a capture worth thanking the admiral for. It was at last considered as unworthy of public gratitude; and, while the duke of Marlborough was extolled for useless services, sir George Rooke was left to neglect, and soon displaced from his command, for having so essentially served his country: a striking instance that, even in the most enlightened age, popular applause is most usually misplaced. Gibraltar has ever since remained in the possession of the English, and continues of the utmost use in refitting that part of the navy destined to annoy an enemy, or protect our trade, in the Mediterranean. Here the English have a repository capable of containing all things necessary for the repairing of fleets, or the equipment of armies.

Soon after the reduction of this important fortress, the English fleet, now become sovereign of the seas, to the number of three-and-fifty ships of the line, came up with the French fleet, to the number of fifty-two, commanded by the count de Thoulouse, off the coast of Malaga. This was the last great naval engagement in which the French ventured to face the English upon equal terms, all their efforts since being calculated rather for escape than opposition. A little after ten in the morning the battle began with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way. For two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the French as cautiously declined, and at last disappeared totally. Both nations attempted to claim the honour of the victory upon this occasion; but the consequence decided it in favour of the English, as they still kept the element of battle.

The taking of Gibraltar was a conquest of which the Spaniards knew the loss, though we seemed ignorant of the value. Philip, king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of that fortress, sent the marquis of Villadarias with a large A. D. 1705.] army to retake it. France also sent a fleet of thirteen ships of the line; but a part of this was dispersed by a tempest, and part was taken by the English. Nor was the land army more successful. The siege continued for four months, during which time the prince of Hesse, who commanded the town for the English, exhibited many proofs of valour. At length the Spaniards, having attempted to scale the rock in vain, finding no hopes of taking the place, were contented to draw off their men, and abandon the enterprise.

While the English were thus victorious by land and sea, a new scene of contention was opened on the side of Spain, where the ambition of the European princes exerted itself with the same fury that had filled the rest of the continent. Philip, duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, had been placed upon the throne of that kingdom, and had been received with the joyful concurrence of the greatest part of his subjects. He had also been nomi-

nated successor to the crown by the will of the late king of Spain. But, in a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guarantied by France herself, though she now resolved to reverse that consent in favour of a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles was still farther led on to put in for the crown of Spain by the invitation of the Catalonians, who declared in his favour, and by the assistance of the English and the Portuguese, who promised to arm in his cause. Upon his way to his newly assumed dominion he landed in England, where he was received on shore by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor. The queen's deportment to him was equally noble and obliging, while on his side he gave general satisfaction, by the politeness and affability of his demeanour. He was furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and nine thousand men, for the conquest of that extensive empire. But the earl of Peterborough, a man of romantic bravery, offered to conduct them; and his single service was thought equivalent to armies.

The earl of Peterborough was one of the most singular and extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. When very young, he fought against the Moors in Africa: he afterwards assisted in compassing the Revolution; and he now carried on the war in Spain almost at his own expense,—his friendship for the archduke Charles being one of his chief motives to this great undertaking. He was deformed in his person; but of a mind the most generous, honourable, and active. His first attempt upon landing in Spain was to besiege Barcelona, a strong city with a garrison of five thousand men, while his own army amounted to little more than nine thousand. The operations were begun by a sudden attack on Fort Monjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm; and a shell chancing to fall into the body of the fort, the powder magazine was blown up. This struck the garrison that defended the fort with such consternation, that they surrendered without farther resistance. The town still remained unconquered; but batteries were erected against it, and after a few days the governor capitulated. During the interval, which was taken up in demanding and signing the necessary forms upon these occasions, a body of Germans and Catalonians, belonging to the English army, entered the town, and were plundering all before them. The governor, who was then treating with the English general, thought himself betrayed, and upbraided that nobleman's treachery. Peterborough, struck with the suddenness of the transaction, left the writings unfinished, and, flying among the plunderers, drove them from their prey, and then returned calmly, and signed the capitulation. The Spaniards were equally amazed at the generosity of the English, and the baseness of their own countrymen, who had led on to the spoil. The conquest of all Valencia succeeded the taking of this important place. The enemy endeavoured indeed to retake Barcelona, but were repulsed with loss, and the affairs of Philip seemed desperate. The party that acknowledged Charles was every day increasing. He became master of a consi- [A. D. 1706. derable part of the kingdom; and the way to Madrid lay open to him. The earl of Galway entered that city in triumph, and there proclaimed Charles king of Spain, without any opposition. Such was the beginning of the war, as conducted by the allies in Spain; but its end was more unfortunate and indecisive.

In the mean time, the English paid very little regard to these victories; for their whole attention was taken up by the splendour of their conquests in Flanders; and the duke of Marlborough took care that they should still have something to wonder at. He had early in the spring opened the campaign, and brought an army of eighty thousand men into the field, which was greater than what he had hitherto been able to muster. But still he expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia; and the court of France resolved to attack him before this junction. Villeroy, who commanded their army, consisting of eighty thousand men, near Tirlemont, had orders to act upon the defensive; but, if compelled, to hazard an engagement. The duke, on the other hand, had received a slight repulse by the defection of prince Louis of Baden; and he resolved to retrieve his credit by some signal action. Villeroy

had drawn up his forces in a strong camp; his right was flanked by the river Mehaigne; his left was posted behind a marsh, and the village of Ramillies lay in the centre. Marlborough, who perceived this disposition, drew up his army accordingly. He knew that the left wing of the enemy could not pass the marsh to attack him but at a great disadvantage; he therefore weakened his troops in that quarter, and thundered on the centre with superior numbers. The enemy's centre was soon obliged to yield in consequence of this attack, and at length gave way on all sides. The horse, abandoning their foot, were so closely pursued, that almost all were cut to pieces. Six thousand men were taken prisoners, and about eight thousand were killed and wounded. This victory was almost as signal as that of Blenheim; Bavaria and Cologne were the fruits of the one, and all Brabant was gained by the other. The French troops were dispirited; the city of Paris was in confusion. Louis, who had long been flattered with conquest, was now humbled to such a degree as almost to excite the compassion of his enemies. He entreated for peace, but in vain; the allies carried all before them, and his very capital began to dread the approach of the conquerors. What neither his power, his armies, nor his politics, could effect, was brought about by a party in England. The dissension between the Whigs and Tories in England saved France, now tottering on the brink of ruin.

CHAP. XLII.

ANNE II. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1706 to 1707.

THE councils of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry; for, though the duke of Marlborough had first started in the Tory interest, he soon joined the opposite faction, as he found them most sincere in their desires to humble the power of France. The Whigs still pursued the schemes of the late king; and, impressed with a republican spirit of liberty, strove to humble despotism in every part of Europe. In a government where the reasoning of individuals, retired from power, generally leads those who command, the designs of the ministry must alter as the people happen to change. The people in fact were beginning to change. The queen's personal virtues, her successes, her deference for the clergy, and, in turn, their great veneration for her, began to have a prevailing influence over the whole nation. The people of every rank were not ashamed to defend the most servile tenets, when they tended to flatter or increase the power of the sovereign. They argued in favour of strict hereditary succession, divine right, and non-resistance to the regal power. The spirit of Toryism began to prevail; and the Whigs, who had raised the queen into greatness, were the first that were likely to fall by their own success.

The Tories, though joining in vigorous measures against the king of France, were, however, never ardently his enemies; they rather secretly hated the Dutch, as of principles very opposite to their own, and only longed for an opportunity of withdrawing from their friendship. They began to meditate schemes of opposition to the Duke of Marlborough. They were taught to regard him as a self-interested man, who sacrificed the real advantages of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war, for his own private emolument and glory. They saw their country oppressed by an increasing load of taxes, which, by a continuance of the war, must inevitably become an intolerable burden. Their secret discontents, therefore, began to spread; and the Tories wanted only a few determined leaders to conduct them in removing the present ministry.

A. D. 1707.] In the mean time, a pause of victory, or rather a succession of losses, began to dissipate the conquering frenzy which had seized the nation, and inclined them to wish for peace. The army under Charles in Spain was then commanded by the lord Galway. This nobleman, having received intelligence that the French and Spaniards, under the command of the duke of Berwick, were posted near the town of Almanza, advanced thither to give them battle. The conflict began about two in the afternoon,

and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, seemed at first victorious; but the Portuguese horse (by whom they were supported) betaking themselves to flight on the first charge, the other troops were flanked and surrounded. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant of the country, and destitute of all supplies, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, to the number of five thousand men. This victory was complete and decisive; and all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, submitted to Philip.

An attempt was made upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene by land, and the English fleet by sea, but with as little success as in the former instance. The prince, with a body of thirty thousand men, took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole. But the French king sending an army to the relief of the place, and the duke of Savoy perceiving no hopes of compelling the city to a speedy surrender, he resolved to abandon his enterprise; and, having embarked his artillery, he retreated by night without any molestation.

The fleet under sir Cloudesly Shovel was still more unfortunate. Having set sail for England, and being in soundings on the twenty-second day of October, about eight at night a violent storm arising, his ship was dashed upon the rocks of Scilly, and every soul on board perished. The like fate befell three ships more, while three or four others were saved with the utmost difficulty. The admiral's body, being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but this being thought too humble a funeral for so brave a commander, it was dug up again, and interred with proper solemnity in Westminster-abbey.

Nor were the allies more prosperous on the Upper Rhine. Marshal Villars, the French general, carried all before him, and was upon the point of restoring the elector of Bavaria. The only hopes of the people lay in the activity and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who opened the campaign in the Netherlands, about the middle of May. But even here they were disappointed, as in all the rest. That general, either really willing to protract the war, or receiving intelligence that the French army was superior in numbers, declined an engagement, and rather endeavoured to secure himself than annoy the enemy. Thus, after several marchings and countermarchings, which it would be tedious to relate, both armies retired into winter-quarters at the latter end of October. The French made preparations for the next campaign with recruited vigour. The duke of Marlborough returned to England, to meet with a reception which he did not at all expect.

Previous to the disgrace of the Whig ministry, whose fall was now hastening, a measure of the greatest importance took place in parliament; a measure that had been wished by many, but thought too difficult for execution. What I mean is, the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; which, though they had been governed by one sovereign since the accession of James the First, were still ruled by their respective parliaments, and often professed to pursue opposite interests and different designs. An union of both parliaments was at one time passionately desired by James. King Charles, his son, took some steps to effect this measure; but some apparently insurmountable objections lay in the way. This great task was reserved for queen Anne to accomplish, at a time when both nations were in good humour at their late successes, and the queen's title and administration were admitted and approved by all.

The attempt for an union was begun at the commencement of this reign; but some disputes arising relative to the trade of the East, the conference was broken up, and it was thought that an adjustment would be impossible. It was revived by an act of each parliament, granting power to commissioners named on the part of both nations, to treat of the preliminary articles of an union, which should afterwards undergo a more thorough discussion by the legislative body of both kingdoms. The choice of these commissioners was left to the queen; and she took care that none should be employed but such as heartily wished to promote so desirable a measure.

Accordingly, the queen having appointed commissioners on both sides, they met in the council-chamber of the Cock-pit, near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for their conferences. Their commissions being opened, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord-keeper of England and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, the conferences began. The Scottish commissioners were inclined to a federal union like that of the United Provinces; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The lord-keeper Cowper proposed that the two kingdoms should be for ever united into one by the name of Great Britain; that it should be represented by one and the same parliament, and governed by the same hereditary monarch. The Scottish commissioners, on their side, insisted that the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy the same rights and privileges with those of England; and that all statutes, contrary to the tenor of these privileges in either kingdom, should be repealed. As the queen frequently exhorted the commissioners to despatch, the articles of this famous union were soon agreed to and signed by the commissioners; and it only remained to lay them before the parliaments of both nations.

In this treaty it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdoms should be vested in the house of Hanover; that they should be represented by one and the same parliament; that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages; that they should have the same allowances and privileges with respect to commerce and customs; that the laws concerning public right, civil government, and policy, should be the same throughout the united kingdoms; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private rights, except for the evident benefit of the subjects of Scotland; that the court of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain, as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; that Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, by sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland; that all peers of Scotland should be considered as peers of Great Britain, and rank immediately after the English peers of the like degrees at the time of the union, and before such as should be created after it; that they should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of sitting and voting in parliament, or sitting upon the trial of peers; that all the *insignia* of royalty and government should remain as they were; that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should cease, and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms. These were the principal articles of the union; and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms to give them authority; but this was a much more difficult undertaking than it was at first imagined to be. It was not only to be approved by the parliament of Scotland, all the popular members of which were averse to the union, but it was also to pass through both houses in England, where it was not a little disagreeable, except to the ministry, who had proposed it.

The arguments in these different assemblies were suited to the audience. To induce the Scottish parliament to come into the measure, it was alleged by the ministry and their supporters, that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace. It would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce; the whole island would be joined in affection, and freed from all apprehensions of different interests. It would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interest, and maintain the liberties of Europe. It was observed, that the less the wheels of government were clogged by a multiplicity of councils, the more vigorous would be their exertions. They were shewn that the taxes which, in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means so great proportionably as their share in the legislature; that their taxes did not amount to a seventieth part of those supplied by the English; and yet their share in the

legislature was not a tenth part less. Such were the arguments in favour of the union, addressed to the Scottish parliament. In the English houses it was observed, that a powerful and turbulent nation would thus for ever be prevented from giving them any disturbance; and that, in case of any future rupture, England had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, against a nation that was courageous and poor.

On the other hand, the Scots were fired with indignation at the thoughts of losing their ancient and independent government. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce loaded with heavy duties, and considered their new privilege of trading to the English plantations in the West Indies as a very uncertain advantage. In the English houses also it was observed, that the union of a rich with a poor nation, would be always beneficial to the latter, and that the former could only hope for a participation of their necessities. It was said that the Scots reluctantly yielded to this coalition, and that it might be likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. It was supposed to be an union made up of so many unmatched pieces, and such incongruous ingredients, that it could never take effect. It was complained, that the proportion of the land-tax paid by the Scots was small, and unequal to their share in the legislature.

To these arguments in both nations, besides the show of a particular answer to each, one great argument was used, which preponderated over all the rest. It was observed, that all inconveniences were to be overlooked in the attainment of one great solid advantage,—that of acting with uniformity of counsels for the benefit of a community naturally united. The party, therefore, for the union prevailed, and this measure was carried in both nations, through all the obstacles of pretended patriotism and private interest; from which we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmounted, because they are not seen by those who direct the operation; and that schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will often succeed in experiment.

Thus, notwithstanding all opposition made by the Tories, every article of the union was approved by a great majority in the house of lords, which being sent to be ratified by the house of commons, sir Simon Harcourt, the solicitor, prepared the bill in such an artful manner as to prevent all debates

All the articles, as they passed in Scotland, were recited by way of preamble: and in the conclusion there was one clause by which the whole was ratified, and enacted into a law. By this contrivance, those who were desirous of starting new difficulties found themselves disabled from pursuing their aim; they could not object to the recital, which was barely a matter of fact; and they had not strength sufficient to oppose all the articles at once, which had before passed with the approbation of the majority. It passed in the house of commons by a majority of one hundred and fourteen; it made its way through the house of lords a second time with equal ease; and when it received the royal sanction, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction.

CHAP. XLIII.

ANNE. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1707 to 1711.

IT is a little extraordinary, that through all the transactions relative to the union, the Tories violently opposed it; for they considered the Scots in a body as Whigs, and supposed that their interest would become more powerful by this association. But never were men more agreeably disappointed than the Tories were in this particular. The majority of the Scottish nation were so much dissatisfied with the measure, that they immediately joined in opposing the ministry by whom they were thus compelled to unite. The members themselves were not pleased with the scheme, and secretly strove to undermine those by whom their power had been thus established.

The body of English Tories were not less displeased with an union, of which they had not sagacity to distinguish the advantages. They had for

some time become the majority of the kingdom, but found themselves opposed by a powerful coalition at court. The duchess of Marlborough had long been in possession of the queen's confidence and favour, and turned the easiness of her mistress's temper to her own advantage, as well as that of her party. The duke of Marlborough was still at the head of the army, which was devoted to him. Lord Godolphin, his principal friend, was at the head of the treasury, which he managed so as entirely to co-operate with the ambition of the duke. But an unexpected alteration in the queen's affections was going to take place, which was entirely owing to their own mismanagement. Among the number of those whom the duchess had introduced to the queen, to contribute to her private amusement, was one Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had raised from indigence and obscurity. The duchess, having gained the ascendant over the queen, became petulant and insolent, and relaxed in those arts by which she had risen. Mrs. Masham, who had her fortune to make, was more humble and assiduous; she flattered the foibles of the queen, and assented to her prepossessions and prejudices. She soon saw the queen's inclination to the opinions of the Tories, their divine right and passive obedience; and instead of attempting to thwart her, as the duchess had done, she joined with her partiality, and even outwent her in her own way.

She began to insinuate to the queen that the Tories were by far the majority of the people; that they were displeased with a ministry that attempted to rule their sovereign, and had lavished the treasures of the nation on wars which they chose to carry on in order to continue in power. But though this intriguing woman seemed to act from herself alone, she was in fact the tool of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, who also, some time before, had insinuated himself into the queen's good graces, and who determined to sap the credit of Godolphin and Marlborough. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own shelter, and to expel the Whigs from the advantages which they had long enjoyed under the government. Harley, better known afterwards by the title of lord Oxford, was a man possessed of uncommon erudition, great knowledge of business, and as great ambition. He was close, phlegmatic, and cool; but at the same time more fond of the splendours than the drudgeries of office.

In his career of ambition, he chose for his coadjutor Henry St. John, afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence, and greater ambition, enterprising, restless, active, and haughty, with some wit and little principle. This statesman was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to Oxford's designs. It was not till afterwards, when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, that he was fired with the ambition of being first in the state, and aspired to depress his first promoter.

To this junto was added sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer, and a man of great abilities. These uniting, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the scattered body of the Tories: and diffused assurances among their partisans, that the queen would no longer bear the tyranny of a Whig ministry. She had ever been, they said, a friend in her heart to the Tory and high-church party, by which appellation this faction now chose to be distinguished; and, to convince them of the truth of their assertions, the queen herself shortly after bestowed two bishoprics on clergymen who had openly condemned the Revolution.

A. D. 1708.] It was now perceived that the people began to be weary of the Whig ministry, whom they formerly caressed. To them they imputed the burdens under which they groaned, burdens which they had hitherto been animated to bear by the pomp of triumph, but the load of which they felt in a pause of success. No new advantage had of late been shewn them from the Netherlands. France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, as they had been taught to expect, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow. The English merchants had lately sustained repeated losses, for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished, and the public credit began to decline.

The ministry were for a long time ignorant of those secret murmurings, or,

secure in their own strength, pretended to despise them. Instead, therefore, of attempting to mitigate the censures propagated against them, or to soften the virulence of the faction, they continued to tease the queen with remonstrances against her conduct, and upbraided her with ingratitude for those services which had secured her glory. The murmurs of the nation first found vent in the house of lords, where some complaints of the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy, were supported by a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of the city, aggravating their losses by sea for want of convoys. It began now to be urged, that attacking France in the Netherlands was taking the bull by the horns,—attempting the enemy where it was best prepared for a defence. Harley was at the bottom of all these complaints; and though they did not produce an immediate effect, yet they did not fail of a growing and steady operation.

At length the Whig members of the administration opened their eyes to the intrigues of their pretended coadjutor. The duchess of Marlborough perceived, when it was too late, that she was supplanted by her insidious rival; and her husband found no other means of re-establishing his credit, but by openly opposing Harley, whom he could not otherwise displace. The secretary had lately incurred some suspicions, from the secret correspondence which one Gregg, an under-clerk in his office, kept up with the court of France. Gregg was executed; and the duke of Marlborough was willing to take advantage of this opportunity to remove Harley. He accordingly wrote to the queen, that he and lord Godolphin could serve her no longer, should the present secretary be continued in his place. The queen, no way regarding the secret intrigues of her ministers, was willing to keep them all in friendship, and endeavoured to appease the duke's resentment by every art of persuasion. But he was too confident of his own power, and continued obstinate in his refusal. The earl of Godolphin and the duke went so far as to retire from court, and the queen saw herself in danger of being deserted by her whole ministry. A sullen silence prevailed through the cabinet-council; and some were even heard to say, that no deliberations could be pursued in the absence of the duke and the lord-treasurer.

The queen now, for the first time, perceived the power which these two ministers had assumed over her councils. She found that they were willing to place and displace the servants of the crown at pleasure, and that nothing was left to her but to approve such measures as they thought fit to press upon her choice. She secretly, therefore, resolved to remove a ministry that had thus become odious to her; but in the present exigence she was obliged to give way to their demands. She sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office; and it was accordingly conferred on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer.

The first efforts of the Tory party being thus frustrated, Bolingbroke was resolved to share in his friend Harley's disgrace, as also sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, and sir Thomas Mansell, comptroller of the household, who all voluntarily relinquished their employments. Bolingbroke's employment of secretary at war was conferred upon Robert Walpole, a man who began to be considerable in the house of commons, and who afterwards made such a figure in the two succeeding reigns.

The duke seemed to triumph in the success of his resentment, not considering that by this step he entirely lost the confidence of the queen. He returned to prosecute his victories on the continent, where a new harvest of glory attended him, which, however, did not re-establish his power.

This violent measure, which seemed at first favourable to the Whig ministry, laid the foundation of its ruin. Harley was now enabled to throw off the mask of friendship, and to take more vigorous measures for the prosecution of his designs. In him the queen reposed all her trust, though he now had no visible concern in the administration. The first triumph of the Tories, in which the queen discovered a public partiality in their favour, was seen in a transaction of no great importance in itself, but from the consequences it produced. The parties of the nation were eager to engage, and they wanted but the watch-word to begin. This was given by a man neither of abilities, property, nor power, but accidentally brought forward on this occasion.

Henry Sacheverel was a clergyman bred at Oxford, of narrow intellects, and an overheated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-church men, and had taken all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby he had held forth in that strain before the judges. On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance, inveighed against the toleration of dissenters, and declared that the church was dangerously attacked by its enemies, and slightly defended by its false friends. He sounded the trumpet for the zealous, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Gerard, lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which, though very weak both in the matter and style, was published under his protection, and extolled by the Tories as a masterpiece of writing. These sermons owed all their celebrity to the complexion of the times, and they are now deservedly neglected.

A. D. 1709.] Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, laid a complaint before the house of commons against these rhapsodies, and thus gave force to what would have soon been forgotten. The most violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel was brought to the bar of the house; and he, far from disowning the writing of them, gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement he had received to publish them from the lord-mayor, who was then present. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors at the bar of the house of lords; and Mr. Dolben was fixed upon to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was appointed draw up articles of impeachment; Sacheverel was taken into custody, and a day appointed for his trial before the lords in Westminister-hall.

Meanwhile, the Tories, who, one and all, approved his principles, were as violent in his defence as the commons had been in his prosecution. They boldly affirmed, that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. The clergy did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared for discontent, arising from a scarcity of provisions, which at that time prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The dangers were magnified to which the church was exposed from dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, that brought on that very dearth which they were then deploring. Such an extensive party declaring in favour of Sacheverel, after the articles were exhibited against him, the lords thought fit to admit him to bail.

A. D. 1710.] The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this very extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks, and excluded all other public business for the time. The queen herself was every day present as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed, or silently praying for his success. The managers for the commons were sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, sir Peter King, recorder, general Stanhope, sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Walpole. The doctor was defended by sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Phipps, assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace. They surrounded the queen's sedan, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church! we hope your majesty is for doctor Sacheverel." They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwellings of many eminent dissenters, and even proposed to attack the Bank. The queen, in compliance with the request of the commons, published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were tried for high-treason. Two were convicted and sentenced to die; but neither suffered.

When the commons had gone through their charge, the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. He afterwards recited a speech himself, which, from the difference found between it and his sermons, seems evidently the work of another. In this he solemnly justified

his intentions towards the queen and her government. He spoke in the most respectful terms of the Revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church in which he was brought up; and, in a pathetic conclusion, endeavoured to excite the pity of his audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was favoured by the queen herself, who could not but approve a doctrine that confirmed her authority and enlarged her power.

Those who are removed from the interests of that period may be apt to regard with wonder so great a contest from so slight a cause; but, in fact, the spirit of contention was before laid in the nation, and this person only happened to set fire to the train. The lords, when they retired to consult upon the sentence, were divided, and continued undetermined for some time. At length, after much obstinate dispute, and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; but no less than four-and-thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for three years; and his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

The lenity of this sentence, which was, in a great measure, owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by the Tories as a triumph. They declared their joy in bonfires and illuminations, and openly avowed their rage against his persecutors. Soon after, he was presented to a benefice in North Wales, where he went with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and many noblemen, in his way, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by one Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. "The church and Dr. Sacheverel," was the universal cry; and a spirit of religious enthusiasm spread through the nation.

Such was the complexion of the times, when the queen thought proper to summon a new parliament; and, being a friend to the Tories herself, she gave the people an opportunity of indulging themselves in choosing representatives to their mind. In fact, very few were returned but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration. The Whigs were no longer able to keep their ground against the voice of the people, and the power of the queen. Though they had entrenched themselves behind a very formidable body in the house of lords, and though, by their wealth and family connexions, they had in a manner fixed themselves in office, yet they were now upon the edge of dissolution, and required but a breeze to blow them from their height, where they imagined themselves so secure.

The duke had some time before gone back to Flanders, where he led on the united armies to great, though dear-bought, victories. The French were dispirited indeed, and rather kept upon the defensive; but still, when forced to engage, they fought with great obstinacy, and seemed to gather courage as the frontiers of their own country became more nearly threatened.

Peace had more than once been offered, and treaties had been entered upon, and frustrated. After the battle of Ramillies, the king of France had employed the elector of Bavaria, to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough, containing proposals for opening a congress. He offered to give up either Spain and its dominions, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to Charles of Austria, and to give a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands. But these terms were rejected. The Dutch were intoxicated with success; and the duke of Marlborough had every motive to continue the war, as it gratified not only his ambition but his avarice; a passion that obscured his shining abilities.

The duke was resolved to push his good fortune. At the head of a numerous army, he approached (in June 1708) the village of Oudenarde, where the French, in equal numbers, were posted. A furious engagement ensued,

in which the French were obliged to retire, and took the advantage of the night to secure their retreat. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle, seven thousand were taken prisoners, and the number of their deserters was not a few. In consequence of this victory, Lisle, the strongest town in all Flanders, was taken, after an obstinate siege. Ghent followed soon after; while Bruges and other Flemish towns were abandoned by their defenders. Thus this campaign ended with fixing a barrier to the Dutch dominions, and it now only remained to force a way into the provinces of the enemy.

The repeated successes of the allies once more induced the French king to offer terms of peace. In these he was resolved to sacrifice all considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interests of his grandson of Spain, to a measure which had become so necessary and indispensable. A conference ensued, in which the allies rose in their demands, without, however, stipulating any thing in favour of the English. The demands were rejected by France; and that exhausted kingdom once more prepared for another campaign.

Tournay, one of the strongest cities in Flanders, was, in the next campaign, the first object of the operations of the allied army, which now amounted to one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve thousand men, yet the place was so strong both by art and nature, that it was probable the siege might last a considerable time. Nothing could be more terrible than the manner of engaging on both sides. As the besiegers proceeded by sapping, their troops that were conducting the mines frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and furiously engaged in subterraneous conflicts. The volunteers presented themselves, in the midst of mines and counter-mines, ready primed for explosion, and added new horrors to their gloomy situation. Sometimes they were killed by accident, sometimes sprung up by design; while thousands of those bold men were thus buried at once by the falling-in of the earth, or blown up into the air from below. At length, after an obstinate resistance, the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison of the citadel soon after were made prisoners of war.

The bloody battle of Malplaquet followed soon after. The French army, under the conduct of the great marechal Villars, amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Taniores, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. They had fortified their situation in such a manner with lines, hedges, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. The duke's motives for attacking them at such a disadvantage to himself are not well known; but certainly this was the most rash and ill-judged attempt during all his campaigns. On the thirty-first of August, 1709, early in the morning, the allied army, favoured by a thick fog, began the attack. The chief fury of their impression was made upon the left of the enemy, and, with such success, that, notwithstanding their lines and barricades, the French were in less than an hour driven from their entrenchments. But on the enemy's right the combat was sustained with much greater obstinacy. The Dutch, who carried on the attack, drove them from their first line, but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The prince of Orange, who headed that attack, persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, though two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers slain and disabled. At last, however, the French were obliged to yield up the field of battle; but not till after having sold a dear victory. Villars being dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post near Le Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The conquerors took possession of the field of battle, on which twenty thousand of their best troops lay slain. Marechal Villars confidently asserted, that if he had not been disabled, he would have gained a certain victory; and it is probable, from that general's former successes, that what he said was true. The city of Mons was the reward of this victory, which surrendered shortly after to the allied army; and with this conquest the allies concluded the campaign.

Though the events of this campaign were more favourable to Louis than he had reason to expect, he still continued desirous of peace, and once more

resolved to solicit a conference. He employed one Petkum, resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague, to negotiate upon this subject; and he ventured also to solicit the duke himself in private. However, as his affairs now were less desperate than in the beginning of the campaign, he would not stand to those conditions which he then offered as preliminaries to a conference. The Dutch inveighed against his insincerity for thus retracting his former offers; not considering that he certainly had a right to retract those offers which they formerly had rejected. They still had reasons for protracting the war, and the duke took care to confirm them in this resolution. Nevertheless, the French king, seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, continued to humble himself before the allies; and by means of Petkum, who still corresponded from the Hague with his ministers, implored the Dutch that the negotiation might be resumed. A conference was at length begun at Gertruydenberg, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorff; who were all three, from private motives, entirely averse to the treaty. Upon this occasion the French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification: spies were placed upon their conduct, their master was insulted, and their letters were opened. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. The French commissioners offered to satisfy every complaint that had given rise to the war: they consented to abandon Philip of Spain; they agreed to grant the Dutch a large barrier; they even were willing to grant a supply towards the dethroning of Philip; but all their offers were treated with contempt: they were therefore compelled to return home, after having sent a letter to the states, in which they declared that the proposals made by their deputies were unjust and impracticable, and complained of the unworthy treatment they had received. Louis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope that some lucky incident in the event of war, or some happy change in the ministry of England, might procure him more favourable concessions.

But though the duke, by these arts, protracted his power on the continent, all his influence at home was at an end. The members of the house of commons, that had been elected just after Sacheverel's trial, were almost universally Tories. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were sent and presented to the queen, confirming the doctrine of non-resistance; and the queen did not scruple to receive them with some pleasure. But when the conferences were ended at Gertruydenberg, the designs of the Dutch and English commanders were too obvious not to be perceived. The writers of the Tory faction, who were men of the first rank in literary merit, and who still more chimed in with the popular opinion, displayed the avarice of the duke, and the self-interested conduct of the Dutch. They pretended that, while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests for the benefit of other nations, she was losing her liberty at home. They asserted that her ministers were not contented with the plunder of an impoverished state, but, by controlling their queen, were resolved to seize upon its liberties also.

A part of these complaints were true, and a part exaggerated; but the real crimes of the ministry, in the queen's eye, were their pride, their combinations, and their increasing power. The insolence of the duchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto possessed more power than the whole privy-council united, was now become insupportable to her. The queen had entirely withdrawn her confidence from her; she resolved to seize the first opportunity of shewing her resentment, and such an opportunity was not long wanting.

Upon the death of the earl of Essex, who was colonel of a regiment under the duke, the queen resolved to bestow it on a person who, she knew, was entirely displeasing to him. She therefore sent him word that she wished he would give it to Mr. Hill, brother to her favourite Mrs. Masham, as a person every way qualified for the command. The duke was struck with this request, which he considered as a previous step to his own disgrace. He represented to the queen the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of so young an officer, and the jealousy that would be felt by his seniors, never considering that he himself was a younger officer than many of those he commanded. He expostulated with her on this extraordinary mark of

partiality in favour of Mrs. Masham's brother, who had treated him with such peculiar ingratitude. To all this the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. He retired in disgust, and sat down to prepare a letter to the queen, in which he begged leave to resign all his employments.

In the mean time the queen, who was conscious of the popularity of her conduct, went to the council, where she seemed not to take the least notice of the duke's absence. The whole junto of his friends, which almost entirely composed the council, did not fail to alarm her with the consequences of disobliging so useful a servant. She therefore for some time dissembled her resentment; and even went so far as to send the duke a lettor, empowering him to dispose of the regiment as he thought proper. But still she was too sensibly mortified at many parts of his conduct, not to wish for his removal; yet for the present she insisted on his continuing in command.

She acted with less duplicity towards the duchess, who supposing, from the queen's present condescension, that she was willing to be pacified, resolved once more to practise the long-forgotten arts by which she rose. She therefore demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, by tears, entreaties, and supplications. But all her humiliations served only to render her more contemptible to herself. The queen heard her without exhibiting the least emotion of tenderness or pity. The only answer she gave to the torrent of the other's entreaties, was a repetition of an insolent expression used in one of this lady's own letters to her: "You desired no answer, and you shall have none."

It was only by insensible degrees that the queen seemed to acquire courage enough to second her inclinations, and depose a ministry that had long been disagreeable to her. Harley, however, who still shared her confidence, did not fail to inculcate the popularity, the justice, and the security of such a measure; and, in consequence of this advice, she began the changes, by transferring the post of lord-chamberlain from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimate correspondence with Mr. Harley. Soon after, the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was displaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room. Finding that she was rather applauded than condemned for this resolute proceeding, she resolved to become entirely free.

In these revolutions she was strengthened by the duke of Beaufort, who, coming to court on this occasion, informed her majesty that he came once more to pay his duty to the *queen*. The whole Whig party were in consternation; they influenced the directors of the Bank, so far as to assure her majesty that public credit would be entirely ruined by this change in the ministry. The Dutch moved heaven and earth with memorials and threats, should a change take place. However, the queen went forward in her designs: soon after, the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, who was also appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers. The staff of lord-steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord-chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and then given to sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and that employment was conferred upon the duke of Ormond. Mr. Granville was appointed secretary of war in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; and, in a word, there was not one Whig left in the offices of the state, except the duke of Marlborough. He was still continued the reluctant general of the army; but he justly considered himself as a ruin entirely undermined, and just ready to fall.

But the triumph was not complete, until the parliament had confirmed and approved the queen's choice. The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour. The two houses were ardent in their

expressions of zeal and unanimity. They exhorted her to discountenance all such principles and measures as had so lately threatened her royal crown and dignity. This was but an opening to what soon followed. The duke of Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of their hatred and reproach. His avarice was justly upbraided; his protracting the war was said to arise from that motive. Instances were every where given of his fraud and extortion. These might be true; but party had no moderation, and even his courage and conduct were called in question. To mortify the duke still more, the thanks of the house of commons were voted to the earl of Peterborough for his services in Spain, when they were refused to the duke for those in Flanders; and the lord-keeper, who delivered them to Peterborough, took occasion to drop some reflections against the mercenary disposition of his rival.

In this ebullition of party resentment, Harley, who first raised the ferment, still kept the appearance of moderation, and even became suspected, by his more violent associates, as a lukewarm friend to the cause. An accident increased his confidence with his own party, and fixed him for a time securely in the queen's favour. One Guiscard, a French officer, who had made some useful informations relative to the affairs of France, thought him- [A. D. 1711. self ill rewarded for his services to the crown by a precarious pension of four hundred pounds a year. He had often endeavoured to gain access to the queen, but was still repulsed either by Harley or St. John. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris. His letters, however, were intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high-treason. Conscious of his guilt, and knowing that the charge could be proved against him, he did not decline his fate, but resolved to sweeten his death by vengeance. Being conveyed before the council convened at the Cock-pit, he perceived a penknife lying upon the table, and took it up without being observed by any of the attendants. When questioned before the members of the council, he endeavoured to evade his examination, and entreated to speak with Mr. Secretary St. John in private. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" Upon which, as St. John was out of reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and crying out, "Have at *thee* then! he stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. the blade of the knife broke upon the rib, without entering the cavity of the breast; nevertheless, he repeated the blow with such violence, that Harley fell to the ground. St. John perceiving what had happened, instantly drew his sword; and others following his example, Guiscard was wounded in several places. But he still continued to strike, and defend himself, till at last he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene, occasioned by the bruises which he had sustained. This unsuccessful attempt served to establish the credit of Harley; and as he appeared the enemy of France, no doubt was made of his being the friend of England.

This accident served to demonstrate the political rectitude of the ministry, with respect to the state. A bill which they brought in, and passed through both houses, served to assure the nation of their fidelity to the church. This was an act for building fifty new churches in the city and suburbs of London, and a duty on coal was appropriated for this purpose.

Nothing now remained of the Whig system, upon which this reign was begun, but the war, which continued to rage as fiercely as ever, and which increased in expense every year as it went on. It was the resolution of the present ministry to put an end to it at any rate, as it had involved the nation in debt almost to bankruptcy, and as it promised, instead of humbling the enemy, only to become habitual to the constitution. However, it was a very delicate point for the ministry, at present, to stem the tide of popular prejudice in favour of its continuance. The nation had been intoxicated with a childish idea of military glory, and panted for triumphs of which they neither saw nor felt the benefit. The pleasure of talking at their entertainments and

meetings of their distant conquests, and of extolling the bravery of their acquaintance, was all the return they were likely to receive for a diminished people, and an exhausted exchequer. The first doubts of the expediency of continuing the war were introduced into the house of commons. The members made a remonstrance to the queen, in which they complained loudly of the former administration. They said, that in tracing the causes of the national debt, they had discovered great frauds and embezzlements of the public money. They affirmed, that irreparable mischief would have ensued, if the former ministers had been suffered to continue in office; and they thanked the queen for their dismission.

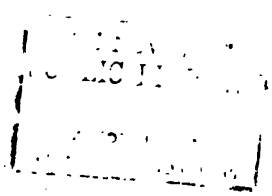
Having thus prepared the nation, it only now remained to remove the duke of Marlborough from his post, as he would endeavour to traverse all their negotiations. But here again a difficulty started; this step could not be taken without giving offence to the Dutch, who placed entire confidence in him: they were obliged, therefore, to wait for some convenient occasion. But, in the mean time, the duke headed his army in Flanders, and led on his forces against marshal Villars, who seemed resolved to hazard a battle. His last attempt in the field is said, by those who understand the art of war, to have excelled every former exploit. He contrived his measures so, that he induced the enemy, by marching and countermarching, to resign, without a blow, a strong line of entrenchments, of which he unexpectedly took possession. The capture of Bouchain followed this enterprise, which capitulated after a siege of twenty days; and this was the last military expedition that the duke of Marlborough performed. And now, by a continuance of conduct and success, by ever advancing, and never losing an advantage, by gaining the enemy's posts without fighting, and the confidence of his own soldiers without generosity, the duke ended his campaigns, by leaving the allies in possession of a vast tract of country. They had reduced under their command Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault; they were masters of the Scarpe, and the capture of Bouchain had opened them a way into the very bowels of France. Upon his return from this campaign, he was accused of having taken a bribe of six thousand pounds a year from a Jew, who contracted to supply the army with bread; and the queen thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments.

This was the pretext of which his enemies made use; but his fall had been predetermined: and though his receiving such a bribe was not the real cause of his removal, yet candour must confess that it ought to have been so. The desire of accumulating money was a passion that attended this general in all his triumphs; and by this he threw a stain upon his character, which all his great abilities have not been able to remove. He not only received this gratuity from Medina the Jew, but he was also allowed ten thousand pounds a year from the queen; to this he added a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England; and all this over and above his ordinary pay as general of the British forces. Many excuses might have been given for his acceptance of these sums; but a great character ought not to stand in need of any excuse.

CHAP. XLIV.

ANNE, (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1711 to 1714.

WAR seems, in general, more adapted to the temper and the courage of the Whigs than the Tories. The former, restless, active, and ungovernable, seem to delight in the struggle; the latter, submissive, temperate, and weak, more willingly cultivate the arts of peace, and are content in prosperity. Through the course of the English history, France seems to have been the peculiar object of the hatred of the Whigs; and a constitutional war with that country seems to have been their aim. On the contrary, the Tories have been found to regard that nation with no such opposition of principle; and a peace with France has generally been the result of a Tory administration. For some time, therefore, before the dismission of Marlborough, a negotiation





Published by Henry Fisher Caxton. London 1825.

for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministry. They had a double aim in bringing this about. It would serve to mortify the Whigs, and it would free their country from a ruinous and unnecessary war.

The motives of every political measure, where faction enters, are partly good and partly evil. The present ministers were, without doubt, actuated as well by hatred on one hand, as impelled by a love of their country on the other. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the subjects of Great Britain, as would silence all detraction. They were not so mindful of the interests of the Dutch, as they knew that people to be but too attentive to those interests themselves. In order, therefore, to come as soon as possible to the end in view, the earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire for peace, and her wish for a renewal of the conference. This intimation was delivered by one Gaultier, an obscure priest, who was chaplain to the imperial ambassador, and a spy for the French. The message was received with great pleasure at the French court, and an answer was returned, ardently professing the same inclinations. This led the way to a reply, and soon after to a more definitive memorial from the court of France, which was immediately transmitted to the Dutch by the queen, for their approbation.

The states-general, having perused the French memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would be more explicit in his offers towards settling the repose of Europe. In order to give the Dutch some satisfaction in this particular, a previous conference between the French and English courts took place. Prior, much more famous as a poet than a statesman, was sent over with proposals to France; and Menager, a man of no great station, returned with Prior to London, with full powers to treat upon the preliminaries. After many long and intricate debates, certain preliminary articles were at last agreed on, and signed by the English and French ministers, in consequence of a written order from her majesty.

The ministry having proceeded thus far, the great difficulty still lay before them, of making the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary Heinsius the preliminary proposals, to signify the queen's approbation of them, and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The Dutch were very unwilling to begin the conference, upon the inspection of the preliminaries. They sent over an envoy to attempt to turn the queen from her resolution; but finding their efforts vain, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference; and they granted passports to the French ministers accordingly.

Many were the methods practised by the Dutch, as well as by the Germans, to frustrate the negotiations of this congress. The emperor wrote circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their former engagements. His ambassador in London, procuring a copy of the preliminary articles, had them inserted in a common newspaper, in order to throw blame upon the ministry, and render their proceedings odious to the people. The Dutch began to complain of perfidy, and laboured to raise a discontent in England against the measures then in speculation. The Whigs in London did not fail to second their efforts with all the arts of clamour, ridicule, and reproach. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were every day published by one faction, and, the next, were answered by the other. But the confederates took a step from which they hoped success from the greatness of the agent whom they employed. Prince Eugene, who had been long famous for his talents in the cabinet and in the field, was sent over with a letter from the emperor to the queen. But his intrigues and his arts were unable to prevail; he found at court, indeed, a polite reception, such as was due to his merits and his fame, but at the same time such a repulse as the private proposals he carried seemed to deserve. Still, measures for the conference were going forward, and the ministry were determined to drive them on to a conclusion.

However, before we mention the result of this great congress, it may be

necessary to apprise the reader, that many of the motives which first incited each side to take up arms were now no more. Charles of Austria, for whose cause England had spent so much blood and treasure, was, by the death of his elder brother, the emperor Joseph, placed on the imperial throne. There was, therefore, every reason for not supporting his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy; and the same jealousy which invited him to that kingdom, was necessary to be exerted in keeping him out of it. The elector of Bavaria, who was intimately connected with the French, was now detached from them; and the Dutch, who had trembled for their barrier, were encroaching upon that of the enemy. Thus accident and success gave almost every power, but France and England, all that war could ever grant; and though they should be crowned with the greatest successes, it was the interest of England that her allies should be reinstated in their rights, but not rendered too powerful.

A. D. 1712.] The conferences began at Utrecht, under the conduct of Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, on the side of the English; of Buys and Vanderdussen, on the part of the Dutch; and of the marechal D'Uxelles, the cardinal Polignac, and M. Menager, in behalf of France. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy assisted, and the other allies sent also plenipotentiaries, though with the utmost reluctance. As England and France were the only two powers that were seriously inclined to peace, it may be supposed that all the other deputies served rather to retard than advance its progress. They met rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to quiet the dissensions of Europe. The emperor insisted obstinately upon his claim to the Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions. The Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries, which Louis had formerly rejected. They practised a thousand little arts to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Louis, to blacken the characters of her ministry, and to keep up a dangerous ferment among the people.

The English ministry were sensible of the dangerous and difficult task they had to sustain. The confederates were entirely against them; a violent and desperate party at home, who never let any government rest, except when themselves were in power, opposed; and none seconded their efforts heartily, but the commons, and the queen, whose health was visibly declining. They had, by a bold measure, indeed, secured the house of lords on their side, by creating twelve new peers in one day; and this turned the balance, which was yet wavering, in their favour. But, in their present situation, despatch was greatly requisite. In case of their sovereign's death, they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin for obeying her commands, unless time should be given to draw the people from the intoxication of their successes, and until the utility of their measures should be justified by the people's happy experience. Thus the peace was hastened, and this haste relaxed the rigour of the English ministers, in insisting upon such terms and advantages as they had a right to demand.

With these views, finding multiplied obstructions from the deliberations of the allies, they set on foot a private negotiation with France. They stipulated certain advantages for the subjects of Great Britain, in a concerted plan of peace. They resolved to enter into such mutual confidence with the French, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to the prejudice of the coalition. These articles were privately regulated between the two courts; but, being the result of haste and necessity, they were not quite so favourable to the English interests as the sanguine part of the nation were taught to expect.

Meanwhile, the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht proceeded so far as to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of specific offers, which the confederates treated with indignation and contempt, who, on the other hand, drew up their specific demands, which were considered as highly extravagant by the ministers of France. Conference followed conference; but still the contending parties continued as remote from each other as when they began. The English, willing to include their allies, if possible, in the treaty, departed from some of their secret pretensions, in order to gratify the

Dutch with the possession of some towns in Flanders. They consented to admit that nation into a participation of some advantages in commerce. The queen, therefore, finding the confederates still obstinately attached to their first preliminaries, gave them to understand, that, as they failed to co-operate with her openly and sincerely, and had made such bad returns for her condescension towards them, she looked upon herself as released from all engagements.

The first instance of displeasure which was shewn to the confederates, was by an order given to the English army in Flanders not to act upon the offensive. Upon the dismission of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond had been invested with the supreme command of the British forces; but with particular directions that he should not hazard an engagement. However, he joined prince Eugene at Tournay, who, not being let into the secret, advised an attack of Villars; but he soon found how affairs stood with his coadjutor. Ormond himself seemed extremely uneasy at his situation; and, in a letter to the secretary in England, desired permission to return home. But the confederates were loud in their complaints; they expostulated with the ministers at Utrecht upon so perfidious a conduct; but they were told that letters had been lately received from the queen, in which she complained, that as the states-general had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprised if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures to obtain a peace for her own advantage.

But the Dutch did not rest here. They had a powerful party in the house of lords, and there they resolved to arraign the conduct of the ministry. Lord Halifax descanted on the ill consequences of the duke of Ormond's refusing to co-operate with prince Eugene, and moved an address to her majesty to loose the hands of the English general. It was urged that nothing could be more disgraceful to the duke himself than being thus set at the head of an army without a power of acting. But earl Poulet replied, that though none could doubt of the duke of Ormond's courage, he was not like a certain general, who led his troops to the slaughter, in hopes that a great number of officers might be knocked on the head, that he might increase his treasures by disposing of their commissions. The duke of Marlborough, who was present, was so deeply affected at this malicious insinuation, that he sent the earl a challenge the next day; but the nature of the message coming to the queen's ears, the duke was ordered to proceed no farther in the quarrel.

In the mean time, the allies, deprived of the assistance of the English, still continued their animosity against the French, and were resolved to continue the war separately. They had the utmost confidence in prince Eugene, their general; and, though lessened by the defection of the British forces, they were still superior to those of the enemy, commanded by marshal Villars. But the loss of the British forces was severely felt by the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either destroyed or taken. The earl himself, and all the surviving officers, were made prisoners of war. These successes of Villars served to hasten the treaty of Utrecht. The great obstacle which retarded that peace which France and England seemed so ardently to desire, was the settling the succession to the kingdoms of France and Spain. The danger that threatened the interest of Europe was, lest both kingdoms should be united under one sovereign; and Philip, who was now king of Spain, stood next in succession to the crown of France, except with the interposition of one child, (afterwards Louis XV.) who was then sickly. Philip, however, after many expedients, at last resolved to wave his pretensions to the French monarchy; and the treaty went forward with rapidity and success.

In the beginning of August, secretary St. John, now created viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles, to remove all obstructions to the separate treaty. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior, and the abbé Gaultier, and treated with the most distinguished marks of respect. He was caressed by the French king, and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria. This nego-

tiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France.

In the mean time, the articles of the intended treaty were warmly canvassed among all ranks of people in London. A duel, which was fought between the duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun, in which they were both killed, served to exasperate the Whigs and Tories against each other. The subject of the duel is said to have been a lawsuit; but, Mohun, being considered as a bully in favour of the Whigs, the Tories exclaimed against the event as a party-duel, and absurdly affirmed that a plot was laid against the life of the duke of Hamilton. Mobs now began to be hired by both factions, and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. In this scene of confusion, the duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the secret author of these mischiefs, thought proper to retire to the continent; and his retreat was compared by his party to that of Scipio from Rome, after he had saved his country.

A. D. 1713.] At length, the treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being agreed on by the plenipotentiaries on either side, and ratified by the queen, she acquainted her parliament with the steps she had taken. She informed them of her precautions to secure them the succession of a protestant king; and desired them to consider by her actions whether she ever meant to divide her interests from the house of Hanover. She left it to the commons to determine what forces, and what supplies, might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. "Make yourselves safe," said she "and I shall be satisfied. The affection of my people, and the providence of Heaven, are the only guards I ask for my protection." Both houses returned warm addresses; and the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, to the inexpressible joy of the majority of the nation.

The articles of this famous peace were longer canvassed, and more warmly debated, than those of any other treaty read of in history. The number of different interests concerned, and the great enmity and jealousy subsisting between all, made it impossible that all could be satisfied; and indeed there seemed no other method of obtaining peace, but that which was taken, for the two principal powers concerned to make their own articles, and to leave the rest for a subject of future discussion.

The first stipulation was, that Philip, now acknowledged king of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of Europe. It was agreed that the duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and after him in succession, should also renounce his right to the throne of Spain, in case of his acquisition of the French crown. It was stipulated that the duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily, with the title of king, together with Fenestrelles, and other places on the continent; which increase of dominion was, in some measure, made out of the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had that barrier granted them which they so long sought after; and if the crown of France was deprived of some dominions to enrich the duke of Savoy, on the other hand the house of Austria was taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to England, its glory and its interests were secured. The fortifications of Dunkirk, a harbour that might be dangerous to their trade in time of war, were ordered to be demolished, and its port destroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. The French resigned their pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but they were left in possession of Cape Breton, and the liberty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among the articles glorious to the English nation, their setting free the French protestants, confined in the prisons and galleys for their religion, was not the least meritorious. For the emperor it was stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The king of Prussia was to have Upper Gueldreland; and a time was fixed for the emperor's acceding to these articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negotiation. Thus Europe seemed to be formed into one great republic, the different members of which were cantoned out to different governors, and the ambition of any one state

amenable to the tribunal of all. Thus it appears that the English ministry did justice to all the world; but their country denied that justice to them.

The Dutch and the Imperialists, after complaining of this desertion in their allies, resolved to hold out for some time. But they also soon after concluded a peace; the one by the barrier treaty, and the other by the treaty of Rastadt, in which their interests were ascertained, and the treaty of Utrecht confirmed.

The English, being in this manner freed from their foreign [A. D. 1714. enemies, had now full leisure to indulge their domestic dissensions. The two parties never contended with greater animosity, or greater injustice, against each other. No merit could be allowed in those of the opposite faction, and no knavery seen in their own. Whether it was at this time the wish of the ministers to alter the succession of the crown from the house of Hanover to the Pretender, cannot now be clearly made out: but true it is that the Whigs believed it as certain, and the Tories but faintly denied the charge. The suspicions of that party became every day stronger, particularly when they saw a total removal of the Whigs from all places of trust and confidence throughout the kingdom, and their employments bestowed on professed Tories, supposed to be maintainers of an unbroken hereditary succession. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, a design in favour of the Pretender; and their reports went so far as to assert that he was actually concealed in London, and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state.

Be this as it will, the chiefs of the Whig faction held secret conferences with baron Schutz, resident from the court of Hanover. They communicated their fears and apprehensions to the elector, who, before he arrived in England, or considered the spirit of parties, was thoroughly prejudiced against the Tories. In return, they received his instructions, and were taught to expect his favour in case of his succession. The house of lords seemed to share in the general apprehension. The queen was addressed to know what steps had been taken for removing the Pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain. They begged she would give them a list of such persons as, having been once attainted for their political misconduct, had obtained licenses to return into Great Britain since the Revolution. Mr. Steele, afterwards known as the celebrated Sir Richard Steele, was not a little active in raising and spreading these reports. In a pamphlet written by him, called the Crisis, he bitterly exclaimed against the ministry, and the immediate danger of their bringing in the Pretender. The house of commons considered this performance as a scandalous and seditious libel; and Steele was expelled from the house of commons.

But while the Whigs were attacking the ministers from without, these were in much greater danger from their own internal dissensions. Harley was created earl of Oxford, and St. John viscount Bolingbroke. Though they had started with the same principles and designs, yet, having vanquished other opposers, they now began to turn their strength against each other. Never were two tempers worse matched to carry on business together: Oxford, cautious, slow, diffident, and reserved; Bolingbroke, hot, eager, impetuous, and proud: the first of great erudition, the latter of great natural capacity; the first obstinate in command, the other reluctant to obey: the first bent on maintaining that rank in the administration which he had obtained upon the dissolution of the last ministry; the other disdaining to act as a subaltern to a man whom he thought himself able to instruct. Both, therefore, began to form separate interests, and to adopt different principles. Oxford's plan was the more moderate; Bolingbroke's the more vigorous, but the less secure. Oxford, it is thought, was entirely for the Hanoverian succession; Bolingbroke had some hopes of bringing in the Pretender. But though they hated each other most sincerely, yet they were for a while kept together by the good offices of their friends and adherents, who had the melancholy prospect of seeing the citadel of their hopes, while openly besieged from without, secretly undermining within.

This was a mortifying prospect to the Tories; but it was more particularly displeasing to the queen, who daily saw her favourite ministry declining,

while her own health kept pace with their contentions. Her constitution was now quite broken. One fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind. The council-chamber was for some time turned into a scene of obstinate dispute and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. As Oxford foresaw that the Whig ministry would force themselves in, he was for moderate measures. Bolingbroke, on the contrary, was for setting the Whigs at defiance, and flattered the queen, by giving way to all her favourite attachments. At length, their animosities coming to a height, Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of public transactions, in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke accused the treasurer of having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and of maintaining a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this, and the intrigues of lady Masham, who now seconded the aims of Bolingbroke, Oxford was removed from his employments, and his rival seemed to triumph in his new victory.

But this paltry triumph was of short duration. Bolingbroke for a while seemed to enjoy the confusion he had made; and the whole state being driven into disorder by the suddenness of the treasurer's fall, he sat secure, considering that he must be called upon to remedy every inconvenience. But the queen's declining health soon began to give him a dreadful prospect of his own situation, and the triumph of his enemies. As no plan had been adopted for supplying the vacancy of treasurer, the queen was perplexed and harassed with the choice, and she had no longer strength left to support the fatigue. It had such an effect upon her spirits and constitution, that she declared she could not outlive it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that, the day after, they despaired of her life, and the privy-council was assembled on the occasion. The dukes of Somerset and Argyle, being informed of the desperate state in which she lay, entered the council-chamber without being summoned, to the great surprise of the Tory members, who did not expect their appearance. The duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired them to take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still in her senses, the council unanimously agreed that the duke of Shrewsbury was the fittest person to be appointed to the vacant office of treasurer. Thus Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated, just when he thought himself secure.

All the members of the privy-council, without distinction, being now summoned from the different parts of the kingdom, began to provide for the security of the constitution. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's desperate situation, and desiring him to repair to Holland, where he would be attended by a British squadron to convey him to England. At the same time they despatched instructions to the earl of Strafford at the Hague, to desire the states-general to be ready to perform the guaranty of the protestant succession. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley, a professed Whig. These measures, which were all dictated by that party, answered a double end. It argued their own alacrity in the cause of their new sovereign, and seemed to imply a danger to the state from the disaffection of the opposite interest.

On the thirtieth of July, the queen seemed somewhat relieved by medicines, rose from her bed about eight o'clock, and walked a little. After some time, casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual; to which the queen only answered, by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was soon after seized with a fit of apoplexy, from which, however, she was somewhat recovered by the assistance of Dr. Mead. She continued all night in a state of stupefaction. She gave some signs of life between twelve and one the next day; but expired the

following morning, August 1, 1714, a little after seven o'clock, in the fiftieth year of her age. She reigned more than twelve years over a people now risen to the highest pitch of refinement; who had attained by their wisdom all the advantages of opulence, and by their valour all the happiness of security and conquest.

This princess was rather amiable than great, rather pleasing than beautiful; neither her capacity nor learning was remarkable. Like the rest of her family, she seemed rather fitted for the private duties of life than a public station, being a pattern of conjugal fidelity, a good mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress. During her reign, none suffered on the scaffold for treason; for, when an oppressed faction takes the lead, it is seldom cruel. In her ended the line of the Stuarts; a family whose misfortunes and misconduct are not to be paralleled in history; a family, who, less than men themselves, seemed to expect from their followers more than manhood in their defence; a family that never rewarded their friends, and never avenged them of their enemies.

CHAP. XLV.

GEORGE I.—A. D. 1714 to 1716.

THE two parties which had long divided the kingdom, under the names of Whig and Tory, now seemed to alter their titles; and, as the old epithets had lost their virulence by frequent use, the Whigs were now styled Hanoverians, and the Tories were branded with the appellation of Jacobites. The former boasted of a protestant king, the latter of an hereditary monarch; the former urged the wisdom of their new sovereign, and the latter alleged that theirs was an Englishman. It is easy to perceive, that the choice would rest upon him whose wisdom and religion promised the people the greatest security.

The Jacobites had long been flattered with the hopes of seeing the succession altered by the new ministry. Ungrounded hopes and impracticable schemes seem to have been the only portion bequeathed to that party. They now found all their expectations blasted by the premature death of the queen. The diligence and activity of the privy-council, in which the Hanoverian interest prevailed, the general ridicule which attended their inconsistent conduct, all served to complete their confusion. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible in the present crisis as silence and submission; they hoped much from the assistance of France, and still more from the popularity and counsels of the Pretender. This unfortunate man seemed to possess all the qualities of his father; his pride, his want of perseverance, and his attachment to the catholic religion. He was but a poor leader therefore, unfit to conduct so desperate a cause; and, in fact, all the sensible part of the kingdom had forsaken it as irretrievable.

Pursuant to the act of succession, George the First, son of Ernest-Augustus, first elector of Brunswick, and the princess Sophia, grand-daughter to James the First, ascended the British throne. His mature age, he being now fifty-four years old, his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general tranquillity of Europe, all contributed to establish his interests, and to promise him a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid; he was of a very different disposition from the Stuart family, whom he succeeded. These were known to a proverb for leaving their friends in extremity; George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, was heard to say, "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." To these qualifications of resolution and perseverance, he joined great application to business. However, one fault with respect to England remained behind; he studied the interest of those subjects he had left, more than of those he came to govern.

The queen had no sooner resigned her breath, than the privy-council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the elector appointed several of his known adherents to be added as lords-justices to the seven great officers of state. Orders also were immediately issued for proclaiming George, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl

of Dorset to carry him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth, and appointed the celebrated Mr. Addison secretary of state. To mortify the late ministry the more, lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage, among the servants, with his bag of papers, where there were persons purposely placed to insult and deride him. No tumult appeared; no commotion arose against the accession of the new king; and this gave a strong proof that no rational measures were ever taken to obstruct his exaltation.

The king first landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place, he walked to his house in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility and other persons of distinction, who expected to make their court in this reign, in consequence of their turbulence and opposition in the last. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession. But the duke of Ormond, the lord-chancellor, and the lord-treasurer, found themselves excluded. The earl of Oxford, the next morning, presented himself with an air of confidence, supposing that his rupture with Bolingbroke would compensate for his former conduct. But he had the mortification to remain a considerable time unnoticed among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any circumstance of peculiar respect. To mortify him still more, the king expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, (who had just come from the continent,) as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

The king of a faction is but the sovereign of half his subjects. Of this, however, the now-elected monarch did not seem sensible. It was his misfortune, and consequently of the nation, that he was hemmed round by men who soured him with their own interests and prejudices. Only the zealots of a party were now admitted into employment. The Whigs, while they pretended to secure the crown for their king, were with all possible arts confirming their own interests, extending their connexions, and giving laws to their sovereign. An instantaneous and total change was made in all the offices of trust, honour, or advantage. The Whigs governed the senate and the court; whom they would, they oppressed; bound the lower orders of people with severe laws, and kept them at a distance by vile distinctions; and then taught them to call this—liberty.

These partialities soon raised great discontent among the people; and the king's attachment considerably increased the number of malcontents. The clamour of the supposed danger of the church was revived; and the people only seemed to want a leader to excite them to insurrection. Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich, and Reading, still remembered the spirit with which they had declared for Sacheverel; and now the cry was, "Down with the Whigs, and Sacheverel for ever!" During these commotions, which were fomented by every art, the Pretender himself continued a calm spectator on the continent. Then was the time for him to have struck his greatest blow; but he only sent over his emissaries to disperse his ineffectual manifestoes, and delude the unwary. In these papers he observed, that the late queen had intentions of calling him to the crown. He expostulated with his people upon the injustice they had done themselves in proclaiming a foreign prince for their sovereign, contrary to the laws of the country, that gave to him only the real claim. Copies of a printed address were sent to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction, vindicating his right to the crown, and complaining of the injustice of his people. Yet though he still complained of their conduct, he never took one step to reform his own, or to correct that objection upon which his father had forfeited the throne. He still continued to profess the truest regard to the catholic religion; and instead of concealing his sentiments on that head, gloried in his principles. He expected to ascend the throne against a very powerful opposition, and that by professing the very same principles by which it had been lost.

But, however odious the popish superstition was to the bulk of the people at that time, the principles of the dissenters were equally displeasing. It was against them and their tenets that mobs were excited, and riots became frequent. How violent soever the conduct of either party seemed to be, yet their animosities were founded upon religion, and they committed every excess upon principles that had their foundation in some mistaken virtue. It was now said by the Tories, that impiety and heresy were daily gaining ground under the Whig administration. It was said that the bishops were so lukewarm in favour of the church, and so ardent in pursuit of temporal advantages, that every vice was rearing its head without control. The doctrines of the true religion were left exposed on every side, and open to the attacks of the dissenters and Socinians on one part, and of the catholics on the other. The lower orders of the clergy sided with the people in these complaints; they pointed out to the ministry several tracts written in favour of Socinianism and Arianism. The court not only refused to punish the delinquents but silenced the clergy themselves, and forbade their future disputations on such topics. This injunction answered the immediate purpose of the ministry; it put a stop to the clamours of the populace, fomented by the clergy: but it produced a worse disorder in its train; it produced a negligence in all religious concerns. Nothing could be more impolitic in a state than to hinder the clergy from disputing with each other; they thus become more animated in the cause of religion, and, which side soever they defend, they become wiser and better as they carry on the dispute. To silence argument in the clergy, is to encourage them in sloth and neglect; if religion be not kept awake by opposition, it sinks into silence, and no longer continues an object of public concern.

The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very [A. D. 1715
extraordinary proclamation. In this the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession, and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He expressed hopes that his subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; he entreated that they would elect such in particular as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger. It was thus that this monarch was tutored, by the faction around him, to look with an evil eye on subjects that never opposed the succession—subjects that detested a popish monarch, and whose only fault was a desire of being governed rather by the authority of a king than a junto of their fellow-subjects who assumed his power. In the election of this important parliament, uncommon vigour was exerted on both sides; but, by dint of the monied interest that prevailed in corporations, and the activity of the ministry, which will always have weight, a great majority of Whigs were returned both in England and Scotland.

Upon the first meeting of this new parliament, in which the Whigs, with the king at their head, (for he took no care to conceal his partialities,) were predominant, nothing was expected but the most violent measures against the late ministry; nor were the expectations of mankind disappointed. The king gave the house of commons to understand that the branches of the revenue appointed for the support of the civil government, were not sufficient for that purpose. He warned them that the Pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England to repair his former disappointments. He intimated also, that he expected their assistance in punishing such as endeavoured to deprive him of the blessing which he most valued, the affection of his people. As the houses were predisposed to violent measures, this served to give them the alarm; and they outwent even the most sanguine expectations of the most vindictive ministry.

The lords, in return to the speech, professed their hopes that the king would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom on the continent, the loss of which they affected to deplore. The commons went much farther; they declared their resolution to trace out those measures by which the country was depressed; they resolved to seek after those abettors on whom the Pretender seemed to ground his hopes, and they determined to bring such to condign punishment. Mr. Secretary Stanhope openly asserted, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used by the late ministry to prevent

a discovery of their hidden transactions, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet there was still sufficient evidence left to prove their corruptions and treasons. He added, that these proofs would soon be laid before the house, when it would appear that the duke of Ormond had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, the French general.

The house seemed very well inclined to enter into any impeachment; and there was no restraint to the violence of their measures, but the voice of a multitude without doors, intimidated by the resolution of the present rulers. It was the artifice, during this and the succeeding reign, to stigmatize all who testified their discontent against the government, as Papists and Jacobites. All who ventured to speak against the violence of their measures were reproached as designing to bring in the Pretender; and most people were consequently afraid to murmur, since discontent was so nearly allied to treason. The people, therefore, beheld the violence of their conduct in silent fright, internally disapproving, yet not daring to avow their detestation.

In this ferment, the former ministry could expect neither justice nor mercy. A party of them kept away from business; Bolingbroke had hitherto appeared, and spoke in the house as usual. However, his fears now prevailed over his desire to vindicate his character: finding an impeachment was likely to be made, he withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter, in which he declared, that if there had been any hopes of a fair and open trial, he would not have declined it; but being already prejudged in the minds of the majority, he thought fit, by flight, to consult their honour and his own safety.

A committee was soon after appointed, consisting of twenty persons, to inspect all the papers relative to the late negotiation for peace, and to pick out such of them as might serve for subjects of accusation against the late ministry. After some time spent in this disquisition, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the committee, declared to the house, that a report was drawn up; and, in the mean time, moved that a warrant might be issued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. Then he read the report of the committee, in which a number of charges were exhibited against the queen's ministers. The clandestine negotiation with Mr. Menager; the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British minister; the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general; Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a separate peace; these and some other charges were recited against them, and then Walpole impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treason. This struck some of the members with amazement, as there was nothing in the report that amounted to treason; but they were still more astonished, when lord Coningsby, rising up, was heard to say, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours."

When the earl appeared in the house of lords the day following, he was avoided by the peers as infectious; and he had now an opportunity of discovering the baseness of mankind. When the articles were read against him in the house of commons, a warm debate arose upon that in which he was charged with having advised the French king of the manner of gaining Tournay from the Dutch. Mr. Walpole alleged that it was treason. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a known Whig, said that he could never be opinion that it amounted to treason. It was his principle, he said, to do justice to all men, to the highest and the lowest. He hoped he might pretend to some knowledge of the laws, and would not scruple to declare upon this part of the question in favour of the criminal. To this Walpole answered, with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and exceeded him in the knowledge of the laws, and yet were satisfied that the charge in that article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached him at the bar of the house of lords, requiring, at the same time, that he might lose his seat, and be committed to custody.

When this point came to be debated in that house, a violent altercation ensued. Those who still adhered to the deposed minister maintained the injustice and the danger of such a proceeding. At last the earl himself rose up, and with great tranquillity spoke to the following purport. After observing that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation for, and the conclusion of, the peace, "I am accused," says he, "for having made a peace; a peace which, bad as it is now represented, has been approved by two successive parliaments. For my own part, I always acted by the immediate directions and command of the queen my mistress, and never offended against any known law. I am justified in my own conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. But I cannot, without the highest ingratitude, remain unconcerned for the best of queens; obligation binds me to vindicate her memory. My lords, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the case of all the members of this august assembly. I doubt not, therefore, that, out of regard to yourselves, your lordships will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that in the prosecution of this inquiry, it will appear that I have merited not only the indulgence, but the favour, of this government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress. And when I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue, of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content. And, my lords, God's will be done!"

On his return from the house of lords to his own house, where he was for that night permitted to go, he was followed by a great multitude of people crying out, "High Church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of his impeachment, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though doctor Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger, the majority voted for his commitment. The ferment in the house still continued; and the earl of Anglesey declared that such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This increased the tumult; and though much greater liberties have been since taken by that party against their sovereign, yet Anglesey was then obliged to apologize for this expression. Oxford was attended in his way to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who vented their anger at his commitment in imprecations upon his prosecutors.

The violence of the commons was answered with equal violence without doors. Tumults became every day more frequent, and every tumult only served to increase the severity of the legislature. They now passed an act, declaring, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour, after being required to disperse by a justice of peace, or other officer, and after hearing the act against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. This is a very severe act, and one of the greatest restrictions on the liberty of the subject that passed during this century. By this, all meetings of the people, either for the purposes of amusement or redress, are rendered criminal, if it shall please any magistrate to consider them as such. It is indeed very remarkable, that all the severe and most restrictive laws were enacted by that party who were continually stunning mankind with a cry of freedom.

At the time appointed, Oxford's answer to the charges exhibited against him was delivered into the house of lords; whence it was transmitted to the house of commons. Walpole, having heard it read, declared that it contained little more than a repetition of the pamphlets in vindication of the late ministry, and that it maliciously laid upon the queen the blame of all the pernicious measures into which he had led her. He alleged that it was also a libel on the proceedings of the house, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. In consequence of this, a committee was appointed to manage his impeachment, and to prepare evidence against him. By this committee, it was reported that Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their

authority. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within a limited time, it was ordered that the earl-marechal should erase out their names and arms from the list of peers; and inventories were taken of their estates and possessions, which were declared forfeited to the crown. In this manner an indiscriminate vengeance seemed to pursue the persons who composed the late ministry, and who concluded a more beneficial treaty of peace than England ever obtained either before or since.

In consequence of these proceedings, lord Oxford was confined in the Tower, where he continued for two years, during which time the nation was in a continual ferment from an actual rebellion that was carried on unsuccessfully. After the execution of some lords, who were taken in arms, the nation seemed glutted with blood, and that was the time when the earl petitioned to be brought to his trial. He knew that the fury of the nation was spent on objects that were really culpable, and expected that his case would look like innocence itself, when compared to theirs. A day at his own request was assigned him, and the commons were ordered to prepare for their charge. At the appointed time, the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as high-steward. The king, and the rest of the royal family, with the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity. The earl was conducted from the Tower; the articles of his impeachment were read, with his answers, and the reply of the commons. As sir Joseph Jekyl stood up to make good the first article of the charge, which amounted only to a misdemeanour, lord Harcourt represented to the lords, that it would be tedious and unnecessary to go through the whole of the charges alleged against the earl; that if those only were proved, in which he was impeached of high-treason, the earl would then forfeit his life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. He was therefore of opinion, that the commons should not be admitted to proceed upon the more unimportant part of the accusation, until judgment should be first obtained upon the articles for high-treason. In this the lords agreeing, the commons declared that it was their undoubted privilege to impeach a peer either for treason or a misdemeanour, or to mix the accusation as they thought proper. The lords asserted that it was a right inherent in every court of justice to direct the methods of proceeding in that court. The commons demanded a conference; but this was refused. The dispute grew warm; the lords informed the lower house by message, that they would proceed to the trial; the commons disregarded the information, and refused to attend. Soon after, the lords repairing to Westminster-hall, and commanding the earl to be brought forth, his accusers were ordered to appear. As the commons were resolute, and did not attend, it was voted that the prisoner should be set at liberty. To this dispute he probably owed the security of his title and fortune; for, as to the articles importing him guilty of high-treason, they were at once malignant and frivolous; so that his life was in no manner of danger.

The duke of Ormond, as has been mentioned, was accused in the same manner; and it is thought that his correspondence with the Pretender was better ascertained than his accusers at first thought proper to declare. However, Mr. Hutcheson, one of the commissioners of trade, boldly spoke in his defence. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; he enumerated the services he had performed to the crown; he asserted that the duke had only obeyed the queen's commands; and affirmed that all the allegations against him could not, in the rigour of law, be construed into high-treason. His flight was a sufficient answer to the arguments. As he had refused to defend his innocence, his opposers were resolved to condemn him as guilty. The night he took leave of England, it is said, he paid a visit to lord Oxford, who dissuaded him from flying with as much earnestness as the duke entreated the earl to fly. He bade his friend the last adieu, with these words, "Farewell, Oxford, without a head." To which the other replied, "Farewell, duke, without a duchy." He afterwards continued to reside chiefly in Spain, an illustrious exile, and fruitlessly attached to a master unworthy of his services.

The commons were not less determined against the earl of Strafford, against whom articles of impeachment were voted. However, he was afterwards included with others in an act of indemnity, and found safety among the number that were driven into guilt, and then thought worthy of pardon.

In the mean time, these vindictive proceedings excited the indignation of the people, who perceived that the avenues to royal favour were closed against all but a faction. The flames of rebellion were actually kindled in Scotland, where, to their other grievances, the insurgents joined that of the union, which they were taught to consider as an oppression. The malcontents of that country had all along maintained a correspondence with their friends in England, who were now driven by resentment and apprehension into a system of politics of which they would not otherwise have dreamed. Some of the Tory party who were attached to the protestant religion, of moderate principles in government, began to associate with the Jacobites, and to wish in earnest for a revolution. Scotland first shewed them an example. The earl of Mar assembled three hundred of his own vassals on the Highlands, proclaimed the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at a place called Brae-mar, assuming the title of lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces. To second these attempts, two vessels arrived in Scotland from France, with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers, together with assurances to the earl, that the Pretender himself would shortly come over to head his own forces. The earl, in consequence of this promise, soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men, well armed and provided. He secured the pass of Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the frith of Edinburgh. He marched from thence to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge: but there he was informed of the preparations the duke of Argyle was making, who was raising forces to give him battle.

This nobleman, whose family had suffered so much under the Stuart line, was still possessed of his hereditary hatred; and upon this occasion he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of North Britain. The earl of Sutherland also went down to Scotland to raise forces for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers followed the example. The earl of Mar, being informed that the duke was advancing against him from Stirling, with the discontented clans, assisted by some troops from Ireland, at first thought it most prudent to retreat. But being soon after joined by some of the clans under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, an experienced officer, who signalized himself in the Russian service, he resolved to face the enemy, and directed his march towards the south.

The duke of Argyle, apprised of his intentions, and at any rate willing to prove his attachment to the present government, resolved to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine, though his forces did not amount to half the number of the enemy. In the morning he drew up his army, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, in order of battle; but he soon found himself greatly outflanked by the enemy. The duke, perceiving the earl making attempts to surround him, was obliged to alter his disposition, which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not done so expeditiously as to be finished before the rebels began the attack. The left wing, therefore, of the duke's army received the centre of the enemy, and supported the first charge without shrinking. It seemed even for a while victorious, as the earl of Clanronald, who commanded against it, was killed on the spot. But Glengary, who was second in command, undertook to inspire his intimidated forces; and, waving his bonnet, cried out several times, "Revenge!" This animated the rebel troops to such a degree, that they followed him close to the points of the enemy's bayonets, and got within their guard. A total rout began to ensue of that wing of the royal army; and general Whetham, their commander, flying full speed to Stirling, gave out that all was lost, and that the rebels were completely victorious. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. Having thus entirely broken that wing, and driven them over the river Allan, he returned to the field of battle, where, to his great mortification, he found the enemy victorious, and patiently waiting the assault. However, instead of renewing the engagement, both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither caring to begin the attack. At evening, both sides drew off, and both

claimed the victory. Though the possession of the field was kept by neither, yet certainly all the honour, and all the advantages of the day, belonged to the duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the progress of the enemy; for, in their circumstances, delay was defeat. In fact, the earl of Mar soon found his disappointments and his losses increase. The castle of Inverness, of which he was in possession, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto professed to act in the interest of the Pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine forsook the earl, in order to defend his own part of the country; and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned quietly home; for an irregular army is much more easily led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

In the mean time, the rebellion was still more unsuccessfully prosecuted in England. From the time the Pretender had undertaken this wild project at Paris, in which the duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke were engaged, lord Stair, the British ambassador in France, had penetrated all his designs, and sent faithful accounts of all his measures, and all his adherents, to the ministry at home. Upon the first rumour, therefore, of an insurrection, they imprisoned several lords and gentlemen, of whom they had a suspicion. The earls of Home, Wintoun, and Kinnoul, and others, were committed to the castle of Edinburgh. The king obtained leave from the lower house to seise sir William Wyndham, sir George Packington, Kynaston, Hervey, and others. The lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody. Sir William Wyndham's father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; but his surety was refused.

But all these precautions were not able to stop the insurrection in the western counties, where it was already begun. However, all their preparations were weak and ill conducted; every measure was betrayed to government as soon as projected, and many revolts repressed in the very onset. The university of Oxford was treated with great severity on this occasion. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would instantly shoot any of the students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. The insurrection of the northern counties came to greater maturity. In October, the earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Foster, took the field with a body of horse, and, being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender. Their first attempt was to seise Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut against them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham. To oppose these, general Carpenter was detached by government with a body of nine hundred men, and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had two methods by which they might have conducted themselves with prudence. The one was, to march directly into the western parts of Scotland, and there join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders. The other was, to cross the Tweed, and boldly attack general Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed their own. The infatuation attendant on that party, prevented the adoption of either of these measures. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they hoped to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. This was the effectual means to cut themselves off either from retreat or assistance. A party of Highlanders, who had joined them by this time, at first refused to accompany them in this desperate irruption, and one half of them actually returned to their own country. At Brampton, Mr. Foster opened his commission of general, which had been sent him by the earl of Mar, and there he proclaimed the Pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the body of the militia, assembled to oppose them, fled at their appearance. From Penrith they proceeded, by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, to Preston, of which place they took possession, without any resistance. But this was the last stage of their ill-advised incursion; for general Wills, at the head of seven thousand men, came up to the town to attack them; and from his activity there was no escaping. They now therefore began to raise barricades, to put the place in a posture of defence, repulsing the first attack of the royal army with success. Next day, however,

Wills was reinforced by Carpenter, and the town was invested on all sides. In this deplorable situation, to which they were reduced by their own rashness, Foster hoped to capitulate with the general, and accordingly sent colonel Oxburgh, who had been taken prisoner, with a trumpeter, to propose a capitulation. This, however, Wills refused, alleging that he would not treat with rebels, and that the only favour they had to expect was, to be spared from immediate slaughter. These were hard terms; but no better could be obtained. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard; all the noblemen and leaders were secured, and a few of their officers tried for deserting from the royal army, and shot by order of a court-martial. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, and led through the streets, pinioned and bound together, to intimidate their party.

Such was the success of two expeditions set on foot in favour of the Pretender, in neither of which appear the smallest traces of conduct or design. But the conduct of his party on this side of the water was wisdom itself, compared to that with which it was managed at Paris. Bolingbroke there had been made his secretary, and Ormond his prime-minister. But these statesmen quickly found that nothing could be done in favour of his cause. The king of France, who had ever espoused the interest of the abdicated family, was just dead; and the duke of Orléans, who succeeded in the government of the kingdom, was averse to lending the Pretender any assistance. His party, however, which was composed of the lowest and the most ignorant exiles from the British dominions, affected the utmost confidence, and boasted of a certainty of success. The deepest secrets of his cabinet, and all his intended measures, were bandied about in coffee-houses by persons of the lowest rank, both in fortune and abilities. Subaltern officers resolved to be his generals; and even prostitutes were intrusted to manage his negotiations. Little, therefore, could be expected from such assistance and such counsels.

He might by this time have been convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in supposing that the whole country would rise up in his cause. His affairs were actually desperate; yet, with his usual infatuation, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when such a measure was too late for success. Passing, therefore, through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived, after a voyage of a few days, on the coast of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his train. He passed unknown through Aberdeen to Feterosse, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. There he was solemnly proclaimed. His declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and dispersed. He thence went to Dundee, where he made a public entry: and in two days more he arrived at Scone, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings to [A. D. 1716. be made for his safe arrival; he enjoined the ministers to pray for him in their churches; and, without the smallest share of power, went through the ceremonies of royalty, which threw an air of ridicule on all his conduct. Having thus spent some time in unimportant parade, he resolved to abandon the enterprise with the same levity with which it was undertaken. Having made a speech to his grand council, he informed them of his want of money, arms, and ammunition for undertaking a campaign, and therefore lamented that he was compelled to leave them. He embarked in a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, accompanied with several lords, his adherents, and in five days arrived at Gravelines.

General Gordon, who was left commander-in-chief of the forces, proceeded at their head to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, which took on board such persons as intended to make their escape to the continent. He then continued his march through the Highlands, and quietly dismissed his forces as he went forward. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake his rear, which consisted of a thousand horse.

In this manner ended a rebellion, which nothing but imbecility could project, and nothing but rashness support. But, though the enemy was now no more, the fury of the victors did not seem in the least to abate with success. The

law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches, whom the ministry seemed resolved not to pardon. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared that they would prosecute in the most rigorous manner the authors of the late rebellion; and their resolutions were as speedy as their measures were vindictive. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, the lords Widrington, Kenmuir, and Nairne, were impeached, and, upon pleading guilty, all but lord Wintoun, received sentence of death. No entreaties could soften the ministry to spare these unhappy men. The house of lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect; the king only answered, that on this, and all other occasions, he would act as he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of his people.

Orders were accordingly despatched for executing the lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Kenmuir, immediately; the others were respited. Nithsdale, however, had the good fortune to escape in woman's clothes, which were brought him by his mother the night before his intended execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill at the time appointed. Both underwent their sentence with calm intrepidity, pitied by all, and seemingly less moved themselves than those who beheld them. Derwentwater was particularly regretted, as he was generous, hospitable, and humane. His fortune being large, he gave bread to multitudes of the poor, by whom he was considered as a parent and a protector.

To second these vindictive efforts, an act of parliament was made for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms. This proceeding was considered, by the best lawyers, as an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, by which it was confirmed that every prisoner should be tried in the place where the offence was committed. In the beginning of April, commissioners for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills were found against Mr. Foster, Mr. Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates.

Foster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded not guilty. Pitt, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Foster's escape, was tried for his life, but acquitted. Notwithstanding this, Mackintosh and several other prisoners broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court proceeded to the trial of those that remained; four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. Among these, William Paul, a clergyman, attracted peculiar pity; he professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of that schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned their king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical privileges. How strong soever the taint of faction may be in any man's bosom, if he has any goodness in him, he cannot help feeling the strongest pity for those brave men, who are willing, however erroneously, to sacrifice their lives to their principles. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Two-and-twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester: about a thousand prisoners experienced the king's mercy, if such it might be called, to be transported to North America.

Such was the end of a rebellion probably at first hastened forward by the rigour of the new Whig ministry and parliament. In running through the revolutions of human transactions, it is a melancholy consideration, that, in all contentions, we generally find little to applaud on either side. We here see a weak and imprudent party, endeavouring not only to subvert the government, but the religion, of their country. We see a pretended monarch, bred a papist himself, and confiding in popish counsellors, professing a desire to govern and protect the protestant religion. We observe most of his adherents, men of desperate fortunes, indifferent morals, or narrow principles, urging on a cause which nothing but repeated slaughter could establish. On the other hand, we see them opposed by a party actuated by pride, avarice, and animosity, concealing a love of power under a mask of freedom, and brandishing the sword of justice, to strike a vindictive blow. Clemency in the government, at that time, would probably have extinguished all that factious spirit which has since continued to disturb public tranquillity; for they must be a

wretched people indeed, who are more easily driven than led into obedience to authority.

CHAP. XLVI.

GEORGE I. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1716 to 1727.

A CONSTITUTION so complicated as that of England must necessarily suffer alterations from time; for some of its branches may gain strength, while others become weaker. At this period, the orders placed between the king and the people acquired more than their share of power. The king himself, being a foreigner, and ignorant of the laws and constitution of the country, was kept under the control of his ministers, who, by their private connexions, governed the parliament. At the same time, the people, awed by the fears of imputed Jacobitism, were afraid to murmur, and were content to give up their freedom for safety. The rebellion now extinguished, only served to confirm the arrogance of those in power. The parliament had shewn itself eager to second the views of the ministry; and the pretended danger of the state was made a pretext for continuing the parliament beyond the term fixed for its dissolution. An act, therefore, was made by their own authority, repealing that by which they were to be dissolved every third year, and extending the term to seven years. This attempt, in any delegated body of people, to increase their own power by extending it, is contrary to the first principles of justice. If it was right to extend their duration to seven years, they might also perpetuate their authority, and thus cut off even the shadow of nomination. This bill, however, passed both houses, and all objections to it were considered as marks of disaffection. The people might murmur at this encroachment, but it was too late for redress.

Domestic concerns being adjusted, the king began to turn his thoughts to his Hanoverian dominions, and resolved upon a voyage to the continent. He foresaw a storm gathering from Sweden. As Charles the Twelfth, the extraordinary monarch of that country, was highly provoked against him for having entered into a confederacy with the Russians and Danes in his absence, and for having purchased the towns of Bremen and Verden from the king of Denmark, which constituted a part of his dominions, George, having passed through Holland to Hanover, in order to secure his German dominions, entered into a new treaty with the Dutch and the regent of France, by which they agreed to assist each other in case of an invasion.

Nor were his fears from Sweden without foundation. Charles maintained a close correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain; and a scheme was formed for landing a considerable body of Swedes, with the king at their head, in some part of the island, where it was expected they would be joined by all the malcontents of the kingdom. Count Gyllenburg, the Swedish minister in London, was peculiarly active in the con- [A. D. 1717.
spiracy; but being seized, with all his papers, by order of the king, the confederacy was broken for this time. However, a bill was passed by the commons, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, the trade with which country was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. A supply, to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was granted to the king, to enable him to secure his dominions against the threatened invasion. These were the first fruits of England's being wedded to the continent; however, the death of the Swedish monarch, who soon after was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Fredericsball in Norway, put an end to all inquietude from that quarter.

But this was the age of treaties, subsidies, and political combinations. At that time, the politicians of the age supposed that such paper-chains would be sufficient to secure the permanence of dominion; but experience has sufficiently taught the contrary. Among other treaties concluded with such hopes, was that called the Quadruple Alliance. It was agreed [A. D. 1718.
upon between the emperor, France, England, and Holland; that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia

for Sicily with the duke of Savoy; that the successions to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. However this treaty was by no means agreeable to the king of Spain, and consequently it became prejudicial to the English, as it interrupted the commerce to that kingdom. But the interest of England was not the object which this treaty was intended to secure.

The displeasure of the king of Spain soon broke out into an open war against the emperor, whom he considered as the chief contriver of this alliance; and a numerous body of Spanish troops were sent into Italy, to support Philip's pretensions in that quarter. It was in vain that the regent of France attempted to dissuade him, in vain the king of England offered his mediation; their interposition was rejected as partial and unjust. War, in the present exhausted state of the English finances, was a real evil: but a ruptare with Spain was resolved on, in order to support a very distant interest. Twenty-two ships, the command of which was given to sir George Byng, were equipped with all expedition, and ordered to sail for Naples, which was then threatened by the Spanish army. He was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of that city, and was informed that the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand men, had actually landed in Sicily. In this exigence, as no assistance could be given by land, he resolved to sail thither, fully determined to pursue the fleet in which they had embarked. Upon coming round Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels, and following them closely, they led him to their main fleet, which, before noon, he discovered in line of battle, amounting in all to twenty-seven sail. However, the Spanish fleet, upon perceiving the force of the English, attempted to sail away, though superior in number. The English had for some time acquired such expertness in naval affairs, that no other nation would attempt to face them, but with manifest advantage. The Spaniards seemed distracted in their counsels, and acted with extreme confusion. They made a running fight, and the commanders behaved with courage and activity; in spite of which they were all taken except six, which were preserved by the conduct of Cammock, their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland. Sir George Byng behaved on this occasion with equal prudence and resolution; and the king wrote him a letter, with his own hand, approving his conduct. This victory necessarily produced the resentment and complaints of the Spanish ministers in all the courts of Europe, and hastened the declaration of war upon the part of the English, which had been hitherto delayed.

This ruptare with Spain served once more to raise the declining expectations of the Pretender and his adherents. It was hoped that, by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited in England. The duke of Ormond was the person fixed upon to conduct this expedition; and he obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand soldiers, with arms for twelve thousand more. But fortune was still as unfavourable as ever. Having set sail, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he was encountered by a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and frustrated the expedition. This misfortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily, and other parts of Europe, induced Philip to wish for peace; and he at last consented to sign the quadruple alliance. This was at that time thought an immense acquisition; but England, though she procured the ratification, had no share in the advantage of the treaty.

The king, having thus restored peace to Europe, returned from the continent to receive the addresses and congratulations of his parliament. From addressing, they proceeded to an object of much greater importance; this was the securing the dependency of the Irish parliament on that of Great Britain. One Maurice Annesly had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree made by the house of peers in Ireland, and this decree was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesly in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree of the lords in that kingdom. The barons of the exchequer obeyed this order; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to

diminish the just privileges of the parliament of Ireland; and, at the same time, ordered the barons to be taken under the custody of the black rod. On the other hand, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity, and addressed the king, to signify his approbation of their conduct by some marks of his favour. To complete their intention, a bill was prepared, by [A. D. 1720. which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right to final jurisdiction. This bill was opposed in both houses; but particularly in that of the commons. It was there asserted by Mr. Pitt, that it would only increase the power of the English peers, who already were too formidable. Mr. Hungerford demonstrated that the Irish lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding causes. Notwithstanding all opposition, the bill was carried by a great majority, and soon after received the royal assent. The people of Ireland were not at that time so well acquainted with their rights and just privileges as they are at present. Their lords then were mostly made up of men bred in luxury and ignorance; neither spirited enough to make opposition, nor skilful enough to conduct it. It is very extraordinary that this bill, which was a real grievance, produced no commotions in Ireland; and that the coinage of half-pence by one Wood, in England, for the people of that country, which was no grievance, was attended with very great disturbances. The reason must be, that the latter opposition was conducted by the celebrated dean of St. Patrick's, and the former imposition submitted to by men of weak abilities.

But this blow, which was felt severely by the Irish, was by no means so great as that felt by the English at this time, from the spirit of scheming avarice, which had infected all ranks of people. It was but in the preceding year that John Law, a Scotchman, had erected a company under the name of the Mississippi, which promised the people great wealth, but ended in involving the French nation in great distress. It was now that the people of England were deceived by a project entirely similar, which is remembered by the name of the South-sea Scheme, and was felt long after by thousands. To explain this as concisely as possible, it is to be observed, that ever since the revolution under king William, the government not having sufficient supplies granted by parliament, or what was granted requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from different companies of merchants; and, among the rest, from that company which traded to the South-sea. In the year 1716, the government was indebted to this company about nine millions and a half of money, for which they granted interest at the rate of six per cent. As this company was not the only one to which the government was indebted, and paid such large yearly interest, sir Robert Walpole conceived a design of lessening these national debts, by giving the several companies an alternative either of accepting lower interest, namely, five per cent., or of having the principal paid. The different companies chose rather to accept the diminished interest, than to receive the principal. The South-sea company, in particular, having made up their debt to the government ten millions, instead of six hundred thousand pounds, which they usually received as interest, were satisfied with five hundred thousand. In the same manner, the governor and company of the Bank, and other companies, were contented to receive a diminished annual interest for their respective loans; all which greatly lessened the debts of the nation.

It was in this situation of things that one Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking, proposed to the ministry, in the name of the South-sea company, to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms he offered to government were extremely advantageous. The South-sea company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private proprietors, who were creditors to the government, upon whatever terms they could agree on; and for the interest of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they would be contented to be allowed by government, for six years, five per cent.—then the interest should be reduced to four per cent., and should at any time be redeemable by parliament. Thus far all was fair, and all was

reasonable. For these purposes a bill passed both houses; but now came the part of the scheme big with fraud and ruin. As the directors of the South-sea company could not of themselves be supposed to possess money sufficient to buy up the debts of the nation, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription to a scheme for trading to the South-seas, from which commerce immense advantages were promised, and still greater expected by the rapacious credulity of the people. All people, therefore, who were creditors to government, were invited to come in, and exchange their securities, namely, the Government for the South-sea company. Many were the advantages they were taught to expect from having their money traded with in a commerce to and from the southern parts of America, where it was reported that the English were to have a new settlement granted them by the king of Spain.

The directors' books were no sooner opened for the first subscription, than crowds came to make the exchange of government stock for South-sea stock. The delusion was artfully continued, and spread. Subscriptions in a few days sold for double the price they had been bought at. The scheme succeeded beyond even the projector's hopes; and the whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprise. The infatuation prevailed; the stock increased to a surprising degree, and to near ten times the value of what it was at first subscribed for.

After a few months, however, the people awoke from their dream of riches, and found that all the advantages they expected were merely imaginary, while thousands of families were involved in one common ruin. Many of the directors, by whose arts the people were taught to expect such great benefits from a traffic to the South-seas, had amassed considerable fortunes by the credulity of the public. It was one consolation to the people, to find the parliament sharing the general indignation, and resolving to strip those plunderers of their unjust possessions. Orders were first given to remove all the directors of the South-sea company from their seats in parliament, and the places they possessed under government.

A. D. 1721.] The principal delinquents were punished by a forfeiture of all such possessions and estates as they had acquired during the continuance of this popular frenzy. The next care was, to redress the sufferers. Several useful and just resolutions were taken by parliament; and a bill was prepared for repairing the late sufferings, as far as the inspection of the legislature could extend. Of the profits arising from the South-sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was given back to the original proprietors; several additions were also made to their dividends, out of what was possessed by the company in their own right; and the remaining capital stock was also divided among the old proprietors, at the rate of thirty-three pounds per cent.

In the mean time, petitions from all parts of the kingdom were presented to the house, demanding justice, and the whole nation seemed exasperated to the highest degree. Public credit sustained a terrible shock. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions. The Bank was drawn upon faster than it could supply, and nothing was heard but the ravings of disappointment and despair.

The discontents occasioned by these public calamities once more gave the disaffected party hopes of succeeding. But in all their counsels they were weak, divided, and wavering. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, is said to be the first who gave the king information of a recent conspiracy carried A. D. 1722.] on by many persons of the first distinction, joined by several malcontents of inferior quality. In consequence of this, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde Park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective stations. Lieutenant-general Macartney was despatched to Ireland to bring over troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were called upon to be ready with their guaranty. The people, thus excited by new terrors, every day expected an invasion, and looked where the vengeance of government was likely to fall.

The first person who was seized was Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate long obnoxious to the present government, and possessed of abilities to render him formidable to any ministry he opposed. His papers

were seized, and he himself conveyed to the Tower. Soon after, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, lord North, and some others of inferior rank, were arrested and imprisoned. Of all these, only the bishop, and one Mr. Layer, a barrister, felt the severity of government, the proofs against the rest amounting to no convictive evidence.

A bill was brought into the house of commons, impeaching bishop Atterbury, although he pleaded privilege as a peer. Though this met with [A. D. 1723. some opposition in that house, yet it was resolved by a great majority in the house of commons, that he should be deprived of his dignity and benefice, and should be banished from the kingdom for ever. The bishop made no defence in the lower house, reserving all his force, which he intended to exert in the house of lords.

In that house his cause had many friends; and his own eloquence, politeness, and ingenuity, procured him many more. His cause coming before that assembly, a long and warm debate ensued, in which the contest was more equally managed than the ministry expected. As there was little or no proof against him, but what arose from intercepted letters, which were written in ciphers, earl Poulet insisted that such could not be construed into treason or offence. The duke of Wharton, having summed up the depositions, and shewn the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that, let the consequences be what they would, he hoped the lustre of that house would never be tarnished by condemning a man without evidence. Lord Bathurst also spoke in the bishop's favour, observing, that if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly to enjoy their estates within their own families, since the most trifling correspondence, or any intercepted letter, might be made criminal. Then turning to the bench of bishops, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons bore to the ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was, that, infatuated like the wild Americans, they fondly hoped to inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities of the man they should destroy. Notwithstanding all that was said in the bishop's favour, the bill passed against him; the other party saying very little, conscious of a majority in their favour. Among the members of the house of commons who exerted themselves in the bishop's favour, was the celebrated doctor Freind, who was himself soon after taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices; but he was admitted to bail, his friend doctor Mead becoming his security. The bishop's sentence being confirmed, he in two days after embarked for the continent, attended by his daughter. On the same day that he landed at Calais, the famous lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England, having, for some secret reasons, obtained his majesty's pardon. Atterbury, being informed of this circumstance, could not help observing with a smile, that they were exchanged. The bishop continued in exile and poverty till he died; though it may not be improper to observe, that doctor Sacheverel, dying some time before him, left him by will five hundred pounds.

The fate of Mr. Christopher Layer was more severe. Being brought to his trial at the King's Bench, he was convicted of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, and of having endeavoured to stir up a rebellion; and he received sentence of death. The circumstances of this conspiracy are not clearly known. It is said that the intention of the conspirators was, by introducing a number of foreign officers and soldiers into England unobserved, to prepare a junction with the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided for that purpose. However this be, Mr. Layer was reprieved from time to time, and many methods tried to make him discover his accomplices; but he continued steadfast in his trust, so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed on Temple-bar.

This trial was followed by another of a very different nature, in which the interests and security of the nation were more deeply concerned. It had been usual for the chancellors, upon being appointed to their high office, to nominate the masters in chancery—a place of some value, and consequently then purchased, as commissions in the army. Some men of improper charac-

ters having been appointed to this office, and having embezzled the money of orphans and suitors lodged in their hands, a complaint was made to the government, and this drew down the resentment of the ministry on the lord-chancellor himself. He found it necessary to resign the seals in the A. D. 1725.] beginning; but soon after, the king ordered the whole affair to be laid before the house of commons.

The commons taking the affair into consideration, and finding that many abuses had crept into that court, which either impeded justice, or rendered it venal, resolved to impeach Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, at the bar of the house of lords, for high crimes and misdemeanours. This was one of the most laborious and the best contested trials in the annals of England. A bill was previously brought in to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days. The earl proved that such sums had been usually received by former lord-chancellors; and reason told that such receipts were contrary to strict justice. Equity, therefore, prevailed above precedent; the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid, which was accordingly discharged in about six weeks after.

In this manner the corruption, venality, and avarice of the times, had increased with the riches and luxury of the nation. Commerce introduced fraud, and wealth introduced prodigality. Religion, which might in some measure put a stop to these evils, was rather discouraged than promoted by the legislature. The houses of convocation, which had hitherto met purposely to inspect the morals of the people, and to maintain decency and dignity in the church, were now discontinued. Their disputes among each other were assigned as the cause; but a ministry studious of the morals of the people would have permitted them to dispute, and kept up their zeal by their activity. But internal regulations were not what the ministry at that time attended to; the chief object of their attention was, to gratify the sovereign with a continued round of foreign treaties and alliances. It was natural for a king born and bred in Germany, where all sovereignty is possessed upon such precarious tenures, to introduce the same spirit into the British constitution, however independent it might be as to the rest of Europe. This reign, therefore, was begun by treaties, and the latter part of it was burdened with them. The chief object of all was, to secure to the king his dominions in Germany, and exclude the Pretender from those of Britain. To effect both purposes, England paid considerable subsidies to many different states of Europe for the promise of their protection and assistance; but it most commonly happened that the connexion was changed, or a variance ensued, before the stipulations on either side were capable of being executed. In this reign there were concluded no less than nine treaties; the barrier convention treaty, a defensive alliance with the emperor, the triple alliance, the convention treaty, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, the treaty of Vienna, and the convention with Sweden and Hesse Cassel. All these various and expensive negotiations were mere political playthings; they amused for a while, and are since neglected.

It must be owned that the parliament made some new efforts to check the progress of vice and immorality, which now began to be diffused through every rank of life; but they were supported neither by the co-operation of the ministry nor by the voice of the people. The treaties just concluded with A. D. 1726.] Spain were already broken; but the spirit of commerce was so eager, that no restrictions could bind it. Admiral Hosier was sent to South America, to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the Spaniards, being apprized of his design, relanded their treasure. The greatest part of the English fleet sent on that expedition was rendered entirely unfit for service: the seamen were cut off in great numbers by the malignity of the climate and the length of the voyage: while the admiral himself is said to have died of a broken heart. In order to retaliate these hostilities, the Spaniards undertook the siege of Gibraltar, but with as little success on their side. In this dispute, France offered her mediation, and such a reconciliation as treaties could pro-

cure was the consequence; a temporary reconciliation ensued, both si watching the occasion to renew hostilities with advantage. It was years since the king had visited his electoral dominions of Hanover; fore, soon after the breaking-up of the parliament, prepared for a thither. Having appointed a regency in his absence, he embarked land, and lay, upon his landing, at a little town called Voet. Nex proceeded on his journey; and in two days more, between ten and night, arrived at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He there very heartily, and continued his progress early the next morni between eight and nine, ordered his coach to stop. It being percei one of his hands lay motionless, Monsieur Fabrice, who had forme servant to the king of Sweden, and who now attended king George, a to quicken the circulation by chafing it between his own. As this effect, the surgeon, who followed on horseback, was called, and he r with spirits. Soon after, the king's tongue began to swell, and he strength enough to bid them hasten to Osnaburg. Then falling ir into Fabrice's arms, he never recovered, but expired about [June eleven o'clock the next morning, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, thirteenth of his reign.

Whatever was good or great in the reign of this monarch, oug ascribed chiefly to himself: whenever he deviated, he might have bee by a ministry always partial, sometimes corrupt. He was in every attended with good fortune, which was partly owing to accident, and prudent assiduity. His successes in life are the strongest insta much may be achieved by moderate abilities, exerted with applica uniformity.

He was married to the princess Sophia, daughter and heiress of of Zell, by whom he had the prince who succeeded him, and the Prussia, mother to the celebrated Frederic. The king's body was c to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.

CHAP. XLVII.

GEORGE II.—A. D. 1727 to 1739.

UPON the death of George the First, his son, George the Second, can crown; a man of inferior abilities to the late king, and strongly bias a partiality to his dominions on the continent. At his accession, the of government was chiefly carried on by lord Townshend, a man of e knowledge and great skill in the interests of the different states of by the duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of large connexions among tl but of inferior abilities; and the earl of Chesterfield, a man of wit, tion, and address, though rather averse to the drudgery of business. chief person, and he who shortly after obtained the greatest share o was sir Robert Walpole, whom we have already seen so actively emp supporting the house of Hanover.

This gentleman had risen from low beginnings, through two su reigns, into great consideration. He was considered as a martyr to l in the reign of queen Anne; and when the Tory party could nc oppress him, he still preserved that hatred against them with whicl out. Being raised, in the beginning of this reign, to the head of the t he probably set off by endeavouring to serve his country; but soon with strong opposition, his succeeding endeavours were rather emp keeping his situation than in adorning it. To defend the declining pre of the crown might perhaps have been the first object of his intenti soon after, those very measures by which he pretended to secure it the most effectual means to lessen it. By corrupting the house of cc he increased their riches and their power; and they were not averse t away those millions which he permitted them so liberally to share. a tendency in him naturally produced opposition, he was possessed o phlegmatic insensibility to reproach, and a calm dispassionate manne

soning upon such topics as he desired should be believed. His discourse was fluent, but without dignity; and his manner convincing, from its apparent want of art.

The house, hitherto distinguished into Hanoverians and Jacobites, now altered their names with their principles; and the two parties went by the names of the Court and the Country. Both sides had been equally active in bringing in the Hanover family, and consequently neither much feared the reproach of disaffection. The court party, who were enlisted under the banners of the ministry, were for favouring all their schemes, and for applauding all the measures of the crown. They were taught to regard foreign alliances and continental connexions as conducive to internal security; they considered England as unable or unfit to be trusted in defending herself, and paid the troops of other countries for the promises of future assistance. Of these sir Robert was the leader; and such as he could not convince by his eloquence, he undertook to buy over by places and pensions. The other side, or the country party, were entirely averse to continental connexions. They complained that immense sums were lavished on subsidies which could never be useful; and that alliances were bought with money from nations that should rather contribute to England for her protection. These looked upon the frequent journeys of the king to Hanover with a jealous eye, and sometimes hinted at a partiality shewn in the royal breast in its favour. These were joined by the high-flying Tories, who now began to perceive their own cause desperate; and, as they were leagued with men who did not fear the reproach of Jacobitism, they gave and acquired greater confidence. As the court party generally alarmed the house of commons with imaginary dangers and concealed conspiracies, so they on the country side generally declaimed against the encroachments of the prerogative and the overgrown power of the crown. The complaints of neither were founded in fact; the kingdom was in no danger of invasions from abroad or from plots at home; nor was the crown, on the other hand, gaining any accession of power, but rather every day losing somewhat of its authority by insensible diminution. The king, chiefly attentive to his foreign dominions, regarded but little his prerogative at home; and he could admit of many limitations in England, to be possessed of plenary power in dominions which he probably loved more.

There seem to be two objects of controversy, which, during this whole reign, rose up in debate at every session, and tried the strength of the opponents; these were, the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, at the accession of the present king, owed more than thirty millions of money; and, though there was a long continuance of profound peace, yet this sum was continually increasing. It was much wondered at by the country party how this could happen; and it was as constantly the business of the court to give plausible reasons for the increase, and to furnish a new subject of wonder for the ensuing session. Thus demands for new supplies were made in every session of parliament, for the purposes of guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies, securing friends upon the continent, or enabling the ministry to act vigorously in conjunction with the powers in alliance abroad. It was vainly alleged that those expenses were incurred without prescience or necessity; and that the increase of the national debt, by multiplying and increasing taxes, would at last become an intolerable burden. These arguments were offered, canvassed, and rejected; the court party was constantly victorious, and every demand granted with cheerfulness and profusion.

The Spaniards were the first nation who shewed the futility of treaties to bind, when any advantages were to be procured by infraction. The extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealousy and cruelty of that nation, produced every day encroachments on our side, and as arbitrary seizures on theirs. The people of our West Indian islands had long carried on an illicit trade with the subjects of Spain upon the continent; but whenever detected, were rigorously punished, and their cargoes confiscated. In this temerity of adventure on the one hand, and vigilance of pursuit and punishment on the other, it must often have happened that the innocent suffered with the guilty; and many complaints were made, perhaps founded in justice, that the English

merchants were plundered by the Spanish king's vessels upon the southern coasts of America, as if they had been pirates.

The English ministry, unwilling to credit every report which was inflamed by resentment, or urged by avarice, expected to remedy the evils complained of by their favourite system of treaty, and in the mean time promised the nation redress. At length, however, the complaints became more general; and the merchants remonstrated by petition to the house of commons, who entered into a deliberation on the subject. They examined the evidence of several who had been unjustly seized, and treated with great cruelty. One man, the master of a trading vessel, had been used by the Spaniards in the most shocking manner. He gave in his evidence with great precision, informed the house of the manner they had plundered and stripped him, of their cutting off his ears, and their preparing to put him to death. "I then looked up," cried he, "to my God for pardon, and to my country for revenge."

These accounts raised a flame among the people which it was neither the minister's interest, nor perhaps that of the nation, to indulge: new negotiations were set on foot, and new mediators offered their interposition. A treaty was signed at Vienna, between the emperor, the king of [A. D. 1731. Great Britain, and the king of Spain, which settled the peace of Europe upon its former footing, and put off the threatening war for a time. By this treaty, the king of England conceived hopes that all war would be at an end. Don Carlos, upon the death of the duke of Parma, was, by the assistance of an English fleet, put in peaceable possession of Parma and Placentia, while six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure for him the reversion of that dukedom.

An interval of peace succeeded, in which scarcely any events happened that deserve the remembrance of an historian. Such intervals are the seasons of happiness; for history is generally little more than the register of human contention and calamity.

During this interval of profound peace, nothing remarkable happened; and scarcely any contest ensued, except in the British parliament, where the disputes between the court and country party were carried on with unceasing animosity. Both sides, from moderate beginnings, at last fairly enlisted themselves in the cause, not of truth, but of party. Measures proposed by the ministry, though tending to the benefit of the nation, were opposed by their antagonists, who, on their side, were also abridged in the power of carrying act, how beneficial soever it might have been. A calm disinterested reader is now surprised at the heat with which many subjects at that time, of little importance in themselves, were discussed. He now smiles at those denunciations of slavery and ruin which were entailed upon posterity, and which posterity did not feel. The truth is, the liberty of a nation is rather supported by the opposition than by the speeches of the opposition: the combatants may be considered as ever standing upon guard, though they are for ever giving a false alarm.

In times of profound tranquillity, the slightest occurrence comes in to fill up the chasm in history. A society of men, in this interested age of seeming benevolence, had united themselves into a company, by the name of the Charitable Corporation; and their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor upon small pledges, and to persons of higher rank upon proper security. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds, but they afterwards increased it to six hundred thousand. This money was supplied by subscription, and the care of conducting the capital was intrusted to a proper number of directors. This company having continued for more than twenty years, the cashier, George Robinson, member for Marlow, and the warehouse-keeper, John Thomson, disappeared in one day. Five hundred thousand pounds of capital were found to be sunk and embezzled, by means which the proprietors could not discover. They, therefore, in a petition, represented to the house of commons the manner in which they had been defrauded, and the distress to which many of the petitioners were reduced. A secret committee being appointed to examine into this grievance, a most iniquitous scene of fraud was soon discovered, which had been carried on by Thomson and Robinson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital,

and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy; and even some of the first characters in the nation did not escape censure. A spirit of avarice and rapacity had infected every rank of life about this time; no less than six members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery: sir Robert Sutton, sir Archibald Grant, and George Robinson, for their frauds in the management of the charitable corporation scheme; Dennis Bond, and sergeant Birch, for the fraudulent sale of the late unfortunate earl of Derwentwater's large estate; and lastly, John Ward of Hackney, for forgery. Luxury had given birth to prodigality, and that was the parent of the meanest arts of peculation. It was asserted in the house of lords, at that time, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the service of the public, but became the reward of fraudulence and venality.

From this picture of avarice and luxury among the great, it is not wonderful to find instances of deplorable wretchedness among the poor. One Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and his wife, had long lived together, and struggled with those wants, which, notwithstanding the profusion of the rich, pinched the lower orders of mankind. Their mutual affection was the only comfort they had in their distresses, which were increased by having a child, whom they knew not how to maintain. At length they took the desperate resolution of dying together; but previously their child's throat was cut, and the husband and wife were found hanging in their little bed-chamber. There was a letter upon the table, containing the reasons which induced them to this act of desperation: they declared they could no longer support a life of such complicated wretchedness; they recommended their dog and cat to compassion; but thought it tenderness to take their only child with them from a world where they themselves had found so little compassion. Suicide is often imputed to frenzy. We have here an instance of self-murder concerted with composure, and borrowing the aid of reason for its vindication.

A. D. 1733.] A scheme set on foot by sir Robert Walpole soon after engrossed the attention of the public, which was to fix a general excise. The minister introduced it into the house, by going into a detail of the frauds practised by the factors in London, who were employed by the American planters in selling their tobacco. To prevent these frauds, he proposed, that, instead of having the customs levied in the usual manner upon tobacco, all hereafter to be imported should be lodged in warehouses appointed for that purpose by the officers of the crown, and should thence be sold, upon paying the duty of fourpence a pound, when the proprietor found a purchaser. This proposal raised a violent ferment, not less within doors than without. It was asserted, that it would expose the factors to such hardships, that they would be unable to continue their trade, and that such a scheme would not even prevent the frauds complained of. It was added, that a number of additional excisemen and warehouse-keepers would thus be employed, which would at once render the ministry formidable and the people dependent. Such were the arguments employed to stir up the citizens to oppose this law; arguments rather specious than solid, since, with all its disadvantages, the tax upon tobacco would thus be more safely and expeditiously collected, and the avenues to numberless frauds would be shut up. The people, however, were raised into such a ferment, that the parliament-house was surrounded with multitudes, who intimidated the ministry, and compelled them to drop the design. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster, and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace of London.

The members of the opposition acquired such strength and popularity by defeating the ministry in this scheme, that they resolved to try their force in an offensive measure, and made a motion for repealing the septennial bill, and bringing back triennial parliaments, as settled at the Revolution. In the course of this debate, the country party reflected with great severity on the measures of the late reign, and the conduct of the present minister. It was alleged that the septennial bill was an encroachment on the rights of the people, and that there was no method to overturn a wicked ministry, but by frequent changes of parliament. "Let us suppose a man," said sir William Wyndham, "of no great family, and of but mean fortune, without any sense

of honour, raised to be chief minister of state. Suppose this man raised to great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are venal. Let us suppose all attempts in such a parliament to inquire into his conduct, or relieve the nation, fruitless. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all men of ancient families, over all men of sense, figure, or fortune, in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to punish or corrupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a parliament, let us suppose a case, which I hope will never happen, a prince upon the throne uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interests of his people; weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur; but, as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince, advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament may surely be prevented; and abridging its continuance is at least a certain remedy."—Notwithstanding the warmth of the opposition, the ministry, exerting all their strength, were victorious, and the motion was suppressed by the majority. However, as the country party seemed to grow more powerful on this occasion than formerly, it was thought fit to dissolve the parliament, [A. D. 1734. and another was convoked by the same proclamation.

The leaders of both parties in the new parliament were precisely the same as in the preceding, and the same measures were pursued and opposed with similar animosity. A bill was brought in, for fixing the prince [A. D. 1737. of Wales's household at one hundred thousand pounds a year. This took rise among the country party, and, being opposed, was thrown out by the courtiers. A scheme was proposed by sir John Barnard for diminishing the interest on the national debt, and rejected in the same manner. But it was otherwise with a bill introduced by the ministry for subjecting the play-houses to a licenser.

The press had for some time taken the popular side of every question; and the play-houses, finding that most money was to be gotten by chiming in with the national humour, thought that exposing the ministry would procure spectators. At a little theatre in the Haymarket, the ministry were every night ridiculed, and their dress and manner exactly imitated. The ingenious Mr. Henry Fielding, finding that the public had no taste for new pieces of real humour, was willing to gratify their appetite for scandal, and brought on a theatrical piece which he called Pasquin: the public applauded its severity, and the representation was crowded for many nights, while Fielding began to congratulate himself upon his dexterity in discarding wit from the stage, and substituting politics, which the people liked better. The abuse, however, threatened to become dangerous; and the ministry, sensible of their strength, were resolved, as they expressed it, to suppress the licentiousness of the stage. Some of the pieces exhibited at that time were not only severe, but immoral also. On this ground the ministry made their attack. Sir Robert Walpole brought in a bill to limit the number of play-houses, to subject all dramatic writings to the inspection of the lord-chamberlain, and to suppress all such as he thought would have a tendency to corrupt men's morals, or obstruct government. The bill was opposed by lord Chesterfield with great eloquence; but carried with a majority determined to vote with the minister. This bill, while it confined genius on the one hand, turned it to proper objects of pursuit on the other; and the stage is at present free from the scandalous license which infects the press, but perhaps rendered more dull from the abridgment of unlimited abuse.

New subjects of controversy offered every day; and the members on each side were ready enough to seize them. A convention agreed upon by the ministry, at the Prado, with Spain, became an object of warm [A. D. 1739. altercation. By this the court of Spain agreed to pay the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to the English as a satisfaction for all demands upon the

crown and the subjects of that kingdom, and to discharge the whole within four months, from the day of ratification. This, however, was considered as no equivalent for the damages that had been sustained; the country party declaimed against it as a sacrifice of the interests of Great Britain to the court of Spain, and alleged that the whole of their demands should be paid, which amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds. The minister on this occasion was provoked into unusual vehemence. He branded the opposite party with the appellation of traitors, and expressed his hope that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present government in opposing their designs. The ministry were, as usual, victorious; and the country party, finding themselves outvoted in every debate, resolved to withdraw for ever. They had long asserted that all deliberation was useless, and debate vain, since every member had enlisted himself not under the banners of reason, but of party. Despairing, therefore, of being able to oppose with any hopes of conviction, and sensible of the popularity of their cause, they retired from parliament to their seats in the country, and left to the ministry an undisputed majority in the house of commons.

The minister, being now left without opposition, was resolved to give his opponents the most sensible mortification, by an alteration in his conduct. He took this opportunity to render them odious or contemptible, by passing several useful laws in their absence. At the same time, the king himself laboured with equal assiduity at his favourite object of adjusting the political scale of Europe. For this purpose he made several journeys to the continent; but in the mean time a rupture of a domestic nature was likely to be attended with many inconveniences. A misunderstanding arose between the king and the prince of Wales; and, as the latter was the darling of the people, his cause was seconded by all those of the country party. The prince had been a short time before married to the princess of Saxe-Gotha; and, taking umbrage at the scantiness of the yearly allowance from his father, he seldom visited the court. The princess had advanced to the last month of her pregnancy before the king had any notice of the event; and she was actually brought to bed of a princess, without properly acquainting the king. In consequence of this, his majesty sent his son a message, informing him that the whole tenour of his conduct had of late been so void of real duty, that he resolved to punish him by forbidding him the court. He therefore signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's with all his family: and, in consequence, the prince retired to Kew. This rupture was very favourable to the country interest, as they thus had a considerable personage equally interested with themselves to oppose the ministry. To the prince, therefore, resorted all those who formed future expectations of rising in the state, and all who had reason to be discontented with the present conduct of administration.

CHAP. XLVIII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1739 to 1742.

EVER since the treaty of Utrecht, the Spaniards in America had insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain, and the British merchants had attempted to carry on an illicit trade into their dominions. A right which the English merchants claimed, by treaty, of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, gave them frequent opportunities of pushing in contraband commodities upon the continent; so that, to suppress the evil, the Spaniards were resolved to annihilate the claim. This liberty of cutting logwood had often been acknowledged, but never clearly ascertained; in all former treaties, it was considered as an object of too little importance to make a separate article in any negotiation. The Spanish vessels appointed for protecting the coast continued their severities upon the English; many of the subjects of Britain were sent to dig in the mines of Potosi, and deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to those who might send them redress. One remonstrance followed another to the court of Madrid, of this violation of treaty; but the only answers given were promises of inquiry, which produced no reforma-

tion. Our merchants complained loudly of those outrages; but the minister vainly expected from negotiations that redress which was only to be obtained by arms.

The fears discovered by the court of Great Britain only served to increase the insolence of the enemy; and their guard-ships continued to seize not only all the guilty, but the innocent, whom they found sailing along the Spanish main. At last the complaints of the English merchants were loud enough to interest the house of commons; their letters and memorials were produced, and their grievances enforced by counsel at the bar of the house. It was soon found that the money which Spain had agreed to pay to the court of Great Britain was withheld, and no reason assigned for the delay. The minister, therefore, to gratify the general ardour, and to atone for his former deficiencies, assured the house that he would put the nation into a condition of war. Soon after, letters of reprisal were granted against the Spaniards; and this being on both sides considered as an actual commencement of hostilities, both diligently set forward their armaments by sea and land. In this threatening situation, the French minister at the Hague declared that his master was obliged by treaty to assist the king of Spain; so that the alliances which but twenty years before had taken place, were now quite reversed. At that time, France and England were combined against Spain; at present, France and Spain were united against England: such little hopes can statesmen place upon the firmest treaties, where there is no superior power to compel the observance.

A rupture between England and Spain being now considered as inevitable, the people, who had long clamoured for war, began to feel uncommon alacrity at its approach; and the ministry began to be as earnest in preparation. Orders were issued for augmenting the land-forces, and raising a body of marines. War was declared with all proper solemnity, and soon after two rich Spanish prizes were taken in the Mediterranean. Admiral Vernon, a man of more courage than experience, of more confidence than skill, was sent commander of a fleet into the West Indies, to distress the enemy in that part of the globe. He had asserted in the house of commons, that Porto-Bello, a fort and harbour in South America, could be easily destroyed; and that he himself would undertake to reduce it with six ships only. A project which appeared so wild and impracticable, was ridiculed by the ministry; but, as he still insisted upon the proposal, they complied with his request, hoping that his want of success might repress the confidence of his party. In this, however, they were disappointed; for with six ships only he attacked and demolished all the fortifications of the place, and came away victorious, with scarcely the loss of a man. This victory was magnified at home in all the strains of panegyric, and the triumph was far superior to the value of the conquest.

As the war began thus successfully, it inspired the commons to prosecute it with all imaginable vigour. The minister easily procured from that assembly such supplies as enabled him to equip a very powerful navy. A subsidy was voted to the king of Denmark, and the king was empowered to defray some other expenses not mentioned in the estimates of the year. As the preparations for war increased in every part of the kingdom, the domestic debates and factions seemed to subside; and, indeed, it seems to have been the peculiar felicity of this nation, that every species of activity takes its turn to occupy the people. In a nation like this, arts and luxury, commerce and war, at certain intervals, must ever be serviceable. This vicissitude turns the current of wealth from one determined channel, and gives it a diffusive spread over the face of the country; it is at one time diverted to the laborious and frugal, and at another to the brave, active, and enterprising. Thus all orders of mankind find encouragement; and the nation becomes composed of individuals, who have art to acquire property, and who have courage to defend it.

While vigorous preparations were making in other departments, a squadron was equipped for distressing the enemy in the South Seas, the [A. D. 1740. command of which was given to commodore Anson. This fleet was destined to sail through the straits of Magellan, and, steering northward, along the coasts of Chili, and Peru, to co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon

across the isthmus of Darien. The delays and mistakes of the ministry frustrated that part of the scheme, which was originally well laid. When it was too late in the season, the commodore set out with three ships of the line, a frigate, and two store-ships, with about fourteen hundred men. Having reached the coast of Brasil, he refreshed his men for some time on the island of St. Catharine, a spot that enjoys all the fruitfulness and verdure of the luxurious tropical climate. Thence he steered downward into the cold tempestuous regions of the south; and in about five months after, meeting a terrible tempest, he doubled Cape Horn. By this time his fleet was dispersed, and his crew deplorably disabled with the scurvy; so that with much difficulty he gained the delightful island of Juan Fernandez. There he was joined by one ship, and a vessel of seven guns. Advancing northward, he landed on the coast of Chili, and attacked Paita by night. In this bold attempt he made no use of his shipping, nor even disembarked all his men; a few soldiers, favoured by darkness, sufficed to fill the whole town with terror and confusion. The governor of the garrison, and the inhabitants, fled on all sides; accustomed to be severe, they expected severity. In the mean time, a small body of the English kept possession of the town for three days, stripping it of all its treasures and merchandise to a considerable amount, and then setting it on fire.

Soon after, this small squadron advanced as far as Panama, situated on the isthmus of Darien, on the western side of the great American continent. The commodore now placed all his hopes in taking one of those valuable Spanish ships which trade from the Philippine islands to Mexico. Not above one or two at the most of these immensely rich ships went from one continent to the other in a year; they were, therefore, very large, in order to carry a sufficiency of treasure, and proportionably strong to defend it. In hopes of meeting with one of these, the commodore, with his little fleet, traversed the great Pacific Ocean; but the scurvy once more visiting his crew, several of his men died, and almost all were disabled. In this exigence, having brought all his men into one vessel, and set fire to the only other ship which remained with him, he steered for the island of Tinian, which lies about half way between the New world and the Old. In this charming abode he continued for some time, till his men recovered their health, and his ship was refitted for sailing.

Thus refreshed, he set forward for China, where he laid in proper stores for traversing back that immense ocean, in which he had just before suffered such difficulties. Having accordingly taken some Dutch and Indian sailors on board, he again steered towards America; and at length, after various toils, discovered the Spanish galleon he had so long ardently expected. This vessel was built as well for the purpose of war as of merchandise. It mounted sixty guns, with five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not amount to half that number. However, the victory was on the side of the English, and they returned home with their prize, which was estimated at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling; while the different captures that had been made before, amounted to as much more. Thus, after a voyage of three years, conducted with amazing perseverance and intrepidity, the public sustained the loss of a small fleet; but a few individuals became possessed of immense riches.

In the mean time, the English conducted other operations against the enemy with amazing activity. When Anson set out, it was with a design of acting a subordinate part to a formidable armament designed for the coasts of New Spain, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with all kinds of warlike stores, near fifteen thousand seamen, and as many land-forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, nor ever had the nation more sanguine hopes of success. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land-forces; but he dying on the passage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, whose abilities were supposed to be unequal to the trust reposed in him. The ministry, without any visible reason, detained the fleet in England, until the season for action in America was nearly over. In the country where they were to carry on their operations, periodical rains begin about the end of April, and this change in the climate as surely brings on epidemical and contagious diseases. Having at A. D 1741.] length arrived on the coasts of New Spain, before the wealthy

city of Carthagena, they landed their forces in order to form the siege of this important fortification. This city, which lies within sixty miles of Panama, serves as a magazine for the merchandise of Spain, which is conveyed from Europe thither, and thence transported by land to Panama, to be exchanged for the native commodities of the New world. The taking of Carthagena, therefore, would have obstructed the whole trade between Old Spain and the New.

To carry on the siege with safety, the troops were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, which had been previously fortified by all the arts of engineering. The land-forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while Vernon, who commanded the fleet, sent a number of ships into the harbour, to divide the fire of the enemy, and to co-operate with the army on shore. The breach being deemed practicable, a body of troops were commanded to storm; but the Spaniards deserted the forts, which, if possessed of courage, they might have defended with success. The troops, upon gaining this advantage, were advanced much nearer the city; but there they met a much greater opposition than they had expected. It was found, or asserted, that the fleet could not lie near enough to batter the town, and that nothing remained but to attempt one of the forts by scaling. The leaders of the fleet and the army began to accuse each other, each asserting the probability of what the other denied. At length, Wentworth, stimulated by the admiral's reproach, resolved to try the dangerous experiment, and ordered that fort St. Lazare should be attempted by scalade. Nothing could be more unfortunate than this undertaking; the forces marching up to the attack, their guides were slain, and they mistook their way. Instead of attempting the weakest part of the fort, they advanced to where it was strongest, and where they were exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was killed in the beginning. Soon after, it was found that their scaling-ladders were too short; the officers were perplexed for want of orders, and the troops stood exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, without knowing how to proceed. After bearing a dreadful fire for some hours with great intrepidity, they at length retreated, leaving six hundred men dead on the spot. The terrors of the climate soon began to be more dreadful than those of war; the rainy season began with such violence, that it was impossible for the troops to continue encamped; and the mortality of the season now began to attack them in all its frightful varieties. To these calamities, sufficient to quell any enterprise, were added the dissensions between the land and sea commanders, who blamed each other for every failure, and became frantic with mutual recrimination. They only, therefore, at last could be brought to agree in one mortifying measure, which was to re-embark the troops, and to withdraw them as quickly as possible from this scene of slaughter and contagion.

The fortifications nearer the harbour being demolished, the troops were conveyed back to Jamaica; and this island, which of itself is sufficiently unhealthy, was considered as a paradise to that from which they had just escaped. This fatal miscarriage, which tarnished the British glory, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. The loudest burst of indignation was directed at the minister; they who once praised him for successes he did not merit, condemned him now for a failure of which he was guiltless.

To this cause of complaint, several others were added. The inactivity of the English fleet at home was among the principal. Sir John Norris had twice sailed to the coasts of Spain, at the head of a very powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step to annoy the enemy. The Spanish privateers, become numerous and enterprising, annoyed our commerce with great success, having taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. The English, though at an immense expense in equipping fleets, seemed to lie down unrevenged under every blow, and suffered one loss after another without reprisal. This universal discontent had a manifest influence upon the general election which followed soon after; and the complaints against the minister became so general, that he began to tremble for his safety. All the adherents of the prince

of Wales, who continued to live retired from court as a private gentleman, concurred in the opposition. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the kingdom; and such a national spirit prevailed, that the country interest now at last seemed ready to preponderate.

In this situation, the minister, finding the strength of the house of commons A. D. 1742.] turned against him, tried every art to break that confederacy which he knew he had not strength to oppose. His first attempt was by endeavouring to disengage the prince from his party, by promises of royal favour, and other emoluments. The bishop of Oxford was accordingly sent to him, with an offer, that if he would write a letter of submission to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour; fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue; two hundred thousand should be granted him to pay his debts; and suitable provision should be made in due time for all his followers. This, to a person already involved in debt, from the scantiness of his pension and the necessity of keeping up his dignity, was a tempting offer. However, the prince generously disdained it, declaring he would accept of no conditions dictated to him under the influence of a minister whose measures he disapproved.

Walpole now saw that his power was at an end; but he still feared more for his person. The resentment of the people had been raised against him to an extravagant height; and the leaders taught them to expect very signal justice to their supposed oppressor. The first occasion he had to find the house of commons turned against him, was in debating upon some disputed elections. In the first of these, which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of six only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. The inconsiderable majority that appeared on his side, which had long been used to carry every question with ease, plainly proved that his friends were no longer able to protect him. A petition, presented by the electors of Westminster, complaining of an undue election, which had been carried on by an unjust influence of the ministry, and which they begged to set aside, was presented to the house. Sir Robert laboured with all his art to overrule their petition; the house entered into a discussion, and carried it against him by a majority of four voices. He resolved to try his strength once more in another disputed election, and had the mortification to find the majority against him augmented to sixteen. He then declared he would never more sit in that house. The next day the king adjourned both houses of parliament for a few days; and, in the interim, sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Oxford, and resigned all his employments.

Nothing could give the people more general satisfaction than this minister's deposition. It was now universally expected, that, his power being abridged, his punishment was to follow; and mankind prepared themselves for some tragical event with vindictive satisfaction. Every person now flattered himself that every domestic grievance would be redressed: that commerce would be protected abroad; that the expensive subsidies to foreign states would be retrenched; and that the house of commons would be unanimous in every popular measure. But they soon found themselves miserably deceived. Those who clamoured most against him, when put into power, began exactly to adopt all his measures.

At no time of life did this minister acquit himself with such art as on the present occasion. The country party consisted of Tories, reinforced by discontented Whigs: the former, implacable in their resentments against him, could not be mollified; the latter, either soured by disappointment, or excited by ambition, only wished his removal. To these, therefore, Walpole applied, and was willing to grant them that power at which they aimed; and in return for this concession, he only demanded impunity. The offer was accepted with pleasure; their Tory friends were instantly abandoned; and, a breach thus ensuing, the same opposition still continued against the new ministry, that had obtained against the old.

The place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed on Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury. Lord Harrington was declared president of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state. Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy-council, and afterwards created

earl of Bath. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales took place soon after; and the change in the ministry was celebrated by rejoicings over the whole nation.

But this transport was of short duration; it soon appeared that those who declaimed most loudly for the liberties of the people had adopted new measures with their new employments. The new converts were branded as betrayers of the interests of their country; but particularly the resentment of the people fell upon the earl of Bath, who had long declaimed against that very conduct which he now seemed earnest to pursue. He had been the idol of the people, and considered as one of the most illustrious champions that had ever defended the cause of freedom; but, allured perhaps by the hope of governing in Walpole's place, he was contented to give up his popularity for ambition. The king, however, treated him with that neglect which he merited; he was laid aside for life, and continued a wretched survivor of all his former importance.

The war with Spain had now continued for several years, and was attended with but indifferent fortune. Some unsuccessful expeditions had been carried on in the West Indies, under admiral Vernon, commodore Knowles, and others; and the failure of these was still more aggravated by the political writers of the day—a class of beings that had risen up during this and the preceding administration, at first employed against Walpole, and afterwards taken into pay by him. Dull, and without principle, they made themselves agreeable to the public by impudence and abuse, embarrassed every operation, and imbittered every misfortune. These had for some time inspired the people with a disgust for their operations by sea, and taught them to wish for better fortune on land. The people became ripe for renewing their victories in Flanders, and the king desired nothing with so much ardour. It was resolved, therefore, to send a powerful body of men into the Netherlands, to join in the quarrels that were beginning on the continent; and immense triumphs were expected from such an undertaking, which the king resolved to conduct in person.

An army of sixteen thousand men were transported to Flanders, and the war with Spain became but an object of secondary consideration.

CHAP. XLIX.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1742 to 1748.

To have a clear yet concise idea of the origin of the troubles on the continent, it will be necessary to go back for some years, and trace the measures of the European republic from that period where we left them in our former narrative. After the duke of Orleans, who had been regent of France, died, cardinal Fleury undertook to settle the great confusion in which that luxurious prince had left the kingdom. His moderation and prudence were equally conspicuous; he was sincere, frugal, modest, and simple: under him, therefore, France repaired her losses, and enriched herself by commerce; he only left the state to its own natural methods of thriving, and he saw it gradually regaining its former health and vigour.

During the long interval of peace which this minister's counsels had procured for Europe, two powers, till now unregarded, began to attract the notice and jealousy of the neighbouring nation. Peter the Great had already civilized Russia; and this new-created extensive empire began to influence the counsels of other nations, and to give laws to the North. The other power that came into notice was that of the king of Prussia, whose dominions were populous, and whose forces were well maintained and ready for action.

The other states were but little improved for the purposes of renewing the war. The empire remained under the government of Charles the Sixth, who had been placed upon the throne by the treaty of Utrecht. Sweden continued to languish, being not recovered from the destructive projects of her darling monarch Charles the Twelfth. Denmark was powerful enough, but inclined to peace; and part of Italy still remained subject to those princes who had been imposed upon it by foreign treaties.

All those states, however, continued to enjoy a profound peace, until the

death of Augustus, king of Poland, by which a general flame was once more kindled in Europe. The emperor, assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the elector of Saxony, son of the deceased king. On the other hand, France declared for Stanislaus, who long since had been nominated king of the Poles by Charles of Sweden, and whose daughter the king of France had since married. In order to drive forward his pretensions, Stanislaus repaired to Dantzic, where the people very gladly received him. But his triumph was short; ten thousand Russians appearing before the place, the Polish nobility dispersed, and Stanislaus was besieged by this small body of forces. But though the city was taken, the king escaped with some difficulty by night, and fifteen hundred men that were sent to his assistance were made prisoners of war. France, however, resolved to continue her assistance to him; and this, it was supposed, would be most effectually done by distressing the house of Austria.

The views of France were seconded by Spain and Sardinia, both having hopes to grow more powerful by a division of the spoils of Austria. A French army, therefore, soon over-ran the empire, under the conduct of old marechal Villars; while the duke of Montemar, the general of Spain, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples. Thus the emperor had the mortification to see his own dominions ravaged, and a great part of Italy torn from him, only for having attempted to give a king to Poland.

These rapid successes of France and its allies soon compelled the emperor to demand a peace. It was accordingly granted him; but Stanislaus, upon whose account the war was begun, was neglected in the treaty. It was stipulated that he should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland; for which the emperor gratified France with the duchy of Lorraine, and some other valuable territories.

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French began to think this a favourable opportunity of exerting their ambition once more. Regardless of treaties, particularly that called the Pragmatic Sanction, which settled the reversion of all the late emperor's dominions upon his daughter, they caused the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles the Sixth, descended from an illustrious line of emperors, saw herself stripped of her inheritance, deserted for a whole year by all Europe, and left without any hopes of succour. She had scarcely closed her father's eyes when she lost Silesia, by an irruption of the young king of Prussia, who seized the opportunity of her defenceless state to renew his ancient pretensions to that province, of which, it must be owned, his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions; England was the only power that seemed willing to espouse her helpless condition. Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance; and, last of all, Russia acceded to the union in her favour.

It may now be demanded, what cause Britain had to intermeddle in these continental schemes. It can only be answered, that the interest of Hanover, and the security of that electorate, depended upon the nicely balancing the different interests of the empire; and the English ministry were willing to gratify the king. Lord Carteret, who had now taken up that place in the royal confidence which had formerly been possessed by Walpole, by pursuing these measures soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more extensive field for his own ambition. He expected to receive honour from victories which he seemed certain of obtaining; and wished to engage in measures which must be injurious to the nation, even though attended with the desired success.

When the parliament met, his majesty began by informing them of his strict adherence to engagements; and that he had sent a body of English forces into the Netherlands, which he had augmented by sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to make a diversion upon the dominions of France, in the queen of Hungary's favour. When the supplies came to be considered, by which these Hanoverian troops were to be paid by England for defending their own cause, it produced most violent debates in both houses of parliament. It was considered as an imposition upon the nation, as an attempt to pay foreign troops for fighting their own battles; and the ministry were pressed by their own

arguments against such measures before they came into power. They were not ashamed, however, upon this occasion, boldly to defend what they had so violently impugned; and at length, by the strength of numbers, and not of reason, they carried their cause.

The people now saw with indignation their former defenders turned against themselves; patriotism they began to consider as an empty name, and knew not on whom to rely, since the boldest professors of liberty were purchased at an easy rate. But however these continental measures might injure the real interests of the nation, they for that time served to retrieve the queen of Hungary's desperate affairs. She soon began to turn the scale of victory on her side. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her; and, [A. D. 1743. abandoned by his allies, and stripped even of his hereditary dominions, retired to Frankfort, where he lived in obscurity.

The French, who had begun as allies, were now obliged to sustain the whole burden of the war, and accordingly faced their enemies, invading them on every side of their dominions. The troops sent to the queen's assistance by England were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under the famous prince Eugene. The chief object which he had in view in the beginning was to effect a junction with the queen's army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, and thus to out-number the enemy in the field. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled an army of sixty thousand men upon the river Maine, under the command of marechal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side, into a country where they found themselves entirely destitute of provisions, the French having cut off all means of their being supplied with any. The king of England arrived at the camp while his troops were in this deplorable situation; wherefore he resolved to penetrate forward, to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped; but before his army had marched three leagues, he found the enemy had enclosed him on every side, near a village called Dettingen.

Nothing now presented but the most mortifying prospects: if he fought the enemy, it must be at the greatest disadvantage; if he continued inactive, there was a certainty of being starved; and as for a retreat, that was impossible. The impetuosity of the French troops saved his whole army. They passed a defile, which they should have been contented to guard; and, under the conduct of the duke of Grammont, their horse charged the English foot with great fury. They were received, however, with intrepidity and resolution; so that they were obliged to give way, and repass the Maine with precipitation, with the loss of about five thousand men. The king of England, with great personal courage, exposed himself to a severe fire of the enemy's cannon, and in the midst of the engagement encouraged his troops by his presence and his example. The English had the honour of the day, but were soon obliged to leave the field of battle to the French, who treated the wounded English with a clemency peculiar to that generous nation. Though the English were victorious upon this occasion, yet the earl of Stair, who was commander-in-chief, did not assume any honour from such a victory. He was unwilling to share any glory which was so precariously obtained, and snatched rather from the enemy's mistake, than gained by his conduct. He therefore solicited leave to resign, which he obtained; and the troops desisted from farther operations in that campaign.

Meanwhile the French went on with vigour on every side. They opposed prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in Italy; but their chief hopes were placed upon a projected invasion of England. Cardinal Fleury was now dead; and cardinal Tencin, who succeeded him in power, was a man of a very different character from his predecessor, being proud, turbulent, and enterprising. France, from the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, had been persuaded that the country was long ripe for a revolution, and only wanted the presence

death of Augustus, king of Poland, by which a general flame was once more kindled in Europe. The emperor, assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the elector of Saxony, son of the deceased king. On the other hand, France declared for Stanislaus, who long since had been nominated king of the Poles by Charles of Sweden, and whose daughter the king of France had since married. In order to drive forward his pretensions, Stanislaus repaired to Dantzic, where the people very gladly received him. But his triumph was short; ten thousand Russians appearing before the place, the Polish nobility dispersed, and Stanislaus was besieged by this small body of forces. But though the city was taken, the king escaped with some difficulty by night, and fifteen hundred men that were sent to his assistance were made prisoners of war. France, however, resolved to continue her assistance to him; and this, it was supposed, would be most effectually done by distressing the house of Austria.

The views of France were seconded by Spain and Sardinia, both having hopes to grow more powerful by a division of the spoils of Austria. A French army, therefore, soon over-ran the empire, under the conduct of old marechal Villars; while the duke of Montemar, the general of Spain, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples. Thus the emperor had the mortification to see his own dominions ravaged, and a great part of Italy torn from him, only for having attempted to give a king to Poland.

These rapid successes of France and its allies soon compelled the emperor to demand a peace. It was accordingly granted him; but Stanislaus, upon whose account the war was begun, was neglected in the treaty. It was stipulated that he should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland; for which the emperor gratified France with the duchy of Lorraine, and some other valuable territories.

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French began to think this a favourable opportunity of exerting their ambition once more. Regardless of treaties, particularly that called the Pragmatic Sanction, which settled the reversion of all the late emperor's dominions upon his daughter, they caused the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles the Sixth, descended from an illustrious line of emperors, saw herself stripped of her inheritance, deserted for a whole year by all Europe, and left without any hopes of succour. She had scarcely closed her father's eyes when she lost Silesia, by an irruption of the young king of Prussia, who seized the opportunity of her defenceless state to renew his ancient pretensions to that province, of which, it must be owned, his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions; England was the only power that seemed willing to espouse her helpless condition. Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance; and, last of all, Russia acceded to the union in her favour.

It may now be demanded, what cause Britain had to intermeddle in these continental schemes. It can only be answered, that the interest of Hanover, and the security of that electorate, depended upon the nicely balancing the different interests of the empire; and the English ministry were willing to gratify the king. Lord Carteret, who had now taken up that place in the royal confidence which had formerly been possessed by Walpole, by pursuing these measures soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more extensive field for his own ambition. He expected to receive honour from victories which he seemed certain of obtaining; and wished to engage in measures which must be injurious to the nation, even though attended with the desired success.

When the parliament met, his majesty began by informing them of his strict adherence to engagements; and that he had sent a body of English forces into the Netherlands, which he had augmented by sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to make a diversion upon the dominions of France, in the queen of Hungary's favour. When the supplies came to be considered, by which these Hanoverian troops were to be paid by England for defending their own cause, it produced most violent debates in both houses of parliament. It was considered as an imposition upon the nation, as an attempt to pay foreign troops for fighting their own battles; and the ministry were pressed by their own

arguments against such measures before they came into power. They were not ashamed, however, upon this occasion, boldly to defend what they had so violently impugned; and at length, by the strength of numbers, and not of reason, they carried their cause.

The people now saw with indignation their former defenders turned against themselves; patriotism, they began to consider as an empty name, and knew not on whom to rely, since the boldest professors of liberty were purchased at an easy rate. But however these continental measures might injure the real interests of the nation, they for that time served to retrieve the queen of Hungary's desperate affairs. She soon began to turn the scale of victory on her side. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her; and, [A. D. 1743. abandoned by his allies, and stripped even of his hereditary dominions, retired to Frankfort, where he lived in obscurity.

The French, who had begun as allies, were now obliged to sustain the whole burden of the war, and accordingly faced their enemies, invading them on every side of their dominions. The troops sent to the queen's assistance by England were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under the famous prince Eugene. The chief object which he had in view in the beginning was to effect a junction with the queen's army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, and thus to out-number the enemy in the field. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled an army of sixty thousand men upon the river Maine, under the command of marechal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side, into a country where they found themselves entirely destitute of provisions, the French having cut off all means of their being supplied with any. The king of England arrived at the camp while his troops were in this deplorable situation; wherefore he resolved to penetrate forward, to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped; but before his army had marched three leagues, he found the enemy had enclosed him on every side, near a village called Dettingen.

Nothing now presented but the most mortifying prospects: if he fought the enemy, it must be at the greatest disadvantage; if he continued inactive, there was a certainty of being starved; and as for a retreat, that was impossible. The impetuosity of the French troops saved his whole army. They passed a defile, which they should have been contented to guard; and, under the conduct of the duke of Grammont, their horse charged the English foot with great fury. They were received, however, with intrepidity and resolution; so that they were obliged to give way, and repass the Maine with precipitation, with the loss of about five thousand men. The king of England, with great personal courage, exposed himself to a severe fire of the enemy's cannon, and in the midst of the engagement encouraged his troops by his presence and his example. The English had the honour of the day, but were soon obliged to leave the field of battle to the French, who treated the wounded English with a clemency peculiar to that generous nation. Though the English were victorious upon this occasion, yet the earl of Stair, who was commander-in-chief, did not assume any honour from such a victory. He was unwilling to share any glory which was so precariously obtained, and snatched rather from the enemy's mistake, than gained by his conduct. He therefore solicited leave to resign, which he obtained; and the troops desisted from farther operations in that campaign.

Meanwhile the French went on with vigour on every side. They opposed prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in Italy; but their chief hopes were placed upon a projected invasion of England. Cardinal Fleury was now dead; and cardinal Tencin, who succeeded him in power, was a man of a very different character from his predecessor, being proud, turbulent, and enterprising. France, from the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, had been persuaded that the country was long ripe for a revolution, and only wanted the presence

of a Pretender to bring about the change. Several needy adventurers who wished for a revolution, some men of broken fortunes, and all the Roman-catholics in the kingdom, endeavoured to confirm the court of France in these sentiments, of which they themselves were persuaded. An invasion, therefore, was actually projected; and Charles, the son of the old Pretender, departed from Rome in the disguise of a Spanish courier, for Paris, where he had an audience of the French king.

This family had long been the dupes of France; but it was thought at present there were serious resolutions formed in their favour. The troops destined for the expedition amounted to fifteen thousand men; preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk, and some of the nearest ports to England, under the eye of the young Pretender. The duke de Roquefeuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed in England: and the famous count Saxe was to command them when put on shore; but the whole project was disconcerted by the appearance of sir John Norris, who, with a superior fleet, made up to attack them. The French fleet was thus obliged to put back; a very hard gale of wind damaged their transports beyond redress; and the French, now frustrated in their scheme of a sudden descent, thought fit openly to declare war.

But though fortune seemed to favour England on this occasion, yet in other respects she was not equally propitious. The English ministry had sent out a powerful squadron of ships into the Mediterranean, to overawe those states who might be inclined to lend assistance to France or Spain. This fleet had been conducted by Lestock; but admiral Matthews, though a younger officer, was sent out to take the superior command; which produced a misunderstanding A. D. 1744.] between the commanders. There was soon an opportunity offered for these officers to discover their mutual animosity, to the injury of their country and their own disgrace. The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of four-and-thirty sail, were seen off Toulon; and a signal was made by the English admiral to prepare for engaging. It happened that his signals were not perfectly exact; he had hung out that for forming the line of battle, which at the same time shewed the signal for engaging. This was a sufficient excuse to Lestock for refusing to come up with alacrity; so that, after some vain efforts to attack the enemy in conjunction, Matthews resolved to engage as well as he could. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron, struck to captain Hawke, but was next day burned by the admiral's order. Captain Cornwall was killed in the engagement, after continuing to command even after his leg was shot off by a cannon. The pursuit was continued for three days, at the end of which time Lestock seemed to come up with some vigour; but just then Matthews gave orders for discontinuing the pursuit, and sailed away for Port Mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. The English fleet was willing to claim the victory; and the French and Spaniards were not less pleased with their own good fortune. In England, however, this disputed success was considered as the most mortifying defeat, and the complaints of the people knew no bounds. Both admirals, upon their return, were tried by a court-martial. Matthews, who had fought with intrepidity, was declared for the future incapable of serving in his majesty's navy. Lestock, who had kept at a distance, was acquitted with honour, having entrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline. He barely did his duty. A man of honour, when his country is at stake, should do more.

The proceedings in the Netherlands were as unfavourable to the English arms as their most sanguine enemies could desire. The French had assembled a formidable army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, the chief command of which was given to count Saxe, natural son to the late king of Poland, and who had long been a soldier of fortune. He had been bred from his youth in camps, and had shewn very early instances of cool intrepidity. He had in the beginning of the war offered his services to several crowns, and, among others, it is said, to the king of Great Britain; but his offers were rejected. By long habits, this general had learned to preserve an equal composure in the midst of battle, and seemed as serene in the thickest fire as in the drawing-room at court. To oppose this great general, the

English were headed by the duke of Cumberland, who neither possessed such talents for war, nor was able to bring such a formidable body of men into the field.

The French, therefore, bore down all before them. They reduced Fribourg; and, in the beginning of the succeeding campaign, invested the strong city of Tournay. Although the allies were inferior in number, [A. D. 1745. and although commanded by the duke of Cumberland, yet they resolved, if possible, to save this city by hazarding a battle. They accordingly marched against the enemy, and took post in sight of the French, who were encamped on an eminence, with the village of St. Antoine on the right, a wood on the left, and the town of Fontenoy before them. This advantageous situation did not repress the ardour of the English, who began the attack at two o'clock in the morning, and pressing forward, bore down all opposition. They were for near an hour victorious, and confident of success, while Saxe, who commanded the enemy, was at that time sick of the same disorder of which he afterwards died. However, he was carried about to all the posts in a litter, and assured his attendants, that, notwithstanding all unfavourable appearances, the day was his own. A column of the English, without any command, but by mere mechanical courage, had advanced upon the enemy's lines, which, opening, formed an avenue on each side to receive them. It was then that the French artillery on three sides, began to play upon this forlorn body, which, after continuing for a long time unshaken, retreated about three in the afternoon. This was one of the most bloody battles that had been fought in this age; the allies left on the field of battle near twelve thousand men, and the French bought their victory with nearly an equal number of slain.

This blow, by which the French gained Tournay, gave them such a manifest superiority all the rest of the campaign, that they kept the fruits of their victory during the whole continuance of the war. The duke of Bavaria, whom they had made emperor under the title of Charles the Seventh, was lately dead; but though his pretensions were the original cause of the war, that by no means was discontinued at his decease. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor in his room; and though the original cause of the quarrel was no more, the dissensions still continued as fierce as ever.

Notwithstanding ill success attended the British arms by land and sea, yet these being distant evils, the English seemed only to complain from honourable motives, and murmured at distresses of which they had but a very remote prospect. A civil war was now going to be kindled in their own dominions, which mixed terrors with their complaints, and which, while it increased their perplexities, only cemented their union. The intended French invasion had roused all the attention of the people, and nothing breathed throughout the whole kingdom, but the destruction of a popish Pretender, assisted by French counsels and arms. The disappointment of that expedition served to increase the hatred of the people against the Pretender still more, as it shewed that he was willing to be made a king, even by the open enemies of his country. The people, therefore, were never so ill disposed to receive him as at the very time which he fixed upon to make a descent.

The ministry was by this time changed; Mr. Pelham and the earl of Harrington being placed at the head of affairs. These enjoyed some share of popularity, and the operations of war were no longer thwarted by a turbulent opposition. The admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. The fortress of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, on the coast of North America, a place of great consequence to the British commerce, surrendered to general Pepperel; and a short time after, two French East India ships, and a Spanish ship from Peru, laden with treasure, put into the harbour, supposing it still their own, and were taken.

It was at this period of returning success that the son of the old Pretender resolved to make an effort for gaining the British crown. Charles-Edward, the adventurer in question, had been bred in a luxurious court, without partaking in its effeminacy. He was enterprising and ambitious, but, either from inexperience or natural inability, utterly unequal to the bold undertaking.

He was long flattered by the rash, the superstitious, and the needy: he was taught to believe that the kingdom was ripe for a revolt, and that it could no longer bear the immense load of taxes with which it was burdened.

Being now furnished with some money, and with still larger promises from France, who fanned his ambition, he embarked for Scotland on board a small frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other desperate adventurers. Thus, for the conquest of the whole British empire, he only brought with him seven officers, and arms for two thousand men.

Fortune, which ever persecuted his family, seemed no way more favourable to him: his convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled in an engagement with an English man-of-war, named the Lion, that it was obliged to return to Brest, while he continued his course to the western parts of Scotland, and, July 16, 1745.] landing on the coast of Lochaber, was in a little time joined by some chiefs of the Highland clans, and their vassals, over whom they exercised an hereditary jurisdiction. By means of these chiefs he soon saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, and invited others to join him by his manifestoes, which were dispersed all over the kingdom, to animate all the secret abettors of his cause.

The boldness of this enterprise astonished all Europe: it awakened the fears of the pusillanimous, the ardour of the brave, and the pity of the wise. The whole kingdom seemed unanimously bent upon opposing an enterprise which they were sensible, as being supported by papists, would be instrumental in restoring popery. The ministers were no sooner confirmed in the account of his arrival, which at first they could be scarcely induced to credit, than sir John Cope was sent with a small body of forces to oppose his progress.

By this time the young adventurer had arrived at Perth, where the unnecessary ceremony was performed of proclaiming his father king of Great Britain. Descending from the mountains, his forces seemed to gather as they went forward; and, advancing to Edinburgh, they entered that city without opposition. There again the pageantry of proclamation was performed; and there he promised to dissolve the union, which was considered as one of the grievances of the country. However, the castle of that city still held out, and he was unprovided with cannon to besiege it.

In the mean time, sir John Cope, who had pursued the rebels through the Highlands, but had declined meeting them in their descent, being now reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, resolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give the enemy battle. The young adventurer, whose forces were rather superior, though undisciplined, attacked him near Preston-Pans, a few miles from the capital, and soon put him and his troops to flight. This victory, by which the king lost five hundred men, gave the rebels great influence; and had the Pretender taken advantage of the general consternation, and marched directly for England, the consequence might have been fatal to freedom. But he was amused by the promise of succours which never came; and thus induced to remain in Edinburgh, to enjoy the triumphs of a trifling victory, and to be treated as a monarch. By this time his train was composed of the earl of Kilmarnock, a man of desperate fortune, who had lately become discontented with the court for withdrawing a pension that had been granted to him; lord Balmerino, who had been an officer in the English service, but gave up his commission in order to join the rebels; the lords Cromartie, Elcho, Ogilvie, Pitsligo, and the eldest son of lord Lovat, who came in with their vassals, and increased his army. Lord Lovat himself was an enthusiast in the cause; but, being without principles, he was unwilling to act openly, afraid of incurring the resentment of the ministry, whom he still dreaded. Never was there a man of such unaccountable ambition, or who ever more actively rendered himself hateful and suspected by all. He was at first outlawed for ravishing the duke of Argyle's niece; he then offered his service to the old Pretender in France, and it was accepted; he next betrayed, to queen Anne, the forces which were sent to his assistance. He a second time invited the Pretender over in the reign of George the First; and being put in possession, by the chevalier, of the castle of Stirling, he did not scruple to deliver it up to the enemy. This man, true to neither party, had now, in secret, sent

aid to the young chevalier; while, in his conversation, he affected to declaim against his attempt.

While the young Pretender was thus trifling away his time at Edinburgh, (for, in dangerous enterprises, delay is but defeat,) the ministry of Great Britain took every proper precaution to oppose him with success. Six thousand Dutch soldiers, who had come over to the assistance of the crown, were despatched northward, under the command of general Wade; but, as it was then said, these could lend no assistance, as they were prisoners of France upon parole, and under engagements not to oppose that power for the space of one year. However this be, the duke of Cumberland soon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry, well disciplined, and inured to action. Besides these, volunteers offered in every part of the kingdom; and every county exerted a vigorous spirit of indignation against the ambition, the religion, and the allies, of the young Pretender.

However, he had been bred up in a school that taught him maxims very different from those which then prevailed in England. Though he might have brought civil war, and all the calamities attending it, into the kingdom, he had been taught that the assertion of his right was a duty incumbent upon him, and the altering the constitution, and perhaps the religion of his country, an object of laudable ambition. Thus animated, he went forward with vigour; and having, upon frequent consultations with his officers, come to a resolution of making an irruption into England, he entered the country by the western border, and invested Carlisle, which surrendered in less than three days. He there found a considerable quantity of arms; and there too he ordered his father to be proclaimed king.

General Wade, being apprised of his progress, advanced across the country from the opposite shore; but, receiving intelligence that the enemy was two days' march before him, he retired to his former station. The young Pretender, therefore, thus, unopposed, resolved to penetrate farther into the kingdom, having received assurances from France that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coasts, to make a diversion in his favour. He was flattered also with the hopes of being joined by a considerable number of malcontents as he passed forward, and that his army would increase on the march. Accordingly, leaving a small garrison in Carlisle, which he should rather have left defenceless, he advanced to Penrith, marching in a Highland dress, and continuing his irruption till he came to Manchester, where he established his head-quarters.

He was there joined by about two hundred English, who were formed into a regiment under the command of colonel Townley. Thence he pursued his march to Derby, intending to go by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of followers; but the factions among his own chiefs prevented his proceeding to that part of the kingdom.

He had by this time advanced within a hundred and twenty miles of the capital, which was filled with perplexity and consternation. Had he proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would certainly have been joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach.

In the mean time, the king resolved to take the field in person. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law agreed to take the field with the judges at their head; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of their country. These associations were at once a proof of the people's fears and their loyalty; while those concerned in the money-corporations were overwhelmed with dejection. But they found safety from the discontents which now began to prevail in the Pretender's army. In fact, he was but the nominal leader of his forces; as his generals, the chiefs of the Highland clans, were, from their education, ignorant, and averse to subordination. They had from the beginning embraced an opposite system of operation, and contended with each other for pre-eminence; but they seemed now unanimous in returning to their own country.

The rebels accordingly effected their retreat to Carlisle without any loss, and crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland. In these marches, however, they preserved all the rules of war: they abstained in a great measure from plunder; they levied contributions on the towns as they passed along; and with unaccountable precaution left a garrison in Carlisle, which shortly after surrendered to the duke of Cumberland at discretion, to the number of four hundred men.

The Pretender, having re-entered Scotland, proceeded to Glasgow, from A. D. 1746.] which city he exacted contributions. He then advanced to Stirling, where he was joined by lord Lewis Gordon, at the head of some forces which had been assembled in his absence. Other clans, to the number of two thousand, came in likewise; and from some supplies of money which he received from Spain, and from some skirmishes in which he was successful against the royalists, his affairs began to wear a more promising aspect. Being joined by lord John Drummond, he invested the castle of Stirling, commanded by general Blakeney; but the rebel forces being unused to sieges, consumed much time to no purpose. It was during this attempt, that general Hawley, who commanded a considerable body of forces near Edinburgh, undertook to raise the siege, and advanced towards the rebel army as far as Falkirk. After two days spent in mutually examining each other's strength, the rebels, being ardent to engage, were led on in full spirits to attack the king's army. The Pretender, who was in the front line, gave the signal to engage; and the first fire put Hawley's forces into confusion. The horse retreated with precipitation, and fell upon their own infantry; while the rebels following their blow, the greatest part of the royal army fled with the utmost precipitation. They retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the conquerors in possession of their tents, their artillery, and the field of battle.

Thus far the affairs of the rebel army seemed not unprosperous; but here was an end of all their triumphs. The duke of Cumberland, at that time the favourite of the English army, had been recalled from Flanders, and put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men. With these he advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by several of the Scotch nobility, attached to the house of Hanover; and, having revived the drooping spirits of his army, he resolved to find out the enemy, who retreated at his approach. After having refreshed his troops at Aberdeen for some time, he renewed his march, and in twelve days he came upon the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. This was the place where the rebels might have disputed his passage; but they lost every advantage in quarrelling with each other. They seemed now totally devoid of all counsel and subordination, without conduct, and without unanimity. After a variety of contests among themselves, they resolved to await their pursuers upon the plains of Culloden, a place about nine miles distant from Inverness, embosomed in hills, except on that side which was open to the sea. There they drew up in order of battle, to the number of eight thousand men, in three divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery, ill manned and served.

The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon; the cannon of the king's army did dreadful execution among the rebels, while their artillery proved totally unserviceable. One of the great errors in all the Pretender's warlike measures, was his subjecting wild and undisciplined troops to the forms of artful war, and thus repressing their native ardour, from which alone he could hope for success. After they had been kept in their ranks, and withstood the English fire for some time, they at length became impatient for closer engagement; and about five hundred of them made an irruption upon the left wing of the enemy with their accustomed ferocity. The first line being disordered by this onset, two battalions advanced to support it, and galled the enemy with a terrible and close discharge. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley and the Argyleshire militia, pulling down a park wall that guarded the flank of the enemy, and which they had but feebly defended, fell in among them, sword in hand, with great slaughter. In less than thirty minutes they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of above three thousand men. The French troops on the left did not fire a shot, but stood inactive during the engagement, and after-

wards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched off the field in order, while the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their leaders obliged with reluctance to retire. Civil war is in itself terrible, but more so when heightened by unnecessary cruelty. How guilty soever an enemy may be, it is the duty of a brave soldier to remember that he has only to fight an opposer, and not a suppliant. The victory was in every respect decisive, and humanity to the conquered would have rendered it glorious. But little mercy was shewn here; the conquerors were seen to refuse quarter to the wounded, the unarmed, and the defenceless; some were slain who were only excited by curiosity to become spectators of the combat, and soldiers were seen to anticipate the base employment of the executioner. The duke, immediately after the action, ordered six-and-thirty deserters to be executed; the conquerors spread terror wherever they came; and, after a short space, the whole country round was one dreadful scene of plunder, slaughter, and desolation; justice was forgotten, and vengeance assumed the name.

In this manner were blasted all the hopes and all the ambition of the young adventurer; one short hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and sceptres, and reduced him from a nominal king to a distressed forlorn outcast, shunned by all mankind, except such as sought his destruction. To the good and the brave, subsequent distress often atones for former guilt; and while reason would speak for punishment, our hearts plead for mercy. Immediately after the engagement, he fled with a captain of Fitzjames's cavalry; and when their horses were fatigued, they alighted, and separately sought for safety. He for some days wandered in this country, (naturally wild, but now rendered more formidable by war,) a wretched spectator of all those horrors which were the result of his ill-guided ambition.

There is a striking similitude between his adventures, and those of Charles the Second upon his escape from Worcester. He sometimes found refuge in caves and cottages, without attendants, and dependent on the wretched natives, who could pity, but not relieve him. Sometimes he lay in forests, with one or two companions of his distress, continually pursued by the troops of the conqueror, as there was a reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, was the person who kept most faithfully by him, and inspired him with courage to support such incredible hardships. He had occasion, in the course of his concealments, to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whose veneration for his family prevailed above their avarice.

One day, having walked from morning till night, he ventured to enter a house, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the opposite party. As he entered, he addressed the master of the house in the following manner: "The son of your king comes to beg a little bread and a few clothes. I know your present attachment to my adversaries; but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or to take advantage of my distressed situation. Take these rags, that have for some time been my only covering; you may probably restore them to me one day, when I shall be seated on the throne of Great Britain." The master of the house was touched with pity at his distress; he assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged the secret. Few of those who even wished his destruction would choose to be the immediate actors in it, as it would subject them to the resentment of a numerous party.

In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary, and other dreary tracts, for five months; often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still rescued by some lucky accident from the impending danger. At length a privateer from St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived in Lock-nanach, in which he embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frize, threadbare, over which was a common Highland plaid, girt round him by a belt, from which depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks; his eyes were hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, together with Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and a few other exiles.

They set sail for France, and, after having been chased by two English men-of-war, they arrived in safety at a place called Roseaux, near Morlaix in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance of his pursuers been relaxed by a report that he was already slain.

While the Pretender was thus pursued, the scaffolds and the gibbets were preparing for his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London. Their constancy in death gained more proselytes to their cause than even perhaps their victories would have obtained. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were transported to the plantations of North America.

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, but the other two were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, either convinced of his errors, or flattered to the last with the hopes of pardon, declared a consciousness of his crimes, and professed his repentance. But very different was the behaviour of Balmerino, who gloried in the cause for which he fell. When his fellow-sufferer was commanded to bid God bless king George, which he did with a faint voice, Balmerino still avowed his principles, and cried out aloud, "God bless king James!" Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the earl of Derwentwater, (who was beheaded in the former reign,) had been taken on board a ship as he was coming to reinforce the Pretender's army; and the identity of his person being proved, he was sentenced upon a former conviction, and suffered his fate upon Tower-hill with tranquillity and resolution. Lord Lovat was tried and found guilty some time after: he died with great intrepidity; but his sufferings did very little honour to his cause. Thus ended the last effort of the family of the Stuarts for re-ascending the throne—dictated by youth and presumption, and conducted without art or resolution.

Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, and the tumult of terror and transport had subsided, the legislature undertook to establish several regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happiness of that people and the tranquillity of the united kingdoms. The Highlanders had, till this time, continued to wear the old military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. In consequence of this, they considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready upon the shortest notice to second the insurrections of their chiefs. But their habits were now reformed by an act of the legislature, and they were compelled to wear clothes of the common fashion. What contributed still more to their real felicity, was the abolition of that hereditary jurisdiction which their chiefs exerted over them. The power of their chieftans was totally destroyed; and to every subject in that part of the kingdom, a participation of the common liberty was granted.

While England was thus in commotion at home, the flames of war continued to rage upon the continent with increasing violence. The French arms were crowned with repeated success; and almost the whole Netherlands were reduced under their dominion. The Dutch in their usual manner negotiated, supplicated, and evaded the war; but they found themselves every day stripped of some of those strong towns which formed a barrier to their dominions, and of which they had been put in possession by the victories of Marlborough. They now lay almost defenceless, and ready to receive the terms of their conquerors—their national bravery being quite suffocated in the spirit of traffic and luxury.

The Dutch were at this time divided by factions, which had continued for above a century in their republic. The one declared for the prince of Orange and a stadtholder; the other opposed this election, and desired rather friendship than to be at variance with France. The prevalence of either of these factions, to its utmost extent, was equally fatal to freedom; for, if a stadtholder was elected, the constitution became altered from a republic to a kind of limited monarchy; if, on the contrary, the opposite party prevailed, the people must submit to the weight of a confirmed aristocracy, supported by

French power, and liable to its control. Of the two evils they chose the former: the people in several towns, inflamed almost to sedition, [A. D. 1747. compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral, of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce with the French was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French by sea and land. Thus the war which had begun but in a single country, was now diffused over all Europe, and, like a disorder, prevailed in different parts of this great political constitution, remitting and raging by turns.

The king of Sardinia, who had some years before joined France against England, now changed sides, and declared against the ambitious power of France. Italy felt all the terrors of intestine war, or more properly, looked on while foreigners were contending with each other for her usurped dominions. The French and Spaniards on one side, and the imperialists and the king of Sardinia on the other, ravaged those beautiful territories by turns, and gave laws to a country that had once spread her dominion over the world.

About this time the English made an unsuccessful attack upon Port l'Orient, a sea-port in France, but weakly defended, and drew off their forces in a panic. The French gained a considerable victory at Roucroux, near Liege, although it procured them no real advantage, and cost them as many lives as they destroyed of the enemy. Another victory, which they obtained at La-Feldt, served to depress the allied army still lower. But the taking of Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, reduced the Dutch to a state of desperation. However, these victories gained by the French were counterbalanced by almost equal disappointments. In Italy, the marshal Belleisle's brother, attempting to penetrate, at the head of thirty-four thousand men, into Piedmont, was routed, and himself slain. An unsuccessful fleet was sent out for the recovery of Cape Breton. Two more were fitted out, the one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and the other to carry on the operations in the East Indies; but these were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine ships taken. Soon after this, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was soon after followed by another defeat which the French fleet sustained from admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line and several frigates were taken.

In this manner, victory, defeat, negotiation, treachery, and rebellion, succeeded each other rapidly for some years, till all sides began to think themselves growing more feeble, and gaining no solid advantage.

The Dutch had for some time endeavoured to stop the progress of a war in which they had all to lose and nothing to gain. The king of France was sensible that after a victory was the most advantageous time to offer terms of peace. He even expressed his desire of general tranquillity to sir John Ligonier, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of La-Feldt. But now the bad success of his admirals at sea, his armies in Italy, the frequent bankruptcies of his merchants at home, and the election of a stadtholder in Holland, who gave spirit to the opposition, more effectually contributed to make him weary of the war, and prompted him to propose an accommodation. This was what the allies had long wished for; and which, notwithstanding, they were ashamed to demand. The English ministry in particular, finding themselves unable to manage a parliament soured by frequent defeats, and now beginning to be disgusted with continental connexions, were very ready to accede. A negotiation was therefore resolved upon; and the contending powers agreed to come to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain.

This treaty, which takes its name from the city at which it was made, was begun upon the preliminary conditions of restoring all conquests made during the war. Hence great hopes were expected of conditions both [A. D. 1748. favourable and honourable to the English; but the treaty still remains a lasting mark of precipitate counsels, and English disgrace. By this it was agreed that all prisoners on each side should be mutually restored, and all conquests

given up; that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the English throne, and to his heirs; but that, in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, these dominions should revert to the house of Austria. It was confirmed that the fortifications of Dunkirk toward the sea should be demolished; that the English ships, annually sent with slaves to the coast of New Spain, should have this privilege continued for four years; that the king of Prussia should be confirmed in the possession of Silesia, which he had lately conquered; and that the queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the peace was more displeasing and afflictive to the English than all the rest. It was stipulated that the king of Great Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction to France as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all other conquests which England had made during the war. This was a mortifying clause; but, to add to the general error of the negotiation, no mention was made of searching the vessels of England in the American seas, upon which the war was originally begun. The limits of their respective possessions in North America were not ascertained; nor did they receive any equivalent for those forts which they restored to the enemy. The treaty of Utrecht had long been the object of reproach to those by whom it was made; but, with all its faults, the treaty now concluded was far more despicable and erroneous. Yet such was the spirit of the times, that the treaty of Utrecht was branded with universal contempt, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was extolled with the highest strains of praise. But the people were wearied with repeated disgrace; and, only expecting an accumulation of misfortunes from continuing the war, they were glad of any peace that promised a pause to their disappointments.

CHAP. L.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1748 to 1755.

THIS treaty, which some asserted would serve for a bond of permanent amity, was, properly speaking, but a temporary truce—a cessation from hostilities, which both sides were unable to continue. Though the war between England and France was actually hushed up in Europe, in the East and West Indies it still went forward with undiminished vehemence; both sides still willing to offend, still offending, and yet both complaining of the infraction.

In the mean time, as Europe enjoyed a temporary tranquillity, the people of England expected, and the ministers were liberal in promising them, a return of all the advantages of peace. In order to please the populace, (for this ministry had the art always to keep the people in good humour,) a magnificent firework was played off; and the spectators could never be brought to think that a bad treaty, which was celebrated with such magnificent profusion.

It must be confessed, also, there was some desire shewn in the ministry to promote the commerce of the kingdom; and for this purpose a bill was passed for encouraging a British herring-fishery, in the manner of that carried on by the Dutch, under proper regulations. From the carrying such a scheme vigorously into execution, great advantages were expected. The Dutch, who had long enjoyed the sole profits arising from this article, considered the sea as a mine of inexhaustible wealth. But the patience and frugality of that nation seem to fit them more properly for the life of fishermen than the English. Certain it is, that experience has shewn this attempt to rival the Dutch to have been ineffectual. Perhaps the company was not established upon the strictest principles of economy; perhaps the Dutch art of curing their fish was not practised or understood perfectly.

A. D. 1749.] In the mean time, Mr. Pelham, who now conducted the business of the state, and was esteemed a man of candour and capacity, formed a scheme for lightening the immense load of debt which the nation sustained in consequence of the late war. His plan was, to lessen the debt by lowering the interest which had been promised on granting the supplies, or else obliging the lenders to receive the sums originally granted. Those, for instance, who

were proprietors of stock, and received for the use of their money four per cent., were by an act passed for that purpose, compelled to subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept three pounds ten shillings per cent. the following year, and three per cent. every year ensuing; and, in case of a refusal, assurances were given that the government would pay off the principal. This scheme was attended with the desired effect, though it, in some measure, was a force upon the lender, who had originally granted his money upon different terms, and under a promise of continuing interest. However, the measure was evidently beneficial to the nation; and experience has shewn that it no way affected the public credit. Besides this salutary measure, others were pursued for the interest of the nation with equal success. The importation of iron from America was allowed, and the trade to Africa was laid open to the nation, under the superintendence of the board of trade.

But all the advantages the nation reaped from these salutary measures were not sufficient to counterbalance the stroke which liberty received, as some are of opinion, by an unusual stretch of the privileges of the house of commons. The city of Westminster had long been represented by members who were, in some measure, appointed by the ministry. Lord Trentham, member for Westminster, having vacated his seat in the house of commons, by accepting a place under the crown, again resolved to stand [A. D. 1750. candidate, and met with a violent opposition. It was objected by some, that he had been uncommonly active in introducing some French strollers, who had come over by the invitations of the nobility, to open a theatre when our own were shut up. This accusation against him excited a violent combination, who styled themselves the Independent Electors of Westminster, and who named sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, as his competitor. These resolved to support their nomination at their own expense, and accordingly opened houses of entertainment for the inferior voters, and propagated abuse as usual. At length, the poll being closed, the majority appeared to be in favour of lord Trentham; but a scrutiny being demanded by the other party, it was protracted by management on the one side, and tumult on the other. After some time, the scrutiny appearing in favour of lord Trentham, the independent electors complained of partiality and injustice in the high-bailiff of Westminster, who took the poll, and carried their petition to [A. D. 1751. the house. To this petition the house paid little attention, but proceeded to examine the high-bailiff as to the cause that had so long protracted the election. This officer laid the blame upon Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for the petitioners; and also upon the honourable Alexander Murray, a friend to sir George Vandeput, and one Gibson, an upholsterer. These three persons were therefore brought to the bar of the house. Crowle and Gibson consented to ask pardon, and were dismissed, upon being reprimanded by the speaker. Murray was at first admitted to bail; but upon the deposition of several of the witnesses that he had headed a mob to intimidate the voters, it was resolved by the house that he should be committed a close prisoner to Newgate, and that he should receive this sentence at the bar of the house upon his knees. When he was conducted before the house, being directed to kneel, he refused to comply, and this threw the whole assembly into commotion. They then resolved to pursue more vigorous measures; ordered that he should be committed to Newgate, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him without permission of the house.

This imprisonment he underwent with great cheerfulness, sensible that by the constitution of the country his confinement would continue no longer than while the commons continued sitting; and at the end of the session he was accordingly discharged. But what was his amazement, at the commencement of the ensuing session, to find that he was again called upon, and that a motion was made for committing him close prisoner to the Tower! The delinquent, therefore, thought proper to screen himself from their resentment by absconding; but the people could not help considering their representatives rather as their oppressors, and the house as asserting rather vindictive than legislative authority. Some thought they saw in this measure the seeds of a future aristocracy; that the commons erected themselves into a tribunal where they determined on their own privileges, and ready to punish, without the

consent of the other parts of the legislature. However, the subject has still one resource against any violent resolutions of the house against him; he may resist if he thinks proper, as they are armed with no legal executive powers to compel obedience.

The people had scarcely recovered from the resentment produced by this measure, when another was taken in the house, which, in reality, made dis- A. D. 1753.] tinctions among the people, and drew a line between the rich and the poor, that seemed impassable. This was an act for the better preventing clandestine marriages, and for the more public solemnization of that ceremony: The grievance complained of, and which this law was calculated to redress, was, that the sons and daughters of opulent families were often seduced into marriage before they had acquired sufficient experience in life to be sensible of the disparity of the match. This statute, therefore, enacted, that the banns of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for a month at least before the ceremony. It declared that any marriage solemnized without this previous publication, or a license obtained from the bishop's court, should be void; and that the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years. This act was at that time thought replete with consequences injurious to society; and experience has confirmed the truth of some of these objections. Infamous men have made a practice of seducing young women, ignorant of the law, by pretending a marriage which they knew to be illegal, and consequently no longer binding. The poor, by being prevented from making alliances with the rich, have left wealth to flow in its ancient channels, and thus to accumulate, contrary to the interests of the state. It has been found to impede marriage, by clogging it with unnecessary ceremonies. Some have affirmed, that lewdness and debauchery have become more frequent since the enactment of this law; and it is believed that the numbers of the people are upon the decline.

This session was also distinguished by another act, equally unpopular, and perhaps equally injurious to that religion which was still left among the populace. This was a law for naturalizing the Jews. The ministry boldly affirmed that such a law would greatly contribute to the benefit of the nation; that it would increase the wealth, the credit, and the commerce of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of political toleration. Others, however, were of different sentiments: they saw that greater favour was shewn to the Jews by this bill than to some sects professing Christianity; that an introduction of this people into the kingdom would disgrace the character of the nation, and cool the zeal of the natives for religion, which was already too much neglected. The bill was passed into a law; but the people without doors remonstrated so loudly against it, that the ministry were obliged to get it repealed the ensuing session.

An act equally unpopular with the two former was now also passed, which contained regulations for the better preserving the game. By this, no person, even upon the grounds which he himself rented and paid for, had the privilege of carrying a gun, or destroying game, unless he already possessed a stated fortune. This law was but of very little service to the community; it totally damped all that martial ardour among the lower orders of mankind, by preventing their handling those arms which might one day be necessary to defend their country. It also defeated its own end of preserving the game; for the farmers, abridged of the power of seizing the game, never permitted it to come to maturity.

A scheme which the nation was taught to believe would be extremely advantageous, had been entered upon some time before. This was, the encouraging those who had been discharged from the army or navy to become settlers in a new colony in North America, in the province of Nova Scotia. To this retreat it was thought the waste of an exuberant nation might well be drained off, and those bold spirits kept in employment at a distance, who might be dangerous, if suffered to continue in idleness at home. Nova Scotia was a place where men might be imprisoned, but not maintained; it was cold, barren, and incapable of successful cultivation. The new colony, therefore, was maintained there with some expense to the government in the beginning;

and such as were permitted soon went southward to the milder climates, where they were invited by an untenanted and fertile soil. Thus did the nation ungratefully send off her hardy veterans, to perish on inhospitable shores; and this they were taught to believe would extend their dominion.

However, it was for this barren spot that the English and French revived the war, which soon after spread with such terrible devastation over every part of the globe. The native Indians bordering upon the deserts of Nova Scotia, a fierce and savage people, looked from the first with jealousy upon these new settlers; and they considered the vicinity of the English as an encroachment upon their native possessions. The French, who were neighbours in like manner, and who were still impressed with national animosity, fomented these suspicions in the natives, representing the English (and with regard to this colony the representation might be true) as enterprising and severe. Commissaries were therefore appointed to meet at Paris, to compromise these disputes; but these conferences were rendered abortive by the disputes of men who could not be supposed to understand the subject in debate.

As this seemed to be the first place where the dissensions took their rise for a new war, it may be necessary to be a little more minute. The French had been the first cultivators of Nova Scotia, and, by great industry and long perseverance, had rendered the soil, naturally barren, somewhat more fertile, and capable of sustaining nature with some assistance from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed masters, until at length the English were settled in the possession, and acknowledged as the rightful owners, by the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of this country was reckoned necessary to defend the English colonies to the north, and to preserve their superiority in the fisheries in that part of the world. The French, however, who had been long settled in the back parts of the country, resolved to use every method to dispossess the new comers, and spirited up the Indians to more open hostilities, which were represented to the English ministry for some time without redress.

Soon after this, another source of dispute began to be seen in the same part of the world, and promised as much uneasiness as the former. The French, pretending first to have discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the east, and quite to the Apalachian mountains on the west. In order to assert their claims, as they found several English, who had settled beyond these mountains from motives of commerce, and also invited by the natural beauties of the country, they dispossessed them of their new settlements, and built such forts as would command the whole country round about. It was now seen that their intention was to surround the English colonies, which lay along the shore, by taking possession of the internal parts of the country that lay on the back of our settlements; and thus, being in possession already of the northern and southern parts of that great continent, to hem the English in on every side, and secure to themselves all the trade with the natives of the internal part of the country. The English, therefore, justly apprehended, that if the French united their northern colonies, which were traded into by the river St. Lawrence, to their southern, which were accessible by the river Mississippi, they must in a short time become masters of the whole country; and by having a wide-extended territory to range in, they would soon multiply, and become every day more powerful.

Negotiations had long been carried on to determine these differences; but what could reason avail in determining disputes where there were no certain principles to be guided by? The limits of those countries had never been settled; for they were before this time too remote, or too insignificant, to employ much attention. It was not probable that powers, who had no right to the countries in dispute but that of invasion, would have equity enough to agree among themselves in sharing the spoil.

Not in America alone, but also in Asia, the seeds of a new war were preparing to be expanded. On the coast of Malabar, the English and French had, in fact, never ceased from hostilities.

This immense tract of country, which now saw the armies of Europe contending for its dominion, comprehends the whole peninsula of India Proper.

On the coast of this country, the English, the French, and several other powers of Europe, had built forts, with the original consent of the Mogul, who was then emperor of the whole tract. The war between the English and French there first began by either power siding with two contending princes of the country, and from being secondaries in the quarrel, at length becoming principals. Thus the war was kindled in every part of the world. Most other national contests have arisen from some principal cause; but this war seemed to have been produced by the concurrence of several; or it may be more properly considered as the continuance of the late war, which was never effectually extinguished by the wretched and defective treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The government of England had long complained of these infractions, and these produced only recrimination; the two powers were negotiating, accusing, and destroying each other at the same time. At length, the ministry resolved to cut the knot which they could not loosen, and to act at once in open defiance of the enemy. Orders were accordingly despatched to all the governors of the American provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual security; and, if possible, to bring the Indians over to espouse their quarrel. But this was a measure which, by long neglect, was now become impracticable. It had long been the practice of the English to cultivate the friendship of this fierce and hardy race in times of danger, but to slight it in circumstances of safety. This tended to alienate the affections of the Indians from the English government; but the avarice of our merchants, particularly of the Ohio company, who sold them bad commodities, and treated them with perfidy and insolence, served to confirm their aversion. Beside, there was something in the disposition of the French adventurers in those regions more similar to theirs; they were hardy, enterprising, and poor. The Indians, therefore, naturally joined those allies, from the conquest of whom, in case of enmity, they could expect no plunder; and they declared war against the English settlers, who were rich, frugal, and laborious, and whose spoils were worth wishing for.

A. D. 1754.] In this manner the English had not only the French, but also the whole body of the Indian nations, to contend with; but what was still worse, their contentions among each other rendered their situation yet more deplorable. Some of the English provinces, who, from their situation, had little to fear from the enemy, or few advantages to expect from success, declined furnishing their share of the supplies. At the same time, the governors of some other colonies, who had been men of broken fortunes, and had left England in hopes of retrieving their lost circumstances by rapacity abroad, became so odious, that the colonies refused to lend any assistance, when such men were to have the management.

The successes, therefore, of the French in the beginning were flattering and uninterrupted. There had been for some time frequent skirmishes between the troops, and those of the government of England. They had fought with general Lawrence to the north, and colonel Washington to the south, and came off most commonly victorious. It is unnecessary to transmit these trifling details to posterity, or to load the page with barbarous names and unimportant marches. It may be sufficient to say, that the two nations seemed to have imbibed a part of the savage fury of those with whom they fought, and exercised various cruelties, either from a spirit of avarice or revenge.

The ministry, however, in England, began now a very vigorous exertion in defence of those colonies which refused to defend themselves. Four opera-
A. D. 1755.] tions were undertaken in America, at the same time. Of these, one was commanded by colonel Monckton, who had orders to drive the French from the encroachments upon the province of Nova Scotia. The second, more to the south, was directed against Crown-Point, under the command of general Johnson. The third, under the conduct of general Shirley, was destined to Niagara, to secure the forts on the river; and the fourth was still more to the southward, against Fort Du Quesne, under general Braddock.

In these expeditions Monckton was successful; Johnson also was victorious, though he failed in taking the fort against which he was sent; Shirley was thought to have lost the season for operation by delay; Braddock was vigorous and active, but suffered a defeat. This bold commander, who had

been recommended to this service by the duke of Cumberland, set forward upon his expedition in June, and left the cultivated parts of the country on the tenth, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival he was informed that the French of Fort Du Quesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred men, and would then become his equals in the field; he therefore resolved with all haste to advance and attack them, before they became too powerful by this conjunction. In consequence of this resolution, leaving colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men, to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as quickly as the nature of the service would admit, he marched forward with the rest of his army, through a country that still remained in primeval wildness, solitary and hideous, inhabited only by beasts, and hunters still more formidable. However, he went forward with intrepidity, and soon found himself advanced into the deserts of Oswego, where no European had ever been. But his courage was greater than his caution; regardless of the designs of the enemy, he took no care previously to explore the woods or the thickets, as if, the nearer he approached the enemy, the more unmindful he became of danger. Being at length within ten miles of the fortress he was appointed to besiege, and marching forward through the forests with full confidence of success, on a sudden his troops were astonished by a general discharge of arms, both in front and flank, from an enemy that still remained unseen. It was now too late to think of retreating; his men had passed into the defile, which the enemy had artfully permitted them to do before they offered to fire. The vanguard of the English now fell back in consternation upon the main body, and the panic soon became general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while Braddock himself still continued to command his brave associates, discovering at once the greatest intrepidity and the greatest imprudence. An enthusiast in the discipline of war, he disdained to fly from the field, or to permit his men to quit their ranks, when their only method of treating the Indian army was by a precipitate attack, or an immediate desertion of the field of battle. At length, Braddock, having received a musket-shot through the lungs, dropped, and a total confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army, were left to the enemy; and the loss sustained by the English army might amount to seven hundred men. The shattered remains of the army, soon after joining colonel Dunbar, returned by their former route, and arrived to spread the general consternation among the provincials of Philadelphia.

The general indignation that was raised by these defeats drove the English into a spirit of retaliation by sea, where they were sure of success. Orders were therefore given to make prize of the French shipping wherever found, though they had yet published no formal declaration of war. With this order the naval commanders very readily and willingly complied; the French merchants' ships were taken in several places, and soon the English ports were filled with vessels taken from the enemy, and kept as an indemnification for those forts of which the enemy had unjustly possessed themselves in America. The benefit of this measure was much more obvious than its justice; it struck such a blow, that the French navy was unable to recover itself during the continuance of the war, which was formally declared on both sides shortly after.

CHAP. LI.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1756 to 1757.

THE war between the two nations being thus begun, and all negotiation at an end, both nations made vigorous preparations, both to annoy and intimidate each other. In this the French were most successful; and for a long time had the satisfaction to see not only success attend their arms, but discontent and faction dividing the councils of their opponents. Their first attempt was by intimidating England with the threats of a formidable invasion. Several bodies of their troops had for some time been sent down to the coasts that lie opposite the British shores; these were instructed in the discipline of em-

barking and relanding from flat-bottomed boats, which were made in great numbers for that expedition. The number of men destined for this enterprise amounted to fifty thousand; but they discovered the utmost reluctance to the undertaking; and it was by degrees that the French ministry hoped to prevail upon them to proceed. Every day they were exercised with embarking and disembarking, while numbers of new flat-bottomed boats were continually added.

Whether these preparations were intended for actual descent, or made only to terrify the English, is yet uncertain; but it is manifest that they answered the latter part entirely. The people of England saw themselves exposed, without arms, leaders, or discipline, to the designs of their enemies, governed by a timid, unpopular, and divided ministry. It was in this exigence that they applied to the Dutch for six thousand men, which they were obliged to furnish by the treaty in case of invasion. However, the Dutch refused the supply, alleging that their treaty was to provide troops in case of an actual and not a threatened invasion. The king, therefore, finding that he could not have the Dutch forces until assistance would be too late, desisted from his demand; and the Dutch, with great amity, returned him thanks for withdrawing his request.

The ministry, disappointed of this assistance, looked round the continent, to find where they might at any rate make a demand. The aid of a body of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand men, was to be purchased; and these the ministry brought over into England, to protect about as many millions of Englishmen, who were supposed incapable of defending themselves. But here the remedy appeared to the people worse than the disease. The ministers were reviled for having reduced the nation to such a disgraceful condescension. The people considered themselves as no way brought under the necessity of borrowing such feeble aid. They only demanded a vigorous exertion of their own internal strength, and feared no force that could be led to invade them.

These murmurs, fears, and dissensions, among the English, gave the French an opportunity of carrying on their designs in another quarter; and, while the ministry were employed in guarding against the neighbouring terrors, they were attacked in the Mediterranean, where they expected no danger. The island of Minorca, which we had taken from the Spaniards in the reign of queen Anne, was secured to England by repeated treaties. But the ministry had neglected to take sufficient precautions for its defence; so that the garrison was weak, and no way fitted to stand a vigorous siege. The French, therefore, landed near the fortification of St. Philip, which was reckoned one of the strongest in Europe, and commanded by general Blakeney, who was brave indeed, but rather superannuated. The siege was carried on with great vigour and for some time as obstinately defended on the side of the English.

The ministry being apprized of this unexpected attack, resolved to raise the siege, if possible, and sent out admiral Byng with ten ships of war, to relieve Minorca at any rate. Byng accordingly sailed from Gibraltar, where he was refused any assistance of men from the governor of that garrison, under a pretence that his own fortification was in danger. Upon his approaching the island, he soon saw the French banners displayed upon the shore, and the English colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. He had been ordered to throw a body of troops into the garrison; but this he thought too hazardous an undertaking; nor did he even make an attempt. While he was thus deliberating between his fears and his duty, his attention was quickly called off by the appearance of a French fleet, that seemed of nearly equal force to his own. Confounded by a variety of measures, he resolved to pursue none; and therefore gave orders to form the line of battle, and act upon the defensive. Byng had long been praised for his skill in naval tactics; and perhaps, valuing most those talents for which he was most praised, he sacrificed all claims to courage, to the applause for naval discipline. The French fleet advanced; a part of the English fleet engaged; the admiral still kept aloof, and gave very plausible reasons for not coming into action The French fleet, therefore, slowly sailed away; and no other opportunity ever offered of coming to a closer engagement.

This caution was carried rather beyond the proper bounds; but a council of war, which was soon after called on board the admiral's own ship, deprived the English garrison of all hopes of succour. It was there determined to sail away to Gibraltar, to refit the fleet; and it was agreed that the relief of Minorca was become impracticable.

Nothing could exceed the resentment of the nation, upon being informed of Byng's conduct. The ministry were not averse to throwing from themselves the blame of those measures which were attended with such indifferent success; and they secretly fanned the flame. The news, which soon after arrived, of the surrender of the garrison to the French, drove the general ferment almost to frenzy. In the mean time, Byng continued at Gibraltar, quite satisfied with his own conduct, and little expected the dreadful storm that was gathering against him at home. Orders, however, were soon sent out for putting him under an arrest, and for carrying him to England. Upon his arrival, he was committed to close custody in Greenwich hospital; and some arts were used to inflame the populace against him, who want no incentives to injure and condemn their superiors. Several addresses were sent up from different counties, demanding justice on the delinquent, which the ministry were willing to second. He was soon after tried by a court-martial in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after a trial which continued several days, his judges at last agreed that he had not done his utmost, during the engagement, to destroy the enemy; and therefore they adjudged him to suffer death, by the twelfth article of war. At the same time they recommended him as an object of mercy, as they deemed his conduct rather the effect of error than of cowardice. By this sentence, they expected to satisfy at once the resentment of the nation, and yet screen themselves from conscious severity. The government resolved to shew him no mercy; the parliament was applied to in his favour, but they found no circumstances in his conduct that could invalidate the former sentence. Being thus abandoned to his fate, he maintained to the last a degree of fortitude and serenity, that no way betrayed timidity or cowardice. On the day fixed for his execution, which was on board a man-of-war in the harbour of Portsmouth, he advanced from the cabin (where he had been imprisoned) upon deck, the place appointed for him to suffer. After delivering a paper, containing the strongest assertions of his innocence, he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for some time persisted in not covering his face; but his friends representing that his looks might intimidate the soldiers who were to shoot him, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with a handkerchief; and then giving the soldiers the signal to fire, he was killed instantaneously. There appears some severity in Byng's punishment; but it certainly produced, soon after, very beneficial effects to the nation.

In the mean time, the French, who were now masters of Minorca, were willing to second their blow by an attack upon a country which they were sensible the king of England valued still more. Being convinced that they could not hold their acquisitions against such a superiority as the English possessed at sea, and the numberless resources they had of assisting their colonies with all the necessaries of war, they made no scruple of declaring that they would revenge all injuries which they should sustain in their colonies, upon the king of England's territories in Germany; a threat which they secretly believed would soon compel the English ministry to accept such terms as they should be pleased to offer: or, in case of perseverance, they knew that it would divide the English forces, and lead them to a country where they must be manifestly inferior. In these hopes, they were not much disappointed. The court of London, dreading the consequences of their indignation, and eager to procure the security of Hanover, entered into a very expensive treaty with the court of Russia, by which it was stipulated that a body of fifty thousand Russians should be ready to act in the English service, in case Hanover should be invaded; and for this the czarina was to receive a hundred thousand pounds annually, to be paid in advance.

This treaty with the Russians, which was considered as a master-stroke of politics by the ministry in England, soon appeared to be as nugatory as it was expensive. The king of Prussia had long considered himself as guardian

of the interests of Germany, and was startled at a treaty which threatened to deluge the empire with an army of barbarians. This monarch, whose talents were well known even at that time, but who has since become so famous, had learned by his sagacity to prevent the designs of his enemies while yet beginning, and to repress them by his courage when they were begun. He, therefore, took the first opportunity to declare that he would not suffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries or as principals. This consummate politician had, it seems, been already apprised of a secret negotiation between the Russians and the Austrians, by which the latter were to enter the empire, and strip him of his late conquest of Silesia. Thus England was but the dupe of Russian politics; she paid them a large subsidy for entering the empire, which they had already determined to perform without her commands.

The king of England, whose fears for Hanover guided all his counsels, now saw himself in the situation he most dreaded. His native dominions were now exposed to the resentment not only of France, but of Prussia; and either of these was sufficient at once to over-run and ravage his electorate, while the Russian subsidiaries were at too great a distance to lend him the smallest relief. Treaties were once more set on foot to lend a precarious security; and the king of Prussia was applied to, in hopes of turning his resentment another way. All that the king of England wished was, to keep a foreign enemy from invading Germany; and this the king of Prussia professed to desire with equal ardour. From this similitude of intention, these two monarchs were induced to unite their interests; and as they were both inspired by the same wish, they soon came to an agreement, by which they promised to assist each other, and to prevent all foreign armies from entering the empire.

From this new alliance both powers hoped to derive great advantages. Besides preserving the independence of the German states, which was the ostensible object, each had a peculiar benefit in view. The king of Prussia knew that the Austrians were his secret enemies, and that the Russians were in league with them against him. An alliance, therefore, with the court of London, kept back the Russians, whom he dreaded, and gave him hopes of punishing Austria, whom he had long suspected. As for France, he counted upon that as a natural ally, which, from its long and hereditary enmity with the Austrians, would ever continue steadfast in his interests. On the other side, the elector of Hanover had still stronger expectations from the benefits that would result from this alliance. By this he procured a near and powerful ally, whom he supposed the French would not venture to disoblige. He considered the Austrians as naturally attached to his own interest by gratitude and friendship; and he supposed that the Russians would at least continue neuter from their former stipulations and subsidy. The two contracting powers soon found themselves deceived in every one of these expectations.

This alliance soon after gave birth to one of an opposite nature, that astonished all Europe. The queen of Hungary had long meditated designs for recovering Silesia, which the king of Prussia had invaded when she was unable to defend her native dominions, and kept possession of by a reluctant concession. Her chief hopes of assistance were from Russia; and she expected that the rest of the powers in question would continue neuter. However, she now found by the late treaty that all her hopes of Russian assistance were frustrated, as England was joined with Prussia to counteract her intentions. Thus deprived of one ally, she sought about in order to substitute another. She applied to France for that purpose; and, to procure the friendship of that court, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages securing against that power with its blood and its treasures. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political system of Europe acquired a new aspect, and the treaties of a century were at one blow rendered ineffectual.

This treaty between France and Austria was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede; and she, unmindful of her subsidies from England, ardently embraced the proposal. A settlement in the western parts of Europe was what that state had long desired to obtain, as, being possessed of it, this fierce northern empire could then pour down fresh forces at any time upon the southern powers, exhausted by luxury and mutual contention. Not

Russia alone, but Sweden also, was brought to accede by the intrigues of France; and a war between that nation and Prussia was entered upon, though contrary to the inclinations of the respective kings.

The forces of the contending powers were now drawn out in the following manner. England opposed France, in America, Asia, and on the ocean. France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe. This country the king of Prussia undertook to protect, while England promised him troops and money to assist his operations. Then again Austria had her aims on the dominions of Prussia, and drew the elector of Saxony into the same designs. In these views she was seconded by France and Sweden, and by Russia, who had hopes of acquiring a settlement in the west of Europe. Such were the different combinations which were formed to begin the general war, while the rest of the powers continued anxious spectators of the contention.

The preparations for war were first begun on the side of Austria, who had engaged the elector of Saxony in the general dispute. Great armaments were therefore put on foot in Moravia and Bohemia, while the elector of Saxony, under a pretence of military parade, drew together about sixteen thousand men, which were posted in a strong situation at Pirna. But the intent of these preparations was soon perceived by the vigilant king of Prussia; and he ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand a clear explanation, and to extort proper assurances of the amicable intentions of that court. To this demand he at first received an evasive answer; and when he had ordered his minister to insist upon an open reply, whether the empress queen was for peace or war, and whether she had any intentions to attack him that or the next year, an ambiguous answer was still returned. He now, therefore, thought proper to suspend all negotiations, and to carry the war into the enemy's country rather than to wait for it in his own.

He accordingly entered Saxony with a large army, and, in the usual strain of civility, demanded from the elector a passage through his dominions, which he well knew the possessor was not able to refuse. In the mean time, he disguised his suspicions of the elector's having entered into a secret treaty with his enemies, and professed himself extremely pleased with that potentate's promises of observing a strict neutrality. But, to carry on the deceit, he entreated, that, as the elector's troops were totally unnecessary in consequence of his pacific disposition, he would disband them for the present, as he could not have any occasion for their services.

This was a proposal the elector neither expected nor was willing to comply with. He rejected the request with disdain; and the king, who probably caused it to be refused, resolved to turn the occurrence to his own advantage. Such was the situation of the Saxon camp, that, though a small army could defend it against the most numerous forces, yet the same difficulty attended the quitting it that impeded the enemy from storming it. Of this his Prussian majesty took the advantage; and by blocking up every avenue of egress, he cut off the provisions of the Saxon army; and the whole body was soon reduced to capitulate. He took care to incorporate the common soldiers into his own army and the officers who refused to serve under him he made prisoners.

The king of Prussia, thus launched into a tumult of war, with all the most potent states of Europe against him, and England only in alliance, went forward with a vigour that exceeded what history can shew, and that may be incredible to posterity. King only of a very small territory, and assisted by an ally whose situation was too remote to give him any considerable succours, attacked and surrounded by his enemies, he still opposed them on every side. He invades Bohemia, defeats the Austrian general at Lowositz, [A. D. 1757. retreats, begins his second campaign with another victory near Prague, is upon the point of taking that city, but by a temerity inspired by success, suffers a defeat at Kolin. Still, however, unconquered, "Fortune," said he, "has turned her back upon me this day. I ought to have expected it. She is a female, and I am no gallant. Success often occasions a destructive confidence. Another time we will do better." We have instances of thousands who gain battles; but no general ever before him acknowledged his errors, except Cæsar.

What the king said of the instability of fortune shortly began to appear, and she seemed totally to have turned her back upon him. One disaster followed upon the back of another. The Hanoverians, who were joined with him by his treaty with England, had armed in his favour, and were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, who appeared, from the beginning, sensible of the insufficiency of his troops to face the enemy, by whom he was greatly out-numbered. He was driven beyond the Weser, the passage of which might have been disputed with some success; yet the French were permitted to pass unmolested. The Hanoverian army was now driven from one part of the country to another, till at length it made a stand near a village called Hastenbeck, where it was hoped the numbers of the enemy would have the least opportunity of coming to a general action. But the weaker army was still obliged to retire, and, after a feeble effort, left the field of battle to the French, who were not remiss in urging the pursuit. The Hanoverian forces retired towards Stade; by which means they marched into a country where they could neither procure provisions, nor yet attack the enemy with hopes of success. Unable, therefore, by their situation to escape, or by their strength to advance, they were compelled to sign a capitulation, by which the whole body laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable capitulation, which was called the treaty of Closter-Seven, Hanover was obliged to submit peaceably to the French, who now were determined to turn upon the king of Prussia with undiminished forces.

The situation of this monarch was become desperate; nor could human foresight discover how he could extricate himself from his difficulties. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one side, commanded by marechal Broglio. The Russians, who for some time had hovered over his empire, under the conduct of general Apraxin, all at once hastened onward to overwhelm him, marking their way with slaughter and cruelty. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia; and penetrating as far as Breslau, turned to the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, which, after an obstinate defence, they obliged to surrender. Another army of the same power entered Lusatia, made themselves masters of Zittau, and, still pressing forward, laid Berlin under contribution. On another quarter, a body of twenty-two thousand Swedes pierced into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and exacted tribute from the whole country. In this multitude of invaders, it was in vain that the king of Prussia faced about to every incursion, though his enemies fled before him: while he pursued one body, another penetrated from behind; and even while he was victorious, his dominions were every day diminishing. The greatest part of his territory was laid under contribution; most of his strong cities were taken; and he had no resources but in the generosity of the British parliament and his own extensive abilities.

The succours of the English could be of very little advantage to him, particularly as the Hanoverians were restrained by treaty from acting in his favour. The ministry, however, conscious that something should be done, planned an enterprise against the coast of France, which, by causing a diversion in that part of the kingdom, would draw off the attention of the enemy from Prussia, and give that monarch time to respire. Beside this intention, England also hoped to give a blow to the French marine, by destroying such ships as were building or were laid up in the harbour of Rochefort, against which city their operations were principally intended. The English ministry kept the object of their enterprise a profound secret; and France was for some time filled with apprehensions, till at length the fleet appeared off Rochefort, where the commanders spent some time in deliberating how to proceed. After consultation, it was determined to secure the little island of Aix, an easy conquest, and of no benefit to the invaders. In the mean time, the militia of the country, recovering from their consternation, had leisure to assemble, and there was the appearance of two camps on shore. The commanders, who, from the badness of the weather, were prevented from landing, now began to fear greater dangers from the enemy on land. They took into consideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the city had been

preparing for a vigorous defence, and their own unfitness to reduce it by any other means but a sudden attack. This induced them to desist from farther operations; and they unanimously resolved to return home, without making any effort.

From this expedition, therefore, the king of Prussia reaped very little advantage; and the despondence among the English was so great, that the ministry had thoughts of giving up his cause entirely. It was supposed that no military efforts could save him; and that the only hope remaining was to make the best terms possible for him with his victorious enemies. The king of England was actually meditating a negotiation of this nature, when his distressed ally expostulated with him to the following purpose. "Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are our affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? Consider the step you have made me undertake; and remember you are the cause of all my misfortunes. I should never have abandoned my former alliances but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us; but I entreat that you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe." In this terrible situation, England resolved, more from motives of generosity than of interest, to support his declining cause; and success, that for a long time fled her arms, began to return with double splendour. The efforts of the parliament only rose by defeat; and every resource seemed to augment with multiplied disappointment.

CHAP. LII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1757 to 1760.

THE East was the quarter on which success first began to dawn upon the British arms. The war in our Asiatic territories had never been wholly suspended. It was carried on at first by both nations under the colour of lending assistance to the contending chiefs of the country; but the allies soon became the principals in the contention. This war at first, and for a long time after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was carried on with doubtful success; but at length the affairs of the English seemed to gain the ascendancy, by the conduct of Mr. Clive. This gentleman had at first entered the company's service in a civil capacity; but, finding his talents more adapted to war, he gave up his clerkship, and joined among the troops as a volunteer. His courage, which is all that subordinate officers can at first shew, soon became remarkable; but his conduct, expedition, and military skill, soon after became so conspicuous, as to raise him to the first rank in the army.

The first advantage that was obtained from his activity and courage was the clearing the province of Arcot. Soon after, the French general was taken prisoner, and the nabob, whom the English supported, was reinstated in the government of which he had formerly been deprived.

The French, discouraged by these misfortunes, and sensible of their own inferiority in this part of the globe, sent over a commissary to Europe to restore peace. A convention, between the two companies, was accordingly concluded; importing that the territories taken on either side since the conclusion of the last peace should be restored; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party should be acknowledged by both; and that for the future neither should interfere in the differences that should arise between the princes of the country.

This cessation, which promised such lasting tranquillity, was, nevertheless, but of short duration. Compacts made between trading companies can never be of long continuance, when advantage is opposed to good faith. In a few months, both sides renewed their operations, no longer under the name of auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms, in government, and in commerce. It is not sufficiently known what were the motives of this infraction; but wherever there is trade there is avarice, and that is a passion which overleaps the bounds of equity. Certain it is, that the prince of the greatest power in that country declared war against the English from motives of personal resent-

ment, and, levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta, one of the principal British forts in that part of the world, but which was not in a state of strength to defend itself against the attack even of barbarians. The fort was taken, having been deserted by the commander; and the garrison, to the number of a hundred and forty-six persons, were made prisoners.

They expected the usual treatment of prisoners of war, and were therefore the less vigorous in their defence; but they soon found what mercy was to be expected from a savage conqueror. They were all crowded together into a narrow prison, called the Black-Hole, of about eighteen feet square, and receiving air only by two small iron windows to the west, which by no means afforded a sufficient circulation. It is terrible to reflect on the situation of these unfortunate men, shut up in this narrow place, in the burning climate of the East, and suffocating each other. Their first efforts, upon perceiving the effects of their horid confinement, were to break open the door of their prison; but, as it opened inward, they soon found it impossible. They next endeavoured to excite the compassion or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large sum of money for his assistance in removing them to separate prisons; but with this he was not able to comply, as the viceroy was asleep, and no person dared to disturb him. They were now left to die without hopes of relief; and the whole prison was filled with groans, shrieks, contest, and despair. This turbulence, however, soon after sunk into a calm still more hideous; their efforts of strength and courage were over, and an expiring languor succeeded. In the morning, when the keepers came to visit the prison, all was horror, silence, and desolation. Of a hundred and forty-six who had entered alive, twenty-three only survived, and of these the greatest part died of putrid fevers upon being set free.

The destruction of this important fortress served to interrupt the prosperous successes of the English company. But the fortune of Mr. Clive, backed by the activity of an English fleet under admiral Watson, still turned the scale in their favour. Among the number of those who felt the power of the English in this part of the world, was the famous Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince, who had long infested the Indian Ocean, and made the princes on the coast his tributaries. He maintained a large number of galleys, and with these he attacked the largest ships, and almost ever with success. As the company had been greatly harassed by his depredations, they resolved to subdue such a dangerous enemy, and attack him in his own fortress. In pursuance of this resolution, admiral Watson and colonel Clive sailed into his harbour of Geriah; and though they sustained a warm fire as they entered, yet they soon threw all his fleet into flames, and obliged his fort to surrender at discretion. The conquerors found there a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects to a considerable value.

From this conquest colonel Clive proceeded to take revenge for the cruelty practised upon the English at Calcutta; and, having arrived at Ballasore in the kingdom of Bengal, he met with little opposition either to the fleet or the army, till they came before Calcutta, which seemed resolved to stand a regular siege. As soon as the admiral, with two ships, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries, which he soon returned with still greater execution, and in less than two hours obliged them to abandon their fortifications. By these means, the English took possession of the two strongest settlements on the banks of the Ganges; but that of Geriah they demolished to the ground.

Soon after these successes, Hughly, a city of great trade, was reduced with as little difficulty as the former; and all the viceroy's storehouses and granaries were destroyed. In order to repair these losses, this barbarous prince assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, and professed a firm resolution of expelling the English from all the settlements in that part of the world. Upon the first intelligence of his march, colonel Clive, obtaining a reinforcement of men from the admiral's ships, advanced with his little army to fight these numerous forces. He attacked the enemy in three columns; and, though the numbers were so disproportioned, victory soon declared in favour of the English. This, as well as several other victories gained by this commander against such a numerous enemy, teach us to

longer to wonder at those conquests which were gained formerly by European troops over this weak and effeminate people. Indeed, what can slavish Asiatic troops do against an army, however small, hardened by discipline, and animated by honour? All the customs, habits, and opinions of the Asiatics, tend to effeminate the body, and dispirit the mind. When we conceive a body of men led up to the attack dressed in long silken garments, with no other courage than what opium can inspire, no other fears from a defeat but of changing their tyrant, with their chief commander mounted on an elephant, and consequently a more conspicuous object of aim, their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious on the slightest wound, every soldier among them unacquainted with cool intrepidity, which provides against danger, and only fighting by the same fury that raises their passions; if we consider all these circumstances, we shall not be surprised at European victories, and that two or three thousand men are able to defeat the largest armies they can bring into the field. All the heroism of a Cyrus, or an Alexander, in this view, will sink in our esteem, and no longer continue the object of admiration.

A victory so easily acquired by a small body of foreigners soon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his subjects at home. His cowardice now rendered him despicable, and his former cruelty odious. A conspiracy, therefore, was projected against him by Ali Khan, his prime minister; and the English, having private intimations of the design, resolved to second it with all their endeavours. Accordingly, colonel Clive, knowing that he had a friend in the enemy's camp, marched forward, and soon came up with the viceroy, who had by this time recruited his army, and fitted it once more for action. After a short contest, however, Clive was as usual victorious; the whole Indian army was put to flight, and routed with terrible slaughter. Ali Khan, who first incited his master to this undertaking, had hitherto concealed his attachments to the English, till he saw there was no danger from his perfidy. But, upon the assurance of the victory, he openly espoused the side of the conquerors; and in consequence of his private service, was solemnly proclaimed, by colonel Clive, viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in the room of the former nabob, who was solemnly deposed, and soon after put to death by his perfidious successor.

The English, having placed a viceroy on the throne, (for the Mogul had long lost all power in India,) took care to exact such stipulations in their own favour, as would secure them the possession of the country whenever they thought proper to resume their authority. They were gratified in their avarice to its extreme wish; and that wealth which they had plundered from slaves in India, they were resolved to employ in making slaves at home.

From the conquest of the Indians, colonel Clive turned to the humbling of the French, who had long disputed empire in that part of the world. Chandenagore, a French settlement higher up the Ganges than Calcutta, was compelled to submit to the English arms. The goods and money found in this place were considerable; but the chief damage the French sustained was from the ruin of this their chief settlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this part of the continent. Thus, in one campaign, which was carried on by the activity of Clive, and seconded by the operations of the admirals Watson and Pococke, the English became possessed of a territory superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and the number of its inhabitants, to any part of Europe. Above two millions sterling were paid to the company and the survivors of those who were imprisoned at Calcutta; the soldiers and seamen shared six hundred thousand pounds, and the English power became irresistible in that part of the world.

This success was not a little alarming to the French ministry; and it is supposed that even the Dutch entertained some jealousy of this growing greatness. To make some degree of opposition, the king of France sent out a considerable reinforcement under the command of general Lally, an Irishman, from whose great experience sanguine hopes were conceived. Lally was one of the bravest soldiers in the French service, but the most unfit man in the world to be connected with a trading company, as he was fierce, proud, and precipitate, not without a mixture of avarice, which tempted him to share in their gain. He had been from his youth bred up to arms, and carried the

spirit of discipline to a faulty extreme, in a place where the nature of the service required its relaxation.

Under the guidance of this whimsical man, the affairs of the French for some time seemed to wear a face of success. He took from the English their settlement of Fort St. David, and plundered the country of the king of Tanjore, in alliance with the enemy. He then entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying siege to Madras, the chief settlement of the English on the coast of Coromandel. In the siege of this important place, a greater variety of difficulties presented than he had expected or prepared for. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while on the other side the French soldiers acted with the greatest timidity; nor did even the council of Pondicherry second the ardour of the general. It was in vain that Lally attempted to lead on his men to a breach that had been practicable for several days; it continued open for a fortnight, and not one dared to venture the assault. To add to his embarrassments, he was very ill supplied with provisions, and he found the garrison had received a reinforcement. Despairing, therefore, of success, he raised the siege, and this so intimidated his troops, that they seemed quite dispirited in every succeeding operation.

But while success was thus doubtful between the contending nations, a rupture seemed to be in preparation upon a quarter where the English least expected. The Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing their garrisons in Bengal, equipped seven ships, which were ordered to sail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chinsura so formidable as to exclude all other nations from the saltpetre trade, which was carried on there, and thus monopolize so beneficial a commodity. This design, however, colonel Clive thought proper to oppose. He accordingly sent the Dutch commander a letter, informing him that he could not permit his landing, and marching his forces to the fort intended, as he foresaw that it would be detrimental to the commerce of Europe. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no such designs of monopoly as were imputed to him, and he only requested the liberty to land and refresh his troops; which request, seemingly so reasonable, was quickly granted. However, the Dutch commander continued submissive no longer than he supposed himself unable to act with vigour; for, as soon as he knew that the ships which were to second his operations were come up the river, he boldly began his march to Chinsura, and took several small vessels belonging to the English in his passage up the river, to retaliate the affront he pretended to have received.

Whether the Calcutta Indiaman was sent out upon this occasion to oppose the Dutch, or whether it was only pursuing its voyage down the river to England, is not known; but certain it is, that she was prevented by the Dutch commander from going onward, and obliged to return to Calcutta with the complaints of this treatment to colonel Clive. The colonel was not slow in vindicating the honour of his country; and, as there happened to be three India ships at that time in the harbour, he gave them instant orders to meet the Dutch fleet, and sink them if they offered to resist. This command was obeyed with great alacrity; but, after a few broadsides on either side, the Dutch commander struck, and the rest of the fleet followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without any great damage, captain Wilson, who commanded in the expedition, took possession of the fleet of the enemy, and sent their men prisoners to the English fort; while about the same time their land forces were defeated by colonel Ford, sent by Clive upon that duty. This contest threatened a new rupture in that part of the world; but a negotiation soon after ensuing, the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were not able to withstand, and were content to sit down with the loss.

In the mean time, the operations against the French were carried on with much more splendid success. The troops, headed by colonel Coote, a native of Ireland, and possessed of prudence and bravery, marched against general Lally, resolved to come to a decisive engagement. On his march, he took the town of Wandewash; he afterwards reduced the fortress of Carangoly, and at length came up with the French general, who had no thoughts of declining the engagement. In the morning early the French advanced within three-quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with

great fury on both sides. The engagement continued with great obstinacy till about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way, and fled towards their camp, which they as quickly abandoned, leaving their baggage, cannon, and the field of battle, to the conquerors.

The retaking the city of Arcot was the consequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but the strong town of Pondicherry, their largest and most beautiful settlement. This city, which was the capital of the French establishments in India, exceeded, in the days of its prosperity, all other European factories there, in trade, opulence, and splendour; and whatever wealth the French still possessed, after repeated losses, was deposited there. As soon as the fortresses adjacent were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before the city, determined to blockade it by land, while admiral Stevens shut up the harbour by sea. A regular siege was at that time impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate would not fail to obstruct all such operations. However, neither the rains nor the inclemency of the climate were able to abate the ardour of the besiegers; the blockade was continued, and the garrison was pressed in such a manner, that it was reduced to extreme distress. Though the French soldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, Lally the commander was determined to hold out to the last. In the midst of the garrison's distress, fortune seemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been seized with vigour. One of those terrible tempests, common in that climate, wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour. Lally wrote the most pressing letters to the French residents at the Dutch settlements, to be supplied with provisions; but, to his mortification, instead of seeing the French boats coming to his relief, he only saw, in less than four days, the English admiral again entering the harbour, having repaired the damage he had lately sustained. Lally, however, still determined to hold out, and with a savage obstinacy saw his troops half consuming with fatigue and famine round him. At length, finding that a breach had been made in the rampart, and that no more than one day's provision remained, he permitted a signal to be made for ceasing hostilities. Yet the strong perverseness of his temper continued; he sent a paper filled with reproaches against the English, and alleged that he would not treat upon honourable terms with an enemy that had transgressed all the laws of honour. He surrendered the place, not in his own person, but permitted some inferior officers in the garrison to obtain terms of capitulation. This conquest put an end to the power of France in India. The chief part of the territory and trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, was annexed to the British empire. The princes of the country, after some vain opposition to the English power, were at length contented to submit.

In the mean time, while conquest shined upon us from the East, it was still more splendid in the western world. Some alterations in the ministry led to those successes which had been long wished for by the nation, and were at length obtained. The affairs of war had been hitherto directed by a ministry but ill supported by the commons, because not confided in by the people. They seemed timid and wavering; and but feebly held together, rather by their fears than their mutual confidence. When any new measure was proposed which could not receive their approbation, or any new member was introduced into government whom they did not appoint, they considered it as an infringement upon their respective departments, and threw up their places in disgust, with a view to resume them with greater lustre. Thus the strength of the crown was every day declining, while an aristocracy filled up every avenue to the throne, intent only on the emoluments, not the duties, of office.

This was at that time the general opinion of the people, and it was too loud not to reach the throne. The ministry that had hitherto hedged in the throne were at length obliged to admit some men into a share of the government, whose activity at least would counterbalance their timidity and irresolution. At the head of the newly introduced party was the celebrated Mr. William Pitt, from whose vigour the nation formed very great expectations, and they were not deceived.

Though the old ministers were obliged to admit these new members into their society, there was no legal penalty for refusing to operate with them:

they therefore associated with each other, and used every art to make their new assistants obnoxious to the king, upon whom they had been in a manner forced by the people. His former ministry flattered him in all his attachments to his German dominions, while the new had long clamoured against all continental connexions, as utterly incompatible with the interests of the nation. These two opinions, carried to the extreme, might have been erroneous; but the king was naturally led to side with those who favoured his own sentiments, and to reject those who opposed them. Mr. Pitt, therefore, after being a few months in office, was ordered to resign, by his majesty's command, and his coadjutor, Mr. Legge, was displaced from being chancellor of the exchequer. This blow to his ambition was but of short continuance; the whole nation, almost to a man, seemed to rise up in his defence, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were reluctantly restored to their former employments, the one of secretary of state, the other of chancellor of the exchequer.

The consequences of the former ill-conducted counsels still seemed to continue in America. The generals sent over to manage the operations of the war loudly accused the timidity and delays of the natives, whose duty it was to unite in their own defence. The natives, on the other hand, as warmly expostulated against the pride, avarice, and incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who had been appointed to the supreme command there, had been for some time recalled, and replaced by lord Loudon; and this nobleman also soon after returning to England, three com- A. D. 1758.] manders were put at the head of separate operations. General Amherst commanded that designed against the island of Cape Breton; the other was consigned to general Abercombie, against Crown-Point and Ticonderoga; and the third still more to the southward, against Fort du Quesne, was commanded by brigadier-general Forbes.

Cape Breton, which had been taken from the French during the preceding war, had been restored at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was not till the English had been put in possession of that island, that they began to perceive its advantageous situation, and the convenience of its harbour for annoying the British trade with impunity. It was also a convenient port for carrying on their fishery, a branch of commerce of the utmost benefit to that nation. The wresting it, therefore, once more from the hands of the French, was a measure ardently desired by the whole nation. The fortress of Louisburg, by which it was defended, had been strengthened by the assistance of art, and was still better defended from the nature of its situation. The garrison also was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to oppose a landing. An account of the operations of the siege can give but little pleasure in abridgment; be it sufficient to say, that the English surmounted every obstacle with great intrepidity. Their former timidity and irresolution seemed to vanish, their natural courage and confidence returned, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The fortifications were soon after demolished, and rendered unfit for future protection.

The expedition to Fort du Quesne was equally successful: but that against Crown-Point was once more defeated. This was now the second time that the English army had attempted to penetrate into those hideous wilds, by which nature had secured the French possessions in that part of the world. Braddock fell in the attempt, a martyr to his impetuosity; too much caution was equally injurious to his successor. Abercrombie spent much time in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give him a severe reception. As he approached Ticonderoga, he found them deeply entrenched at the foot of the fort, and still farther secured by fallen trees, with their branches pointing against him. These difficulties the English ardour attempted to surmount; but as the enemy, being secured themselves, took aim at leisure, a terrible carnage of the assailants ensued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The English force, however, was still superior; and it was supposed that, when the artillery arrived, something more successful might be performed; but the general felt too sensibly the terrors of the late defeat, to remain in the neighbourhood of a triumphant enemy. He immediately withdrew his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George.

But though in this respect the English arms were unsuccessful, yet upon the whole the campaign was greatly in their favour. The taking of Fort du Quesne served to remove from their colonies the terror of the incursions of the Indians, while it interrupted that correspondence which ran along a chain of forts with which the French had environed the English settlements in America. This, therefore, promised a fortunate campaign the next year, and vigorous measures were taken to ensure success.

Accordingly, on the opening of the following year, the ministry, [A. D. 1759. sensible that a single effort, carried on in such an extensive country, could never reduce the enemy, resolved to attack them in several parts of their empire at once. Preparations were accordingly made, and expeditions driven forward, against three different parts of North America at the same time. General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown-Point, that had hitherto been the reproach of the English army. General Wolfe was at the opposite quarter to enter the river St. Laurence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux and sir William Johnson were to attempt a French fort near the cataracts of Niagara.

The last-named expedition was the first that succeeded. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and served to command all the communication between the northern and western French settlements. The siege was begun with vigour, and promised an easy conquest; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches, by the bursting of a mortar; so that the whole command of the expedition devolved upon general Johnson, who omitted nothing to push forward the vigorous operations of his predecessor, to which also he added his own popularity with the soldiers under him. A body of French troops, who were sensible of the importance of this fort, attempted to relieve it, but Johnson attacked them with intrepidity and success: for in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout. The garrison, soon after, perceiving the fate of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war. The success of general Amherst was less splendid, though not less serviceable; upon arriving at the destined place, he found the forts both of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga deserted and destroyed.

There now, therefore, remained but one grand and decisive blow to put all North America into the possession of the English; and this was the taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, a city handsomely built, populous, and flourishing. Admiral Saunders was appointed to command the naval part of the expedition; the siege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, of whom the nation had great expectations. This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-four, had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly at the siege of Louisbourg, a part of the success of which was justly ascribed to him; who, without being indebted to family or connexions, had raised himself by merit to his present command.

The war in this part of the world had been hitherto carried on with extreme barbarity; and retaliating murders were continued, without any one's knowing who first began. Wolfe, however, disdained to imitate an example that had been set him, even by some of his associate officers; he carried on the war with all the spirit of humanity which it admits of. It is not our aim to enter into a minute detail of the siege of this city, which could at best only give amusement to a few: it will be sufficient to say, that when we consider the situation of the town on the side of a great river, the fortifications with which it was secured, the natural strength of the country, the great number of vessels and floating batteries the enemy had provided for the defence of the river, the numerous bodies of savages continually hovering round the English army, we must own there was such a combination of difficulties as might discourage and perplex the most resolute commander. The general himself seemed perfectly sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking. After stating, in a letter to the ministry, the dangers that presented, "I know," said he, "that the affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures. But then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. At present the difficulties are so various, that I am at a loss how to determine." The only prospect of attempting the

town with success was by landing a body of troops in the night below the town, who were to clamber up the banks of the river, and take possession of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly discouraging. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with sentinels, the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steepness of the ground such as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time. All these difficulties were removed by the conduct of the general, and the bravery of the men. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and dislodged a small body of troops that defended a narrow pathway up the bank; thus a few mounting, the general drew the rest up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Moncalm, the French commander, was no sooner apprized that the English had gained these heights, which he had confidently deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle; and a furious encounter quickly began. This was one of the most desperate engagements during the war. The French general was slain, the second in command shared the same fate. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the attack was most warm; as he stood conspicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed; but a second ball, more fatal, pierced his breast; so that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier that was next him. Now struggling in the agonies of death, and just expiring, he heard a voice cry, "They run!" upon which he seemed for a moment to revive, and asking who ran, was informed, the French. Expressing his wonder that they ran so soon, and unable to gaze any longer, he sunk on the soldier's breast, and his last words were, "I die happy." Perhaps the loss of the English that day was greater than the conquest of Canada was advantageous. But it is the lot of mankind, only to know true merit on that dreadful occasion when they are going to lose it.

The surrender of Quebec was the consequence of this victory. The French, indeed, in the following season, made a vigorous effort to retake the city; but by the resolution of governor Murray, and the appearance of an English fleet, under the command of lord Colville, they were forced to abandon the enterprise. The whole province was soon after reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherst, who obliged the French army to capitulate; and it has since remained annexed to the British empire. To these conquests, about the same time, was added the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe, by commodore Moore and general Hopson; an acquisition of great importance, but which was restored at the succeeding peace.

These successes in India and America were great, though achieved by no very expensive efforts: on the contrary, the efforts the English made in Europe, and the operations of their great ally the king of Prussia, were astonishing, yet produced no signal advantages. A defensive war in Germany was all that could be expected; and that he maintained against the united powers of the continent, with unexampled bravery. We left the French and Imperialists triumphing in repeated successes, and enjoying the fruits of an advantageous summer campaign. But as if summer was not sufficient for the horrors of war, they now resolved to exert them even amidst the rigours of winter, and, in the depth of that season, sat down and formed the siege of Leipsic. The capture of that city would have been fatal to the interests of the king; and by one of those rapid marches for which he was remarkable, he seemed with his army unexpectedly to rise up before the town. Such was the terror of his arms, that, even vanquished as he seemed, the French, though superior in numbers, raised the siege and retreated. He was resolved to pursue, and at length overtook them at a village called Rosbach, where he gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their whole army from destruction.

In the mean time, the Austrians, in another part of the empire, were victorious, and had taken the prince of Bevern, the king of Prussia's generalis-

simo, prisoner. The king, having just fought a battle, again undertook a dreadful march of two hundred miles in the depth of winter, and came up with the Austrian army near Breslau. He there disposed his forces with his usual celerity and judgment, and obtained another victory, in which he took no less than fifteen thousand prisoners. Breslau, with a garrison of ten thousand men, surrendered soon after. These successes dispirited the enemy, and gave his distressed Hanoverian allies fresh hopes of being able to expel the French troops from their territories.

Soon after the capitulation of Closter-Seven had been signed between the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Richelieu, both sides began to complain that the treaty was not strictly observed. The Hanoverians exclaimed against the rapacity of the French general, and the brutality of his soldiers. The French retorted the charge, accused them of insolence and insurrection, and resolved to bind them strictly to the terms of their agreement, sensible of their own superiority. Treaties between nations are seldom observed any longer than interest or fear holds the union; and among nations that take every advantage, political faith is a term without meaning. The Hanoverians only wanted a pretext to take arms, and a general to head them. Both were soon found. The oppressions of the tax-gatherers, whom the French had appointed, were considered as so severe, that the army once more rose to vindicate their freedom, while Ferdinand, prince of Brunswick, put himself at their head.

Nothing could be more fortunate for the interests of the king of Prussia, than this sudden insurrection of the Hanoverian forces. From this time he began to oppose the enemy upon more equal terms; he faced them on every side, often victorious, sometimes repulsed, but ever formidable. Never was the art of war carried to such a pitch as by him, and, it must be added, its horrors also. In this war, Europe saw, with astonishment, campaigns carried on in the midst of winter, great and bloody battles fought, yet producing no visible advantage to the victors. At no time since the days of heroism were such numbers destroyed, so many towns taken, so many skirmishes fought, such stratagems practised, or such intrepidity discovered. Armies were by the German discipline considered as composing one great machine, directed by one commander, and animated by a single will. From the commentary of these campaigns, succeeding generals will take their lessons of devastation, and improve upon the arts which increase human calamity.

England was all this time happily retired from the miseries which oppressed the rest of Europe; yet, from her natural military ardour, she seemed desirous of sharing those dangers of which she was only a spectator. This passion for sharing in a continental war was not less pleasing to the king of England, from his native attachments, than from a desire of revenge upon the plunderers of his country. As soon, therefore, as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majesty, in a speech to his parliament, observed that the late successes of his ally in Germany had given a happy turn to his affairs, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons concurred in his sentiments, and liberally granted him supplies both for the service of the king of Prussia, and for enabling the army formed in Hanover to act vigorously in conjunction with him.

From sending money over into Germany, the nation began to extend their benefits; and it was soon considered that men would be a more grateful supply. Mr. Pitt, who had at first come into popularity and power by opposing such measures, was now prevailed on to enter into them with even greater ardour than any of his predecessors. The hopes of putting a speedy end to the war by vigorous measures, the connexions with which he was obliged to co-operate, and perhaps the pleasure he found in pleasing the king, all together incited him eagerly to push forward a continental war. However, he only coincided with the general inclinations of the people at this time, who, allured by the noble efforts of their only ally, were unwilling to see him fall a sacrifice to the united ambition of his enemies.

In order to indulge this general inclination of assisting the king of Prussia, the duke of Marlborough was at first sent into Germany with a small body of British forces to join with prince Ferdinand, whose activity against the French

began to be crowned with success. After some small successes gained by the allied army at Crevelt, the duke of Marlborough dying, his command devolved upon lord George Sackville, who was at that time a favourite with the English army. However, a misunderstanding arose between him and the commander-in-chief, which soon had an occasion of being displayed at the battle of Minden, fought shortly after. The cause of this secret disgust, on both sides, is not clearly known: it is thought that the extensive genius, and the inquisitive spirit, of the English general, were by no means agreeable to his superior in command, who hoped to reap some pecuniary advantages, which the other was unwilling to permit. Be that as it may, both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French began the attack with great vigour, and a general engagement of the infantry ensued. Lord George, at the head of the British and Hanoverian horse, was stationed at some distance on the right of the infantry, from which they were divided by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. The French infantry giving ground, the prince thought that this would be a favourable opportunity to pour down the horse among them, and accordingly sent lord George orders to come on. These orders were but ill obeyed; and whether they were unintelligible or contradictory, still remains a point for posterity to debate upon. It is certain that lord George shortly after was recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of serving in any military command for the future. The enemy, however, were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss, and, at length giving way, were pursued to the very ramparts of Minden. This victory was splendid; but laurels were the only advantage reaped from the field of battle.

After these victories, which were greatly magnified in England, it was supposed that one reinforcement more of British troops would terminate the war in favour of the allies; and a reinforcement was quickly sent. The British army in Germany now amounted to above thirty thousand men, and the whole nation was flushed with the hopes of immediate conquest. But these hopes soon vanished, on finding victory and defeat successively following each other. The allies were worsted at Corbach, but retrieved their honour at Exdorf. A victory at Warburg followed shortly after, and another at Zierenberg; but they suffered a defeat at Campen; after which both sides went into winter-quarters. Thus the successes on either side might be considered as a compact, by which both engaged to lose much and gain little; for no advantages whatever followed from victory. The English at length began to open their eyes to their own interest, and found that they were waging unequal war, and loading themselves with taxes, for conquests that they could neither preserve nor enjoy.

It must be confessed that the efforts of England at this time, in every quarter of the globe, were amazing, and the expense of her operations greater than had ever been disbursed by any nation before. The king of Prussia received a subsidy; a large body of English forces commanded the extensive peninsula of India; another army of twenty thousand men confirmed their conquests in North America; there were thirty thousand men employed in Germany, and several other bodies dispersed in the different garrisons in various parts of the world; but all these were nothing to the force maintained at sea, which carried command wherever it came, and had totally annihilated the French power on that element. The courage and the conduct of the English admirals had surpassed whatever had been read of in history; neither superior force, nor number, nor even the terrors of the tempest, could intimidate them. Admiral Hawke gained a complete victory over an equal number of French ships in Quiberon Bay, on the coast of Bretagne, in the midst of a tempest, during the darkness of the night, and, what a seaman fears still more, upon a rocky shore.

Such was the glorious figure which Great Britain, at this time, exhibited to all the world. But while her arms prospered in every effort tending to the real interests of the nation, an event happened, which for a while obscured the splendour of her victories. On the twenty-fifth of October, the king, without having complained of any previous disorder, was found, by his domestics, expiring in his chamber. He had risen at his usual hour, and observed to his

attendants, that as the weather was fine, he would take a walk into the gardens of Kensington, where he then resided. In a few minutes after his return, being left alone, he was heard to fall down upon the floor. The noise of this bringing his attendants into the room, they lifted him into bed, where he desired, with a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be sent for; but before she could reach the apartment, he expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and afterwards, the surgeons, upon opening him, discovered that the right ventricle of the heart was actually ruptured, and that a great quantity of blood was discharged through the aperture.

George the Second died in the seventy-seventh year of his [Oct. 25, 1760. age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign, lamented by his subjects, and in the midst of victory. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode of his death, and the precise time of its arrival, it was he. The universal enthusiasm of the people for conquest was now beginning to subside, and sober reason to take her turn in the administration of affairs. The factions which had been nursing during his long reign, had not yet come to maturity, but threatened with all their virulence to afflict his successor. He was himself of no shining abilities; and while he was permitted to guide and assist his German dominions, he intrusted the care of Britain to his ministers at home. However, as we stand too near to be impartial judges of his merits or defects, let us state his character as delivered by two writers of opposite opinions.

"On whatever side," says his panegyrist, "we look upon his character, we shall find ample matter for just and unsuspected praise. None of his predecessors on the throne of England lived to so great an age, or enjoyed longer felicity. His subjects were still improving under him in commerce and arts; and his own economy set a prudent example to the nation, which, however, they did not follow. He was, in his temper, sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his conduct, made no change in his behaviour, which was generally guided by reason. He was plain and direct in his intentions, true to his word, steady in his favour and protection to his servants, not parting even with his ministers till compelled to it by the violence of faction. In short, through the whole of his life he appeared rather to live for the cultivation of useful virtues than splendid ones; and, satisfied with being good, left to others their unenvied greatness."

Such is the picture given by his friends; but there are others who reverse the medal. "As to the extent of his understanding, or the splendour of his virtue, we rather wish for opportunities of praise, than undertake the task ourselves. His public character was marked with a predilection for his native country; and to that he sacrificed all other considerations. He was not only unlearned himself, but he despised learning in others; and though genius might have flourished in his reign, yet he neither promoted it by his influence nor example. His frugality bordered upon avarice; and he hoarded not for his subjects, but for himself. He was remarkable for no one great virtue, and was known to practise several of the meaner vices." Which of these two characters is true, or whether they may not in part be both so, I will not pretend to decide. If his favourers are numerous, so are those who oppose them:—let posterity therefore decide the contest.

END OF GOLDSMITH.

TABLE OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

	Anglo-Saxons.	Began A. D.	Yrs. Reigned
1	Egbert	827	10
2	Ethelwolf	838	20
3	Ethelbald	857	3
4	Ethelbert	860	6
5	Ethelred I.	866	5
6	Alfred	872	29
7	Edward the Elder	901	24
8	Athelstan	925	15
9	Edmund I.	940	6
10	Edred	946	9
11	Edwy	955	4
12	Edgar	959	16
13	Edward II.	975	3
14	Ethelred II.	978	37
16	Edmund Ironside II.	1016	1
	Danish.		
15	Sweyn	1014	—
17	Canute	1017	19
18	Harold I.	1036	4
19	Hardicanute	1039	2
	Saxons.		
20	Edward III. or the Confessor.	1041	24
21	Harold II. son of Godwin, earl of Kent.	1066	1

SINCE THE CONQUEST.

	Normans.			
1	William I	Married to Matilda of Flanders	Began A. D. 1066	Reigned 21
2	William II.	(Never married)	1087	13
3	Henry I.	Matilda of Scotland	1100	35
	House of Blois.			
4	Stephen	Matilda of Bologne	1135	19
	Plantagenet Race.			
5	Henry II.	Eleanor of Guienne	1156	34
6	Richard I.	Berenguella of Navarre	1189	10
7	John	Earl Montagne's daughter	1199	17
		Avisa of Gloucester—Isabella of Angouleme		—
8	Henry III.	Eleanor of Provence	1216	56
9	Edward I.	Eleanor of Castile	1272	35
		Mary of France		—
10	Edward II.	Isabella of France	1307	19
11	Edward III.	Philippa of Hainault	1327	50
12	Richard II.	Ann of Luxemburgh—Isabella of France	1377	22
	House of Lancaster.			
13	Henry IV	Mary Bohun—Joanna of Navarre	1399	13
14	Henry V	Catharine of France	1413	10
15	Henry VI.	Margaret of Anjou	1422	38
	House of York.			
16	Edward IV	Elizabeth Woodville	1461	22
17	Edward V	(Never married)	1483	—
18	Richard III.	Ann Neville	1483	2
	House of Tudor.			
19	Henry VII.	Elizabeth of York	1485	23
20	Henry VIII.	Catharine of Arragon—Ann Boleyn	1509	37
		Jane Seymour—Ann of Cleves		—
		Catharine Howard—Catharine Parr		—
21	Edward VI	(Died young)	1546	6
22	Mary I.	Philip king of Spain	1553	5
23	Elizabeth	(Never married)	1558	44
	Race of Stuart.			
24	James I.	Ann of Denmark	1603	22
25	Charles I.	Henrietta of France	1625	24
26	Charles II.	Catharine of Portugal	1661	24
27	James II	Ann Hyde—Mary of Modena	1685	4
28	William III. and Mary II.	Mary, daughter of James II	1689	13
29	Anne	George, prince of Denmark	1702	12
	Race of Brunswick.			
30	George I.	Sophia of Zell	1714	13
31	George II	Welhelmina of Anspach	1727	33
32	George III	Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1760	59
33	George IV.	Caroline of Brunswick	1820	—

CONTINUATION

OF

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY

JOHN WATKINS, LL.D.

CHAP. LIII.

GEORGE III.—A. D. 1760 to 1763.

BEFORE we enter upon the events of a reign, unparalleled in the English annals for its length and importance, it will be necessary to supply some deficiencies in the preceding history.

George the Second, while electoral prince of Hanover and Brunswick, espoused Caroline, the daughter of John Frederic, margrave of Baden Anspach, by whom he had two sons and five daughters. The queen, who died in her fifty-fifth year, November 20, 1737, was a woman of superior accomplishments, and a liberal patroness of literature. She conversed familiarly with Newton and Clarke upon the profoundest subjects of science; and held a correspondence with Leibnitz, who paid great deference to her judgment.

Frederic Lewis, prince of Wales, the eldest son of George the Second and queen Caroline, married, April 27, 1736, Augusta, princess of Saxe-Gotha, by whom he had five sons and four daughters, the last of whom was posthumous, the father dying of a pleuritic fever, March 20, 1751. When this melancholy event occurred, prince George, the eldest son, was in his thirteenth year, being born at Norfolk-House, St. James's, May 24, or, according to the new style, June 4, 1738. During the life of his father, the young prince was educated wholly under his personal observation: afterwards governors and tutors were appointed for his tuition, by the old monarch, who seems, however, to have given himself little trouble, either in the choice of the persons employed in so important a concern, or the manner in which they discharged their trust. Fortunately, the princess-dowager of Wales was a woman of sound judgment, and of retired habits, extremely fond of her children, and sedulously watchful of their conduct.

George the Second, whose love of money outweighed almost every other consideration, very willingly conceded to his daughter-in-law, the desire of living in the bosom of her infant family, because it saved expense. Thus the heir apparent was kept in a state of seclusion from public life, that the king, his grandfather, might be enabled to make a large provision for his favourite children, the duke of Cumberland and the princess Amelia. If, however, the young prince, previous to his accession, was but little known to the nation, he soon gave sufficient proofs that the years which he had passed in privacy had not been spent in idleness or dissipation.

The solid foundation of useful knowledge, laid in early life, and an habitual acquaintance with the principles and duties of religion, became conspicuous at the very commencement of the new reign, in a royal proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality. On the 18th of November, the [A. D. 1760. young monarch first met his parliament, which assembly he opened with a speech which gave universal satisfaction; especially that part of the exordium, in which the king said, "Born in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne: and I doubt not but their

steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution, to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state; and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means of drawing down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue." The conclusion of the speech was no less praiseworthy, in recommending harmony and concord to the parliament; but unfortunately, the confidence expressed by the king, that the spirit of party was extinguished, and that political divisions would not disturb his reign, was more indicative of his own generous sentiments, than warranted by the real character of the times.

As yet, however, the horizon was serene, and though the din of war resounded in different parts of the world, all was tranquillity, and even joy, at home, where the young and native sovereign increased in popularity every day. No change in the administration occurred during the existing parliament, and though some persons affected to entertain apprehensions that a new interest was about to gain an ascendancy, from seeing the earl of Bute introduced into the council; neither Mr. Pitt, who was at the head of affairs, nor any of his colleagues, appear to have taken the least umbrage at a proceeding, which, considering the share that nobleman had borne in the king's education, was perfectly natural.

A.D.1761.] Previous to the close of the session, which happened on the 19th of March, two acts were passed, both resulting from the spontaneous recommendation of the monarch. One was, the fixing of the civil list at the clear yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, payable out of the aggregate fund, instead of the fluctuating revenues for the support of the royal dignity, which had often produced great embarrassment in the late reign. The other act was for securing the purity of the judicial administration, by rendering the commissions of the judges perpetual, notwithstanding the demise of the monarch from whom they emanated. With the last parliament which had been called by George the Second, the venerable Arthur Onslow, who had presided as speaker of the house of commons nearly forty years, closed his political career, and retired from public life on a pension of three thousand a year, and the thanks of the assembly in which he had so long sat with dignified integrity.

Shortly after this, a few alterations were made in the cabinet, by the removal of Bilson Legge from the chancellorship of the exchequer, in favour of lord Barrington; and of the earl of Holdernesse, from the post of secretary of state for the northern department, to make room for the earl of Bute, whose lady was created a peeress in her own right, by the title of baroness Mountstuart. Among other promotions which also excited public attention at this period, were, that of the earl of Halifax, to the viceroyship of Ireland, and of Charles Townshend, to be secretary of war.

The negotiations for peace, which had been broken off at the close of the year 1759, were now resumed on the part of France, in conjunction with the courts of Vienna, Petersburgh, Poland, and Sweden, whose declarations being met and signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Prussia, the city of Augsburg was appointed as the place of congress. The English ministers were lords Egremont and Stormont, and general Yorke; but as the interests of Germany were to be treated separately, Mr. Stanley was sent to Paris, while M. Bussy came to London for the discussion of these distinct concerns. Notwithstanding these pacific appearances, it was deemed advisable to prosecute the war with vigour, both by land and sea. Accordingly, prince Frederic of Brunswick, after several bold attacks on the French quarters near the Weser, laid siege to Cassel, at the beginning of April; but marshal Broglio having received large reinforcements, made an attack upon him at Stangerode, and gained a partial victory; the consequence of which was, the abandonment of the siege, and the retreat of the allied forces across the Dymel.

In the mean time, a secret expedition sailed from Spithead, on the 29th of March, commanded by commodore Keppel and general Hodgson, the object of which was the capture of the island of Belleisle, on the coast of Britany;

where the fleet arrived on the 7th of April; but in the attempt to land on the following day, the assailants were defeated with the loss of five hundred men. The attack, however, was renewed with success, and the siege of the principal town began; but the surrender of theisle did not take place till the 7th of June

This barren conquest was dearly purchased, nor were the advantages gained by the allies in Germany of much greater importance; for though, in the battle of Kerch Denkern, fought on the 15th and 16th of July, the French were repulsed, the result of the campaign was so greatly in their favour, that they were enabled to lay almost the whole of Westphalia under contribution. During these operations, the king of Prussia continued in a state of inactivity, though strongly encamped in Silesia; being pressed so closely on one side by the Austrians, as to be rendered incapable of saving from their grasp his fortress of Schweidnitz, while the Russians, on the other, took Colberg, and committed dreadful ravages in Pomerania. But if the fortune of war was less favourable than formerly to Great Britain on the continent of Europe, she saw victory crowning her efforts with splendour in the east and the west.

In the month of January, the only capital possession enjoyed [A. D. 1761. by the French in the East Indies, surrendered to the English forces commanded by colonel Coote and admiral Stevens; and though general Lally, the governor, did all that a man in his circumstances could do to save that important fortress, he was, on his return, brought to trial and executed, for the loss of a citadel, which, at its capture, had not more than one day's provisions remaining.

In the West Indies, the island of Dominica was taken by general lord Rollo, and admiral Sir James Douglas; while, on the American continent, the Cherokees, the principal of the Indian tribes, were, by the destruction of their towns, compelled to relinquish their alliance with the French. Amidst these advantages, the negotiations were carried on at Augsburgh and Paris, but with such little sincerity on the part of France, that at the very time in which she was making professions of an amicable nature, her ministers were endeavouring to bring Spain into the war, by alarming the fears of that weak court for the safety of its American colonies. In consequence of these representations, a secret treaty was settled between those two powers, which, from its providing for the mutual interests of the respective branches of the house of Bourbon, obtained the name of the Family Compact. When this alliance, the hostile tendency of which was obvious, became known to Mr. Pitt, he at once proposed a declaration of war against Spain, and an immediate attack upon her returning fleet from South America. The boldness of this measure startled the British monarch, and even the majority of the cabinet objected to it as rash and unjustifiable; on which, the minister, who had never before been controlled in any of his propositions, resigned his place, saying, that he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures that he was no longer allowed to guide.

His example was followed by earl Temple, who gave up the offices of lord privy-seal and cofferer of the royal household. But though Mr. Pitt would not act with men who refused to be led by his counsels, he evinced the greatest respect for his sovereign, by condescending to accept a pension of three thousand a year for himself, and a peerage for his lady, who was created baroness of Chatham. On the discovery of the duplicity of the French government, the negotiations at Augsburgh and Paris terminated, the agents of the respective powers were recalled, and the most active preparations were made on all sides for the renewal of warlike operations.

While these proceedings of a general nature were going on, the domestic history of Britain was enlivened by the marriage of the young king to the princess Charlotte of Mecklenberg-Strelitz, which event was solemnized at St. James's on the 8th of September, and followed by the coronation of the royal pair in Westminster Abbey, on the 22d of the same month.

The new year was opened with a declaration of war against [A. D. 1762. Spain, which was proclaimed much to the satisfaction of the people, on the 4th of January; for though the nation was loaded with debt, the glittering prospect of rich captures overcame every other consideration. The first

military operation of importance that followed, was the reduction of Martinico, one of the most valuable of the French islands in the West Indies, by the conjoined forces of general Monckton and admiral Rodney. This conquest, achieved on the 10th of February, was succeeded by that of all the other Caribbean islands; Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

This blow against the French colonies was followed up by another equally brilliant and decisive, which appalled the Spanish court, and produced great discontent among the people, who now deprecated the conduct of their government, in not remembering that their interest lay in peace with England, and war with all the world.

On the 5th of March, an expedition, commanded by admiral Pococke and lord Albemarle, sailed from Portsmouth; and having been reinforced by a fleet from Martinico, under sir James Douglas, proceeded to the Havannah, at the north-west end of the island of Cuba. The siege began on the 7th of June, and after an obstinate resistance of forty-four days, the strong fort called the Moro, hitherto deemed impregnable, was carried by storm; the governor and his second in command bravely falling in the breach made by the springing of a mine. The reduction of the Moro was succeeded by that of the city, which surrendered on the 14th of August; rewarding the victors with the richest conquest, perhaps, ever made, amounting, in plunder only, to three millions sterling.

In Europe, the alliance of France and Spain was productive of a war on the part of those two powers against Portugal, the old but imbecile ally of Great Britain. No nation could be in a worse posture of defence than this small state; for though easily protected on the whole line of coast by the appearance of a fleet, she lay completely exposed, on the side of Spain, to an invading army; having no military force to send into the field, nor any garrisons capable of withstanding an assault. Such, however, was the fidelity and spirit of the Portuguese monarch, that he determined to rely upon the honour of an ancient friend, rather than yield compliance to the dictates of his haughty neighbours, who imperiously told him that he ought to be glad of the opportunity which they gave him to take the true road to glory for his own and the common interest.

Unswayed by these inducements, and unawed by the threats which accompanied them, the king resolutely persevered in maintaining his right of neutrality: in consequence of which, the ambassadors of the courts of France and Spain quitted Lisbon, and a declaration of hostilities immediately followed. A Spanish army having been previously collected on the frontier, entered Portugal, and having soon reduced Miranda and Braganza, overran the whole of the Tralos-Montes, to the banks of the Douro. Another body of Spaniards at the same time having penetrated into the southern part of the kingdom, took Almeida, and made rapid advances to the Tagus, without meeting with any other resistance than what was opposed to them by the English army under lord Tyrawley, whose force, however, being too small to encounter the enemy in the field, was confined to the mere defence of the passes. The timidity of the Portuguese troops, and the inactivity of the government, gave so much disgust to the English general, that he relinquished the command soon after, and was succeeded by the count de la Lippe Buckeburg. By this time, a third army of French and Spaniards was collected in Estremadura, with the design of pushing on to Lisbon, when it should have been joined by the other forces. To counteract this movement, the count de la Lippe despatched brigadier-general Burgoyne, to make an attack upon an advanced body of Spaniards at Valencia de Alcantara; in performing which service, that officer met with complete success. After this, the Spanish army in the south made several attempts to cross the Tagus, but without being able to accomplish that object, owing solely to the vigilance and bravery of the British troops, who surprised and made prisoners a large body of cavalry near Villa Valha. Thus foiled in all their efforts to penetrate to the capital, and the autumnal rains putting an end to farther operations, the invaders retreated to their own frontiers, thereby delivering Portugal from the most perilous state to which she had ever been exposed.

The campaign in Germany was equally favourable; prince Ferdinand, aided by the marquis of Granby, defeated the French, under the command of the prince of Soubise and the marshal D'Etrees, at Graebenstein, near the Dymel; and though the latter obtained some partial advantages at Rodheim, and other places, they were obliged to evacuate the whole principality of Hesse.

Nor was the king of Prussia less fortunate in this campaign than his ally; for while the loss of Schweidnitz and Colberg threw a black cloud over his affairs, the death of his most inveterate enemy, Elisabeth, empress of Russia, suddenly relieved him from the danger which till then had threatened even his hereditary dominions. The successor of that princess, Charles Peter Ulric, who assumed the name of Peter the Third, being an enthusiastic admirer of the character of Frederic the Great, evinced his attachment to him by first suspending all hostilities between the two powors; and next, concluding a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the king of Prussia.

Frederic was not a man to neglect the opportunity thus afforded of retrieving his affairs. On the 12th of May, his brother, prince Henry, compelled the Austrians to evacuate Dipposwalda, and thereby secured all that part of Saxony, while the king, in conjunction with the Russians, to whom he had but just before been opposed, attacked marshal Daun, near Schweidnitz, and drove him to the borders of Silesia. In the midst of these advantages, however, a sudden revolution occurred, which menaced Prussia with new disasters. The czar Peter, by the weakness of his conduct, having created many enemies among his nobility, was suddenly deposed, and the empress Catherine, his wife, who headed the malcontents, assumed the imperial sceptre. A change of politics immediately followed, and Catherine announced at once her intention of recalling the Russian troops from Germany. Frederic, on receiving these orders at his camp, resolved upon attacking marshal Daun, before he should have any knowledge of the defection. This bold design he carried into effect with such vigour, that the Austrians were forced from the heights of Buckersdorff, which enabled the victor to invest Schweidnitz.

The prince of Bevern, who covered the besiegers with a separate corps, defended his charge against marshal Laudohn, till the king of Prussia came up, when the Austrians, being placed between two fires, sustained a terrible defeat, in consequence of which the garrison of Schweidnitz surrendered at discretion. This important acquisition was followed by several engagements of less moment; but on the 29th of October, prince Henry of Prussia gained a decisive victory at Freyberg, over the combined Imperial and Austrian army, commanded by the prince of Stolberg, in which the latter lost near nine thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon. The result of this brilliant exploit was the fall of Cassel, which surrendered to prince Ferdinand on the 1st of November.

During the progress of the war in Europe, the French sent an expedition against Newfoundland, of which they gained an easy possession, and committed there much wanton injury to the inhabitants, by destroying the stages erected for the fishery. They were not suffered, however, to retain their footing long, for sir Jeffrey Amherst, the British commander in North America, being apprized of the circumstance, lost no time in despatching a sufficient naval and military force to dislodge the French, which was effected with little loss on the 18th of September, when the garrison surrendered, but the ships escaped in a fog.

In the East Indies, when intelligence arrived that hostilities with Spain had commenced, an armament was fitted out at Madras, under the command of colonel Draper and admiral Cornish, the destination of which was Luconia, the principal of the Philippine islands. This fleet sailed on the 1st of August, and reached its destination on the 19th of the following month, when Manilla the capital was immediately invested. Though the attack was vigorous, the place was well defended by a numerous garrison, till the 6th of October, when the city being taken by storm, the governor retired into the citadel, where he soon surrendered at discretion; and the liberality of the conquerors was such, that, instead of making prize of all the property found in the place, to which they were entitled by the laws of war, a capitulation was granted to the in-

habitants, on the condition of paying a ransom of one million sterling. The settlements dependent on Manilla were included in this treaty, but the engagement was never fulfilled on the part of Spain, and at the peace all the islands were unconditionally restored. While these operations were going on at Manilla, two of the British ships of war belonging to the expedition, captured a large Spanish galleon, deeply laden, which proved but a poor compensation for the expense of the expedition and the loss of the ransom.

Another rich prize, the Hermione, a Spanish register-ship from Lima to Cadiz, was taken, with more than two millions of dollars on board, this summer, off Cape St. Vincent, by the Active and Favourite, two English frigates; and on the 12th of August, just as the queen was delivered of his present majesty, the treasure, in twenty waggons, passed through the city to the Tower.

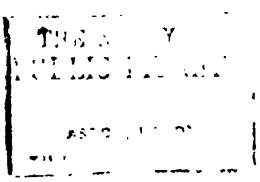
Amidst these successes, which were more brilliant than solid, enriching a few without benefiting the nation, the British cabinet began to exhibit appearances of discord, occasioned chiefly by the appointment of the earl of Bute to the head of the treasury, and the influence which that unpopular nobleman was supposed to have gained over the mind of his sovereign. The new ministers finding opposition becoming strong, and fearing that it would be difficult to continue the war under such circumstances, resolved to bring about a peace; and the courts of Versailles and Madrid being equally disposed to terminate the contest, the duke of Bedford was sent to Paris as ambassador extraordinary, to settle the preliminaries; while the duke de Nivernois came hither in the same capacity from the French monarch.

Few obstacles presented themselves in the negotiation, and on the 3d of November the preliminary articles were signed at Fontainbleau. By this treaty, France ceded to Great Britain, on the American continent, Canada, with that part of Louisiana lying to the east of the Mississippi, Cape Breton, and the other islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence; in the West Indies, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada; and on the coast of Africa, Senegal, and its dependencies: on the other hand, in Europe, she recovered Belleisle; and in the East Indies, all her former settlements, but conditionally, that no fortifications should be erected by that power in Bengal, and that she should acknowledge the sovereignty of the nabob of the Carnatic, and that of the subah of the Deccan. France also obtained a grant of the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, with the two small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Spain ceded to England East and West Florida, with all the lands eastward of the Mississippi; in return for which wilderness, and the empty right of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, she recovered the Havannah, and all the places that had been taken during the war.

Such were the terms of the peace of Paris, as they related immediately to Great Britain, who, however, took so much care of her allies, as to stipulate on behalf of the king of Prussia, that Wesel, Cleves, and Gueldres, should be evacuated by the French; and on that of Portugal, that all the lands and fortresses taken from her should be restored.

When the outlines of this treaty became known to the public, the articles were subjected to the severest animadversion; and the persons who had been employed in the negotiation, were even stigmatized as having treacherously sold their country. Among those who declaimed the loudest upon this occasion, Mr. Pitt particularly distinguished himself by the asperity of his language. "To retain so little," said this great statesman, "after such a series of conquests, was in effect to encourage the insolence of our adversaries, and to sow the seeds of a new war."

But in the vehemence of his spirit, the illustrious orator seems to have forgotten, that if the moderation of Britain tended to increase the animosity of France, an opposite conduct would rather have aggravated than lessened that enmity. As it was, the cession of Canada to this country, though acquiesced in through necessity, gave great offence to the French nation, and, in the end, proved what Mr. Pitt predicted, though not in the same sense, the occasion of a new war, by the formation of an alliance between the revolted colonies in America, and the only power, of the presence of which they had hitherto stood in awe.







Geo: Grenville Cha: Townshend



Bute



Rockingham North

Thus ended a war, which, for splendid acquisitions, never had a parallel in the history of modern Europe; but which now, upon a calm and dispassionate review of the whole series of achievements, appears to have procured nothing for either of the parties, adequate to the immense sacrifice of human life, and the enormous treasures wasted in the conflict. The belligerents having struggled as if it had been for existence, returned nearly to the state in which they were before the contest; and soon after the treaty of Paris, the king of Prussia, with whom, in a principal degree, the war of seven years began, sat down contented with little more than the possession of his former territories.

CHAP. LIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1763 to 1766.

THE British ministry, though they had carried on the war abroad with vigour, and brought it to a termination without difficulty, found themselves surrounded at the conclusion of it by greater embarrassments than any which had beset them during the prosecution of hostilities. The people complained that the conquests which had elated their spirits with an idea that they would conduce to the national benefit, had been returned to their former possessors, without an equivalent for the expense incurred by the capture. The chagrin which this measure of policy produced, was aggravated when the government called for new taxes to pay off the arrears of debt occasioned by the war. Among the means to which ministers had recourse for this purpose, one was, an impost of four shillings a hogshead upon cider; and though, in the reason of things, such a tax is liable to no more objection than that upon beer, or upon malt and hops, from which it is made, the present measure encountered a fierce opposition, and, in some parts of the kingdom, occasioned riots. In parliament also, the antagonists of ministers took advantage of the popular outcry, and inveighed with as much bitterness against the duty upon cider, as though the liberties of the subject had been violated. The bill, however, passed through both houses, and finally received the royal assent, though the corporation of London modestly petitioned the king to reject it; in doing which, he would have been at direct issue with the other branches of the legislature.

After carrying this point, the earl of Bute unexpectedly resigned his post, and retired into private life, with an unblemished reputation, though his best friends and warmest admirers were compelled to acknowledge his incapacity to guide the affairs of a great nation at a critical period. His successor was Mr. George Grenville, and as the politics of the cabinet remained the same, the virulence of opposition pursued the late minister with the most rancorous abuse, under the presumed inference that he was still the secret adviser of the crown, and the actual director of the measures of the cabinet. At this period, the influence of the press was more powerfully felt than had ever been known, in exciting the public mind to a state of discontent. The principal vehicle of political abuse was a periodical paper, called "The North Briton," conducted by John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, and colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia. This man, who, more by the indiscretion of the government than his own merit, became for a time the popular idol, is now known to have applied successively for two public situations to redeem his broken fortune, and on being refused, turned, as is ordinarily the case, a flaming patriot. The circumstances of Lord Bute being a favourite with the king, a native of Scotland, and supposed to have an attachment to the house of Stuart, of which his family was a branch, furnished the disappointed demagogue with abundant materials to create a violent prejudice against him in the minds of Englishmen. Yet notwithstanding the coarseness of its invectives, the North Briton might have gone on without doing much mischief, had not ministers raised both the paper and its author into notice by a public prosecution, and that too conducted in a manner which gave just occasion for alarm to the friends of liberty.

In the forty-fifth number of his paper, Wilkes made a daring attack upon

the personal character of the king, by charging him with having uttered a direct falsehood in his speech from the throne. Upon this, lord Halifax, the home secretary, issued a general warrant, directing the apprehension of the authors, printers, and publishers, of the treasonable and seditious publication called "The North Briton." In virtue of this authority, three messengers proceeded to the house of Wilkes, where they seized both him and his papers; and after a long examination at the office of the secretary of state, he was committed to the Tower. His confinement, however, was of short duration, for on an application to the court of common pleas, he was brought up by habeas-corpus, and discharged on the ground of his privilege as a member of parliament. Notwithstanding this, the attorney-general immediately proceeded to file an official information in the court of king's bench, against Wilkes, who, in the mean time, was deprived of his commission in the militia. These active measures were followed up, on the meeting of parliament, by a message from the crown to the house of commons, stating the reasons on which it had been found expedient to act in this manner against one of its members. The message was accompanied with the offensive paper, which the house, without regarding the violation of its own privileges, that had been committed by the privy-council, ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as a scandalous and seditious libel. In pursuance of this vote, the sheriffs of London attended to fulfil the mandate of the house at the royal exchange, where a mob assembled, who insulted the magistrates, and created a great disturbance. However flattered Wilkes might be by the popularity which he had now acquired, he had more cause for triumph in gaining a verdict against lord Halifax, with one thousand pounds damages. This important trial took place before chief justice Pratt, afterwards lord Camden, and a special jury; when that upright judge delivered his opinion decidedly against the legality of general warrants. In consequence of this judgment, some of the printers, and others who had been seized and imprisoned on the same account, brought their actions, and recovered damages.

But clear and constitutional as this decision was, and satisfactory as the verdict proved to the unbiassed part of the public, so obsequious and imprudent was the house of commons, as to pass a vote, declaring, in opposition to legal adjudication, that parliamentary privilege does not extend to cases of libel. In conformity with the same doctrine, addresses were presented to the king from both houses, and from several public bodies. Besides the gratification derived from this support, ministers received an accession of strength on the death of lord Egremont, secretary of state, in August, when the earl of Sandwich succeeded to that office; the earl of Egmont became first lord of the admiralty, and the duke of Bedford president of the council.

While domestic feuds prevailed in Britain, war was carried on by the East India company against Cossim Ali Cawn, who, under their authority, had been appointed to the subahship of Bengal, on the deposition of Meer Jaffier. The occasion of the present dispute, was the imposition of certain restrictions by Cossim, on English goods imported into his territories; but the company would not have proceeded to hostilities, had it not been for the treachery of the subah towards Mr. Amyatt, who was sent to negotiate with him by the presidency of Bengal. Instead of acceding to the propositions made by that unfortunate gentleman, the ferocious chief caused him and his whole suite to be massacred in their way back to Calcutta. A declaration of A. D. 1763.] war ensued, and on the 2d of August, major Adams, with an inferior force, defeated the troops of Cossim on the plains of Gerich, near his capital city Moorshedabad, which place was soon after taken by storm. Cossim then retreated to Patna, where he caused two hundred English prisoners to be murdered; but major Adams took ample revenge on the barbarian, by storming the fortress on the 6th of November. The fugitive prince upon this sought the protection of Sujah ul Dowla, nabob of Oude, who, though he refused to receive any of Cossim's followers, connived at his raising a military force, which enabled him to take the field against the English. The successes which attended the predatory excursions of this chief, encouraged the nabob, and the Mogul Shah Zada, to declare themselves openly in his favour, by raising for his support an army of fifty thousand men. Thus

stood the posture of affairs, when major Hector Monro succeeded major Adams in the command of the company's troops, which, in the whole, natives and Europeans, amounted to no more than nine thousand men. Notwithstanding this disparity, Monro marched against the enemy, whom he encountered at Buxar, one hundred miles above Patna, and on the 23d of October gained a complete victory, putting the whole to the [A. D. 1764. route, and taking one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. The immediate consequence of this brilliant action was the conclusion of a treaty on the field of battle, between the Mogul and the India company, which may be said to have fixed the foundation of the British empire in the East. This great achievement, however, was in some degree counterbalanced by the repulse which the victors experienced in their attempt to carry the strong fortress of Chanda-Geer, from whence they were obliged to retreat to Benares, after sustaining a great loss.

In order to keep the thread of this portion of the history unbroken, it will be necessary to proceed to the final termination of the war in India. While the army lay encamped under the walls of Benares, major Monro was superseded in the command by sir Robert Fletcher, who, in January, 1765, took the field, and, after defeating the enemy with little trouble, laid siege to Chanda-Geer, the garrison of which surrendered at discretion. The English commander next invested Eliabad, on the Ganges, which also submitted to the victor, with the whole Gorrah country. General Carnac, who succeeded sir Robert Fletcher, having adopted proper measures to secure these conquests, crossed the Ganges, and on the 20th of May, in the same year, defeated Sujah Dowla, and his confederates, the Mahrattas. Cossim escaped, while his friend, Sujah Dowla, made his peace with the conqueror, and on the arrival of Lord Clive, as govérnor-general, he was restored to his principality of Oude. In the mean time, Meer Jaffier, who had been replaced in the subahship, died, and was succeeded by his son, Najim ul Dowla; but his title was merely nominal, for the English company having obtained from the Mogul the dowannee, or collectorship, of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, became, in fact, the absolute lords of these provinces.

Our attention is now recalled to the domestic state of Britain, at the commencement of the year 1764. The first proceedings adopted by parliament, were directed against Wilkes, who, on the 19th of January, was expelled the house of commons, for writing the North Briton; and on the same day, the lords voted him guilty of a breach of privilege, as the author of an infamous book or pamphlet, printed in his own house, entitled, "An Essay on Woman; with notes or remarks, to which the name of a right reverend prelate (Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester) was affixed." At the same time, the peers voted an address to his majesty, for a prosecution of the author in the king's bench, which was accordingly instituted on the twofold charge of libel and blasphemy. Wilkes was out of the kingdom during these proceedings, and as he did not appear to answer the indictment, he was outlawed. It may be worth while in this place to observe, that the atrocious publication just mentioned, was not the production of Wilkes, but of Cleland, an author who had before rendered himself infamous by a work equally offensive to virtue and decency. Though the moral character of the mock patriot suffered considerably by this exposure of his principles and connexions, he had numerous advocates and supporters, who only considered him as a sufferer in the cause of liberty. In February, sir William Meredith brought forward a proposition in the house of commons, declaring "that general warrants were not sanctioned by law;" but the motion, though ably advocated, was got rid of by an adjournment of the question.

During the agitation of this important subject, another rose, of still greater moment in its consequences. To relieve the public burdens, and extinguish the debt contracted by the late war, Mr. Grenville proposed, under the form of commercial regulations, a variety of resolutions respecting new duties to be laid on goods imported into the American colonies. For the collection of these duties, the naval commanders on that coast were empowered to act as revenue officers, in consequence of which, many vessels were seized, and their cargoes condemned. The disaffection which these

measures proceeded, was inflamed soon after by the proposal to parliament, of an act for the raising an internal revenue in the colonies, in the shape of a tax upon stamps. That the Americans were, by every principle of equity, bound to bear a part of the debt incurred for their defence, could not be denied; but the plea set up by them and their apologists in England, was, that taxation without representation, is tyranny; and that the colonists, having no voice in the British parliament, the latter could claim no right to levy imposts upon them; more especially as they had legislative assemblies in their own provinces. The proposed resolution, however, was carried, and at the opening of the next A.D. 1765.] session in January, an allusion to the dispute with the colonies, formed part of the speech from the throne, in the expression of his majesty's "reliance on the firmness and wisdom of both houses, to promote obedience to the legislative authority of the kingdom, as being essentially necessary to the safety of the whole." This was a direct assumption that the parliamentary jurisdiction extended indiscriminately over the property of all subjects alike, whether colonial, or resident in Britain, represented or unrepresented. When the matter fell under discussion, the question of legislative authority became the subject of long and vehement debates, during which much subtilty of argument was displayed, and precedents were quoted on both sides in abundance, but without producing any thing like a satisfactory conclusion. The Americans contended for the right of taxing themselves in their own provincial assemblies, according to their means; while the ministerial party insisted, that, as members of the same state, they could not be exempted from an obligation which pressed alike upon all their fellow-subjects. To the objection that they were not represented, the answer was given, that in this respect they did not stand alone, since many populous towns and districts in the heart of the British dominions were in the same situation. The point at issue, however, was not to be determined by sophistry or declamation; for ministers carried the stamp-act by the power of numbers, on the 22d of March.

During the agitation of this question, the executive government was in danger of being suspended, by the mental derangement of the monarch. But while measures were about to be devised for the supply of a regency, the royal patient recovered; immediately after which, he went, on the 24th of April, to the house of lords, and in his speech said, "That his late indisposition, though not attended with danger, had led him to consider the situation in which his kingdom and family might be left, should it please God to put a period to his life, whilst his successor was yet of tender years." His majesty then proposed to the serious attention of parliament, the expediency of vesting in him the power of appointing, as occasion might arise, either the queen, or any other member of the royal family, residing in Great Britain, to act as guardian of the heir apparent, and regent of the kingdom, assisted by a council, till the successor to the throne should come of age. A bill accordingly passed the house of lords, agreeable to the principle recommended from the throne; but when it came to the lower house, one of the members observed, that the name of the princess dowager of Wales had been strangely omitted, on which an amendment, placing her royal highness in the act of regency, was moved, and carried without opposition. Whether the omission arose from design or inadvertence, is not easy to say; but the apparent disrespect certainly made an unfavourable impression upon the mind of the king, the result of which was, an overture, through the duke of Cumberland, to Mr. Pitt and lord Temple, for an admission of them and their friends into the cabinet. The negotiation proved unsuccessful; and dissensions among the ministers ensued to such a degree, that those noblemen and gentlemen who were supposed to have been favourable to the meditated change, were dismissed from their places. A second attempt to engage Mr. Pitt and lord Temple in forming a new administration, having also failed, the duke of Cumberland, in conjunction with the old duke of Newcastle, contrived an arrangement, in which the latter nobleman held the office of privy-seal, while the marquis of Rockingham became first lord of the treasury; the duke of Grafton and general Conway, secretaries of state; Mr. Dowdeswell, chancellor of the exchequer; and lord Winchelsea, president of the council; the earl of

Egmont continuing at the head of the admiralty; lord Northington retaining the great seal; while his old friend, chief-justice Pratt, notwithstanding his opposition to the court, on the question of general warrants, was elevated to the peerage by the title of lord Camden.

Among the other events of this year, may be mentioned the annexation of the Isle of Man to the crown, by purchase from the Athol family, in consequence of which act, that spot became subject to the revenue laws, and ceased to be, as formerly, a nest of smugglers.

Instances of royal mortality, during the course of the year, were very remarkable. In England, died suddenly the duke of Cumberland, aged forty-five; and prince Frederic William, brother to the king, in his sixteenth year; the court of Vienna lost the emperor Francis the First, husband of the empress Maria Theresa; while France lamented the death of the dauphin, a prince of great virtue; and lastly, at Rome, expired in his seventy-eighth year, James Francis Edward, the unfortunate son of James the Second, leaving issue, by his consort Maria Clementina, daughter of John Sobieski, two sons, Charles Edward Lewis, the adventurer, whose defeat at Culloden, in 1745, extinguished for ever the hopes of his family, and Henry, cardinal of York, in whom the royal line of Stuart ended.

CHAP. LV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1766 to 1769.

THE resolutions of the British parliament, and the imposition of the stamp act, founded upon them, raised, as might have been foreseen, such a ferment in the colonies, that the whole continent of North America was in a flame, from one end to the other. Riots ensued in many places, and some of the agents of the government had their houses burnt to the ground, their property destroyed, and their persons insulted; while the distributors of the stamps were compelled to give up their office, or to return to Europe. The provincial assemblies, instead of repressing, encouraged these disorders. They even went farther, and appointed committees to correspond with each other for the general support; a measure that was the incipient foundation of the independence which some years afterwards took place. Associations were also formed for the encouragement of native manufactures, and markets were established for the sale of such productions, to the exclusion of British goods. Even merchants in many parts, though reaping great benefit from foreign trade, readily entered into the same engagements, and not only agreed to discontinue importing any kind of wares from the mother country, but to forbear selling those which had been already sent to them upon commission. Hence it became obvious, that an organized plan was constructed at that period, if not before, for an absolute separation of the colonies from the parent state. The effects of the system were soon felt in England, to such a degree, that the tables of both houses of parliament, which met on the 14th of January, were [A. D. 1766. covered with petitions from the principal sea-ports and towns in the kingdom, as well as from Jamaica, and other settlements abroad, complaining of the decay of trade, produced by the stamp-act. The speech from the throne was confined exclusively to this subject, but it was conciliatory, and, shortly after, the obnoxious act was repealed, to the great joy of the nation; though the declaration which accompanied it, that the British parliament had a right to make laws for her colonies in all cases whatever, was not calculated to restore tranquillity and confidence in America.

Another sacrifice made to public feeling, this session, was the repeal of the tax upon cider; and ministers acquired additional credit, by a bill for opening free ports in the West Indies; by regulations beneficial to colonial trade; by a modification of the window duty; and lastly, by a parliamentary declaration, that general warrants, except in statutable cases, were illegal. Another act of particular interest, and tending to the popularity of those who conceded it, was a restriction upon the importation of foreign silks. But while lord Rockingham and his colleagues were pursuing this prudent and patriotic course, the nation was surprised

on the 30th of July by the announcement of a new cabinet, consisting of the duke of Grafton, first lord of the treasury; the earl of Shelburne, as one of the secretaries of state; lord Camden, as chancellor; Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer; and William Pitt, then created earl of Chatham, lord privy-seal. The real cause of this change was never clearly explained; but it is past all doubt, that the formation of the new cabinet was entirely the work of lord Chatham, whose political reputation suffered considerably by his elevation to the peerage, and more so afterwards by the circumstances to which he lent the powerful sanction of his name. From such a junction of men of different parties and talents, little was to be expected, even under a leader remarkable for the energy of his mind, and the independence of his principles. Lord Chatham, says Mr. Burke, "made an administration so chequered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified Mosaic; such a piece of tesselated pavement, without cement; here a bit of black stone, there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; Whigs and Tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand upon."

However rhetorical this description might be, its justice is supported by the truth of history; for a more inefficient council, or one of a less consistent character, never had the direction of public affairs. At the time of its formation, the high price of provisions occasioned riots in several places, by which many lives were lost, and a special commission was appointed to try the offenders. Government acted with remarkable lenity on this occasion, and as a remedy for the existing evil, an embargo was laid upon all vessels laden with grain. This measure, though called for by strong necessity, was in itself illegal, and therefore, at the meeting of parliament, on the 11th of November, a bill of indemnity was brought in, to protect those who had put the order of council in force. It was very remarkable, that in the debate which ensued, the earl of Chatham, and his friend the chancellor, should take the ground of prerogative, by vindicating, under urgent circumstances, a suspending power in the crown; while, in opposition to that doctrine, lord Mansfield appealed to the bill of rights, and argued, with invincible eloquence, that such a dispensing power was unconstitutional and dangerous. Parliament concurred in the principle laid down by the chief-justice of the King's Bench, and an amendment accordingly passed for indemnifying the advisers as well as the executors of the measure.

Among the domestic occurrences of the year, may be mentioned the unfortunate marriage of the king's youngest sister, Caroline Matilda, then in her sixteenth year, to Christian VII. king of Denmark; which ceremony took place at St. James's, by proxy, on the 1st of October, and at Copenhagen, on the 8th of the following month.

A. D. 1767.] The business of this session of parliament was various and important. One of the first acts was the reduction of the land tax from four to three shillings in the pound; which being contrary to the wish and strenuous efforts of the ministry, boded that their duration could not be long.

The attention of the legislature was next called to the state of the India company, occasioned by an augmentation of the dividend upon their stock. Ministers had given notice to the directors, before the meeting of parliament, of their intention to bring the affairs of the company to an inquiry; upon which it was agreed, in a general court, to offer four hundred thousand pounds a year to the public, during three years, with an indemnification for whatever loss the nation might sustain by the exclusive monopoly of the tea-trade. Parliament acceded to this proposal, but limited the period of payment to two years. When the act for this purpose passed, ministers recommended to the company to make no farther increase of their dividend, till their affairs should be more thoroughly investigated: but the proposition not being complied with, two bills were brought in during this session; one to regulate the qualifications of voters in trading companies, and the other, to restrict the dividends upon East Indian stock to ten per cent. This last bill proceed a violent opposition in both houses, and even the members of the cabi-



John Wilkes.



J. H. Tooke.



J. Burdett.



Wm. Cobbett.



W. Hunt.

act were divided upon the question, which, however, was carried by a small majority.

The fatal policy of raising a revenue in America, being still cherished by the British government, the chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, ventured to introduce a bill for laying duties on glass, paper, colours used in painting, and tea imported into the colonies. This measure went through parliament without any difficulty, and in due time received the royal assent; but its reception on the other side of the Atlantic proved that the embers of discontent only wanted such a proceeding, to set the provinces again in a flame.

Resistance to these financial enactments began at Boston, in resolutions amounting to a prohibition of foreign articles of commerce, and a determination to encourage nothing but what was of native produce. Similar resolutions were entered into in the other colonies; and thus it was obvious that the spirit of independence was gaining an ascendancy throughout the American states. Another proceeding in this parliament, which contributed to heighten the discontent, was the suspension of the legislative authority of the assembly of New York, for presuming to make an innovation in the act to supply the troops in barracks with necessaries. The provincial assembly submitted to the superior power, but the seeds of jealousy and disobedience were too deeply sown to be eradicated. While the bond of union between the parent state and her dependencies was thus weakening every day, the cabinet at home was rent by divisions which threatened its speedy dissolution. The earl of Chatham, by continued attacks of the gout, was incapacitated for public business; and none of his colleagues possessed sufficient talent or influence to propose or carry into effect such measures as were necessary to invigorate the government.

In this state of schism and imbecility, an attempt was made to bring about a coalition with the Rockingham party; and when that negotiation failed, another was opened with the duke of Bedford and his friends, which was attended with no better success. The administration was now, in fact, without a head, and each member of it, in the absence of lord Chatham, thought he had a right to take the direction of the council. The person who directly aspired to that distinction, was Charles Townshend, a man of wit, but deficient in judgment, a specious rather than a persuasive orator, and so unsteady in his political principles, that the wonder was, how such a meteor came into a cabinet which he was more likely to bewilder than to guide.

Whatever were the pretensions of this vacillating statesman, they were, however, put an end to by an irresistible power, for, in the month of September, his death contributed still more to weaken a tottering administration. His place was filled by lord North, eldest son to the earl of Guildford; and at the same time, earl Gower became president of the council.

Another instance of mortality occurred, on the 17th of the same month, in the demise of Edward duke of York, which event happened at Monaco, while making the tour of Italy. He was a prince of amiable manners, and much beloved by the people for his liberality.

In January, ministers received some additional strength, by [A. D. 1768. the appointment of lord Weymouth to the situation of secretary of state, on the resignation of general Conway, and of lord Hillsborough to the new office of secretary for the colonies.

The act, restraining the East India company from augmenting their dividends, being about to expire, a bill was brought in for a renewal of it, which was carried, though not without a warm opposition. Another proceeding in this parliament, which excited much attention, was a motion for securing the subject against dormant claims of the crown; and though ministers got rid of it by an adjournment, the bill was renewed afterwards, and succeeded.

This motion arose from the conduct of government, in bestowing a lease of Inglewood forest, and the manor of Carlisle, upon sir James Lowther, which had been in possession of the Portland family, by virtue of a grant from king William, for the space of seventy years.

The dissolution of parliament, on the 10th of March, was followed by violent contests all over the kingdom; but chiefly in Middlesex, for which county John Wilkes was returned by a large majority, after proving unsuccessful in

the city of London. On his election, he surrendered to the court of king's bench, his outlawry not having been renewed, and he was sent to prison. This produced serious riots, particularly on the 10th of May, which, being the day appointed for the meeting of parliament, brought a large assembly of people together in St. George's Fields, for the purpose of conveying the patriotic member to the house of commons. Government adopted the precaution of sending a military force into that neighbourhood, to prevent disorders; but as this only served to irritate the populace, acts of violence were committed, and the soldiers, at the command of a magistrate, fired upon the rioters, one of whom was killed. Such was the inflamed state of the public mind, that the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder, in consequence of which, Mr. Gilham, the justice, was tried and acquitted.

The outlawry of Wilkes, soon after this, was reversed in the court of king's bench, but he was sentenced to pay one thousand pounds for his offensive publications, and to a further imprisonment of twenty-two months.

The late riots produced a letter from the secretary of state to the magistrates, recommending a rigorous discharge of their duty: a proclamation was also issued against tumultuary meetings of the people, and in these measures parliament concurred by loyal addresses to the throne.

While the English metropolis was in this convulsed state, a similar ebullition prevailed throughout the American colonies. In February, the assembly of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to the representative bodies of the other provinces, urging the necessity of a general union for the defence of their commmon rights. This measure originated with Dr. Franklin, the American agent in England, but it was only the revival and modification of a plan suggested by the same extraordinary character at the beginning of the seven years' war. The object of it, at that period, was the security of the British colonies against the French and Indians: and the proposal was so far adopted, that, in 1754, an association took place, called the Albany Congress, but the combination was soon dissolved by the authority of government, as tending to place the colonies upon a footing of independence. Upon comparing these circumstances, it is clear that the design of a separation of the American states from the parent country, had long been fostering; and that the measures pursued by successive administrations, for the internal regulation of the colonies, were no more than combustible materials, easily made subservient to the purposes of revolution.

The circular address of the Massachusetts assembly produced such a contention between that body and their governor, that Francis Bernard was driven to the necessity of applying to ministers for an additional military force. In the mean time, he dissolved the provincial assembly, and by that act heightened the public resentment, not only against himself, but the government which he represented. Previous to this, the commissioners of the customs at Boston, having condemned a vessel belonging to one of the merchants of that place, became so obnoxious to the populace, that they were obliged, first to take refuge on board a man-of-war, and next in the fortress.

Amidst this anarchy, a convention, consisting of the deputies of ninety-six towns, met at Boston, without the authority of the governor. This self-constituted assembly, after passing some strong resolutions, the most serious of which was a call upon the people to provide themselves with arms and ammunition, separated on the 29th of September. The same day, two regiments, with a detachment of artillery, arrived at Boston from Halifax; and shortly after, general Gage followed with two more regiments from Ireland. The presence of this force kept the place in some awe, but the elements of disaffection remained, and only wanted an occasion to explode with greater effect. While these things were in this disorder abroad, affairs looked no less gloomy at home. The divisions in the ministry continued; lord Chatham and lord Shelburne resigned their places, the one being succeeded by the earl of Bristol, and the other by lord Weymouth, whose situation as secretary of the northern department was filled by the earl of Rochford.

In the East Indies, the English company had to encounter a new enemy in Hyder Ali, a Mohammedan adventurer, who, from being a private soldier, raised himself, by his activity, courage, and address, to the rank of a prince,

on the coast of Malabar. This enterprising chief having prevailed upon the nizam of the Deccan to declare war against the English, the council of Madras immediately adopted the proper measures for breaking the formidable confederacy. Accordingly, a respectable force was placed under the command of colonel Smith, who advanced with great celerity to the neighbourhood of Trincomalee, where he gained a decisive victory over the confederates, on the 26th of September, 1767. This defeat so disheartened the nizam, that he abandoned Hyder, and purchased a peace at the expense of the dowannee of the Balagat Carnatic, which he ceded in perpetuity to the company. Notwithstanding this defection, the spirit of Hyder continued unsubdued, and by having the advantage of a numerous cavalry, he was enabled to commit many depredations upon the English settlements, as well as upon the peaceable inhabitants of the adjacent districts. To reduce this restless freebooter, an expedition was fitted out at Bombay against Mangalore, the principal fortress of Hyder on the sea-coast, and on the 25th of February, 1768, it was taken possession of with little difficulty. Still the spirits of Hyder remained unbroken, and he continued his predatory warfare with considerable injury to the English, and also to their ally, the nabob of Arcot. At length, colonel Wood, on the 4th of October, gained a decisive victory over the army of this restless foe, and compelled him to retreat to his mountainous fortresses; from whence, however, he made frequent excursions to the plains below, seeking by plunder to recruit his finances, and, by annoying trade, to weaken his adversary. In this course he succeeded so well, that the government of Madras thought it most prudent to conclude a treaty with Hyder; who, in consequence of it, soon found himself in a condition to multiply his resources, and to prepare ample means for renewing hostilities with still greater effect.

At this period, when faction rent the public counsels, disaffection pervaded our western colonies, and formidable enemies assailed our eastern possessions, the king evinced his regard for the extension of science, and the improvement of the arts. In 1764, the honourable John Byron was sent, with two ships, to explore the southernmost part of the American continent, and the great Pacific, the result of which was the addition of some new islands to the stock of geographical knowledge. Soon afterwards, captains Wallis and Carteret made farther discoveries in the same hemisphere; and lastly, lieutenant Cook, in 1768, being appointed to take out the astronomers selected to make their observations of the transit of Venus over the sun's disk, enriched the chart of the South Sea with some groups of islands that had escaped preceding navigators.

At home, his majesty, who had, in 1765, incorporated a society of artists, by charter, now raised a more splendid and useful structure for the advancement of painting, sculpture, and architecture, in the establishment of the royal academy, of which the excellent and accomplished sir Joshua Reynolds became the first president.

CHAP. LVI.

GEORGE III.—(CONTINUED.) A. D. 1769 to 1773.

THE speech from the throne, at the commencement of the session in 1769, was chiefly directed to the state of the American colonies, particularly the refractory spirit which pervaded the town of Boston. The debates that ensued in the two houses, were long and violent; but in both, resolutions were passed, condemning the acts of the Massachusetts assembly as illegal. The addresses to the king were, as usual, responsive of the speech; but the peers carried their loyalty so far as to request the names of the persons who had been most active in resisting the royal authority, in order that they might be tried in England, on an obsolete statute of Henry the Eighth. This proposition, so ill-timed, and peculiarly disgusting to the spirit of the age, met with the sanction of the house of commons; but it was never acted upon, and only served to irritate the minds of the colonists, who certainly did not want additional fuel to keep them in a ferment.

The affairs of the East India company next came under the consideration of

parliament, with whom that corporation entered into an agreement to pay the public four hundred thousand pounds, for the space of five years, conditionally, that they should be at liberty to increase their dividends to twelve and a half per cent; but that if a reduction should take place, below that rate, an equivalent sum should be deducted from the above grant, and so continue till the fall of the dividends to six per cent.

Another subject which excited considerable notice, and produced some parliamentary contention, was the state of the civil list, the deficiencies of which, as signified in a message from the king, had occasioned a debt of five hundred thousand pounds. The motion, to clear off this incumbrance, was far from being received with complaisance by the lower house, but after some altercation the requisition was complied with.

The case of Wilkes now absorbed every other consideration, and this demagogue was again raised into importance by the indiscretion of ministers, and the pertinacity of the legislature. A copy of lord Weymouth's letter to the chairman of the quarter sessions for the county of Surrey, recommending the utmost vigilance to the magistrates, coming into the hands of Wilkes, was published by him with an inflammatory commentary, in which the author charged the noble secretary with deliberately recommending murder. Lord Weymouth, instead of treating so base a calumny with the contempt which it deserved, complained of it in the house as a breach of privilege. A conference with the commons was then desired; and the result was, a vote of expulsion against Wilkes, for having written and published a scandalous and seditious libel. A new writ was accordingly issued for the election of another person to represent the county of Middlesex; but the freeholders being mostly in favour of the old member, returned him again. The house, upon this, determined that the return was invalid, for that Wilkes, having been expelled, was ineligible to sit in that parliament. Another election took place, and in order to secure their point, ministers put up colonel Luttrel as a candidate for the county. In the event, Wilkes had eleven hundred and forty-three votes, while his opponent had only two hundred and ninety. The colonel, however, was declared the sitting member, and the clerk of the crown accordingly received directions to insert his name in the return. The effect of this decision soon appeared, in the presentation of numerous petitions to the king, calling upon him, in the most peremptory manner, to dissolve a parliament which had trampled upon the liberties of the people, and also to dismiss a ministry who had forfeited the public confidence, and abused their trust. On the other hand, addresses in abundance came up to the throne, from corporate and other bodies, expressing an entire approbation of the proceedings of government, and the greatest abhorrence of all factious assemblies. While these transactions disturbed the public mind, Wilkes increased his triumphs by gaining a verdict, with four thousand pounds damages, in the court of king's bench, against lord Halifax, for the illegal seizure of his person and papers.

A spirit of discontent now arose in Ireland, occasioned by an act for the augmentation of the military force on that establishment, and by a money bill which was sent over to the parliament there, from the privy-council in England. The former measure, though unpopular, was suffered to pass, but the latter was rejected with indignation. A short time previous to these experiments, which had for their aim, how far the people of Ireland would submit to the legislative authority of the English government, an act passed, limiting the duration of the Irish parliament to eight years. Before this there was no such thing, properly speaking, as popular representation, since the same house of commons continued without dissolution, from the accession of the monarch to his demise. The boon thus granted to the Irish nation, was received with great joy and gratitude; but unfortunately, as it was soon followed by the obnoxious bill from the privy-council, the people there began to regard it with suspicion, as a treacherous donation. Lord Townshend, the viceroy, in his speech at the prorogation of parliament, did not endeavour to remove that impression, for he censured, in strong terms, the rejection of the English bill; and the government afterwards acted worse, in suspending the meeting of the legislature of that kingdom for a long time; much to the public injury and the increase of popular discontent.

This year was rendered remarkable by the subjugation of Corsica to the dominion of France, in virtue of a cession from the republic of Genoa. The alienation, however, was not effected without a struggle, in which Pascal Paoli distinguished himself as the leader of the Corsicans; but when this brave man found that all resistance was hopeless, and that extermination would, in all likelihood, be the consequence of a farther contest, he withdrew secretly, and came to England, where he died at an advanced age, in 1807.

A. D. 1770.] On the 9th of Jan. the British parliament opened with a speech from the throne, in which the disorder among horned cattle was made a principal object, without the least allusion to the state of domestic politics. But this omission was amply made up by the opposition in the lower house, where an amendment was moved upon the address, assuring the king that his faithful commons would inquire directly into the causes of the prevailing discontents. This amendment was, indeed, negatived, but the very introduction of it proved so galling to the cabinet, that some of the leading members of it resigned their places soon afterwards, among whom were, lord-chancellor Camden, the marquis of Granby, and the dukes of Beaufort and Manchester. It merits observation here, that Charles Fox formed one of this administration, and that, in the debates which arose upon the case of Wilkes, he strenuously defended the right of the house of commons to expel a member for libel. His opponent upon this subject was Edmund Burke; but soon afterwards a cordial union took place between them, which subsisted for a great number of years, till events, still more extraordinary, dissolved the connexion.

The cabinet being now in a state of schism, great difficulty was experienced in the appointment of persons to the vacant offices, for such was the distraction and unpopularity of the government, that hardly an independent man was to be found, who would risk his peace or reputation by the acceptance of a public situation, the tenure of which was uncertain. The great seal, after having been refused by different persons, was at last taken, at the request of the king, by the honourable Charles Yorke; but meeting with a stern rebuke for so doing, from his brother, lord Hardwicke, he instantly went home, and destroyed himself. That high office was then put into commission, and on the 28th of January a farther change occurred, by the resignation of the duke of Grafton, to whom succeeded lord North, as first lord of the treasury. Three days after this, a motion was made in the house of commons, to rescind the votes respecting the Middlesex election, but it was lost; as also was another to the same purport, brought forward in the upper house by the marquis of Rockingham, and supported by lord Chatham. Some of the measures of this session of parliament, however, gave general satisfaction, as the repeal of the duties laid upon certain commodities exported to America, with the exception of the tax upon tea, which last was retained, not so much for its financial importance, as a claim of right to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatever. Another salutary act next passed, for the regulation of proceedings on controverted elections. The framer of this useful measure was Mr. George Grenville, and it has ever since gone by his name; but, in the progress of the bill through the house, it encountered a strenuous opposition.

The practice, upon petitions, had hitherto been to decide the disputed cases by a general vote of the house, after hearing witnesses at the bar, which mode, besides the interruption of other business, was liable to many abuses, and was often marked by a partial judgment. The new act provided, that every disputed return shall be referred to a committee balloted for by the house at large, and afterwards reduced in number, by each candidate striking one off alternately, till the list consists of thirteen and two tellers, all of whom are sworn to do justice between the contending parties.

The city of London, having, in the form of a petition, presented a remonstrance to the king, calling for a dissolution of parliament, and complaining, in bold language, of existing grievances, gave such offence to the commons, that a conference with the lords was desired, which produced a joint address to the throne, strongly expressive of the indignation of both houses at the unwarrantable conduct of the corporation, in endeavouring to sow dissension

between the respective branches of the legislature, and to impede the public concerns. Amidst these conflicts, the press was not idle, and many writers of various talents employed that potent engine, rather for the purpose of heightening, than allaying, the contentious spirit which prevailed. One of the most formidable of these literary warriors fought under a vizor, which neither time, prosecution, nor industry, could ever remove. The performances of this political writer, who assumed the name of Junius, were conveyed to the world through the channel of the Public Advertiser. At first, the objects of his virulence were some of the leading members of the cabinet, particularly the duke of Grafton, to whom it was very clear that he had a personal enmity; for he pursued that nobleman into the privacy of domestic life, and basely held him up to scorn, on account of some alleged deviations from moral purity. Junius did the same by other personages of high rank, whence it appeared evident that, with all his boasted patriotism, this champion of public virtue was actuated by motives which obliged him, in prudence, to keep his own character from investigation. Government would have acted wisely in suffering the inflammatory effusions of this writer to pass unnoticed; instead of which, an opportunity seems to have been anxiously sought, for the purpose of dragging him to light; and the consequence was, that Junius attained an elevation beyond what he was entitled to, either by the cogency of his reasoning, or the brilliancy of his style. After attacking several distinguished individuals with bitter invective, Junius took aim at a higher object, and, in a letter to the king, poured forth unmeasured abuse upon his public conduct, which, from the beginning of his reign, was characterised as an unvaried course of imbecility and corruption. For this outrage, the attorney-general filed an official information against the printer, Woodfall, whose trial took place in the court of king's bench, on the 13th of June. Lord Mansfield directed the jury to find the defendant guilty of a libel; instead of which, they returned a verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing only," which amounted to a virtual acquittal; and thus the prosecution, in this instance, increased the evil instead of suppressing it. In some other cases of prosecution, however, for vending the same libellous production, the printers and publishers were found guilty, and suffered both fine and imprisonment.

While these causes of discontent operated at home, the state of the political horizon on the opposite side of the Atlantic was deepening in gloom, and threatening the empire with the speedy explosion of a storm, the elements of which had been long accumulating. In the month of March, this year, the populace of Boston, and the soldiers stationed there, had an affray, in which some lives were lost; the military, in consequence, were removed to the fort, but the officer who commanded them was tried and acquitted, it being fully proved, even to the satisfaction of an American jury, that the mob were the aggressors.

At this crisis, the nation was alarmed by preparations for a war with Spain, on an occasion in which neither power had sustained any injury, or could allege a justifiable plea for an appeal to arms. Commodore Byron, in his late voyage to the Pacific Ocean, took possession, in the name of his sovereign, of a cluster of barren rocks, called Falkland's Islands, inhabited only by seals and penguins. In virtue, however, of the pompous report made by that navigator, of the advantage likely to accrue from a settlement there, the British admiralty caused a small establishment to be made at Port Egmont, the only harbour which the islands afforded. This excited the jealousy of the Spaniards; and on the 4th of June, 1770, a naval and military force appeared off the place, from whence the English were ejected in all due form and ceremony. When the account of this transaction arrived, public resentment was inflamed to a degree unparalleled since the memorable affair of Jenkins, who, in the year 1731, told a romantic story at the bar of the house of commons, of having had his ears cut off by the Spaniards, in his voyage home from Jamaica. As on that occasion, the people, without a deliberate inquiry, suffered themselves to be carried away by their passions; so in this, the general clamour for war, urged on by Junius and the opposition, could scarcely be repressed. In this exigency, though ministers adopted the prudent course of making military and naval equipments, they, at the same time, listened to

terms of accommodation, so that, after a few months spent in negotiation, the ridiculous dispute was brought to a termination without bloodshed; each party agreeing to leave the islands in their pristine state, and to the quiet possession of the only inhabitants that could derive any benefit from them.

The parliamentary history of the following year began with a [A. D. 1771. contest between the house of commons and the citizens of London, on their respective privileges. Two printers having been ordered to appear before the bar of the house, for inserting in their papers, reports of speeches pretended to have been made by some of the members, whose names were given at length, refused to comply, and absconded. On this, the sergeant-at-arms was directed to arrest the offenders wherever they could be found; and a proclamation was at the same time issued by the king for their apprehension. Six more printers were next ordered to attend on the same charge, but they also treated the mandate with contempt, and all of them sought an asylum in the city. One of them being seized, and conveyed before Wilkes, who was then the sitting alderman, received his discharge, and at the same time was bound over, by that magistrate, to prosecute the captor. Alderman Oliver liberated another printer, and the lord-mayor, Crosby, did the same by a third. These proceedings so highly provoked the house of commons, that Crosby and Oliver, who were members, received orders to attend in their places; while Wilkes was summoned to appear at the bar. The two former magistrates obeyed the injunction, and were sent to the Tower; but Wilkes replied, in a letter to the speaker that, if recognized as a member of the house, he would attend, and justify his conduct, but not otherwise. This involved the house in a dilemma, but, after repeating their mandate, and receiving the same answer, they thought proper to drop his case altogether.

In the mean time, the other two magistrates applied to the court of common pleas, by habeas corpus, and demanded their liberation; which was refused, and they remained in confinement till the end of the session. This remarkable conflict, however, was productive of one important benefit to the nation, in the tacit indulgence given by both houses of parliament to the publication of their proceedings; no attempt ever having been made since, to abridge the liberty of the press in this respect; and although the standing orders are still suffered to continue, the member who should offer to enforce them, would meet with little support.

During this session, ministers received an accession of strength, in the nomination of lord Sandwich to the head of the admiralty, and of Mr. Justice Bathurst, now created lord Apsley, to the office of chancellor, while Thurlow and Wedderburne, two lawyers of the first-rate talents, were made attorney and solicitor general. The earl of Halifax, at the same time, succeeded the earl of Sandwich as secretary of state, but dying soon after, his place was filled up by the earl of Suffolk, and the duke of Grafton accepted the office of lord privy-seal.

At the opening of the parliament in the following year, a mo- [A. D. 1772. tion was made for the augmentation of the navy, which was justified by the plea, that as the French had sent out a large fleet to the East Indies, it became expedient for us to have an equal force in that quarter. The same reason was urged for the increase of our naval establishment in the West Indies; and it was further alleged, that the war between Russia and the Porte rendered the appearance of an English fleet indispensably requisite in the Mediterranean, for the protection of our Levant trade. These reasons were plausible, but government fell under suspicion of having a secret object in the measure, and on that account, though the proposition for raising twenty-five thousand additional seamen, was ultimately carried, it met with a strong opposition.

Another circumstance which distinguished the history of parliament this year, was the petition from a number of the clergy, and some members of the two universities, assembled at the Feathers Tavern, praying for relief from the burden laid upon their consciences, by the obligation to subscribe the thirty-nine articles of religion. This application produced a warm debate, but the motion, that the petition should be considered in a committee, was rejected by a great majority. Another bill, connected with the ecclesiastical

establishment, and which experienced a similar fate, was that for securing the possessions of lay-subjects against any dormant claims of the church. The dissenting ministers, in and about London, made also an application to parliament this session, for relief from that part of the act of Toleration, which required them to subscribe those articles of the church of England which relate to doctrine. The motion, that their prayer should be granted, passed through the lower house; but in that of the lords it was negatived. There was another parliamentary proceeding of this year, which excited much observation, and some serious debate. The marriage of the duke of Gloucester to lady Waldegrave, and of the duke of Cumberland to the daughter of lord Irnham, gave such offence to the king, that he forbade them the court. After this, a message was sent to both houses, recommending the adoption of some plan to restrict the descendants of George the Second, except those of foreign birth, from contracting a matrimonial connexion without the consent of the king in council, or that of parliament. In compliance with the royal recommendation, a bill to this purpose was brought in, and passed; but not without giving offence to many persons of great worth and talent, who regarded it in the light of an arbitrary restraint upon the natural rights of man, and an express violation of that divine code, to which all human legislation ought to be subservient.

The history of the royal family was further chequered this year by two melancholy events. The first, was the death of the princess dowager of Wales, on the 8th of February; and the second was the imprisonment of her youngest daughter, Caroline Matilda, queen of Denmark, on the malicious charge of an illicit intercourse with the prime minister, count Struensee; who, with his colleague, count Brandt, was executed in a most barbarous manner, at Copenhagen. This tragedy would have gone to a still deeper length, in the destruction of the queen, had not her brother, the king of England, sent a fleet to Elsineur, with a peremptory demand for her liberation. This spirited conduct had a proper effect; and the young victim of an unprincipled confederacy, at the head of which was the queen-mother, was conveyed to Zell in Hanover, where she died in 1775.

CHAP. LVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1773 to 1775.

THE attention of the British parliament, in 1773, was chiefly occupied by the affairs of India and America. A petition from the company, for a loan from the public, being taken into consideration, it was agreed to advance the sum of one million four hundred thousand pounds, under such regulations as should prevent the recurrence of a like measure. At the same time, lord North proposed two resolutions, one for the restriction of the dividends to six per cent., till the repayment of the loan, and the other to keep the company from dividing more than seven per cent. till their bond debt should be reduced to a million and a half. These resolutions passed unanimously, but when the minister followed them up with others, declaratory of the rights of the state to the territorial acquisitions of the East India Company, and enacting that there should be no participation of profits between the latter and the public, till the discharge of the loan and debt, a violent opposition arose, both in the general court of proprietors, and in parliament, on the plea, that this was an arbitrary assumption of power, and a violation of chartered rights. Notwithstanding this, the resolutions were carried, and, thus encouraged, ministers ventured to bring forward a bill, to settle certain regulations for the better management of the company's affairs, as well in India as in Europe. These regulations limited the directorship to the period of four years; and raised the qualification of electors from five hundred to one thousand pounds stock; the mayor's court at Calcutta, was confined merely to mercantile causes only; a new judicial establishment was to be formed there; and a superiority given to the presidency of Bengal over the two others.

Though these resolutions passed, and the bill embodying them received the royal assent, the measure would hardly have been adopted, had it not been for the evidence of abuses, which came out before the committee appointed to

inquire into the state of India. In the course of that investigation, a series of extortions was disclosed, which reflected so much upon the national character, as to call imperiously for a change in the administration of our eastern possessions, as well as for some control over the management of the company's circumstances at home.

Of the persons whose reputation was particularly affected by the exposure of these facts, lord Clive suffered most; and though the house of commons passed a vote, that he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country, the stain which the report of the committee brought upon this "heaven-born general," as lord Chatham called him, had such an effect upon his spirits, that soon afterwards he put an end to his existence.

The discontents in America broke out this year into acts of violence, which too plainly indicated that the bond of union with the parent state was on the point of dissolution. In retaining the duty upon tea imported into the colonies, government committed a fatal error; since the impost, though trifling, was viewed by the provincials, as nothing less than the prelude to a more extended system of taxation. Associations now became general throughout the American states, for the exclusion of all foreign commodities, and tea among the rest. Three vessels, with that article, having entered the port of Boston, were boarded by a number of armed men, disguised as Indians, who threw the cargoes into the sea, but without doing any injury to the crews. Similar outrages were committed in other places; and at Rhode Island, a revenue schooner, stationed there to prevent smuggling, was seized and burnt.

These animosities were heightened by the publication of some letters of governor Hutchinson, recommending strongly the adoption of coercive measures towards the northern states. This correspondence was private, but Dr. Franklin, who was deputy-postmaster, having, through the medium of his office, got possession of the letters, transmitted copies of them to the assembly of Massachusetts, at a time when every incident tended to increase the popular fury.

The first step adopted by government, on receiving intelligence of the outrages that had occurred at Boston, was the introducing of a bill for taking away from that town the privilege of a free port; which, though zealously opposed, went through both houses with great rapidity; and on the last [A. D. 1774.
day of March received the royal assent. This act was followed by another, for regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts; the object of which was, to alter the constitution there, by vesting the executive power in magistrates appointed by the crown. A more strenuous opposition was made to this bill than to the former, on the ground of its being subversive of chartered rights; but it was carried by a great majority; as also was another act, of a still more offensive description, empowering the governor of Massachusetts Bay to send any person, charged with a capital offence, for trial into a distant colony, or even to Great Britain.

In vain did ministers flatter themselves with the assurance that these strong measures would bring the refractory Bostonians to submission, and strike terror into the rest of the colonists. The three bills had a quite contrary effect; for such of the provincials as had hitherto evinced a moderate and conciliatory spirit, now united with their countrymen, and, by the advice of Franklin, the respective colonial committees formed a bond of compact, under the ominous designation of the Solemn League and Covenant. This association was followed by the organization of a general congress, consisting of the representatives of twelve colonies, which met at Philadelphia on the 5th of September. The first act of this assembly was the passing of a resolution expressive of an entire approbation of the resistance manifested by the people of Massachusetts Bay to the arbitrary proceedings of the British government; after which, a letter was written to general Gage, remonstrating with him upon his hostile acts towards the province of which he was governor, and calling upon him to discontinue the fortifications carrying on at Boston. The congress next drew up a declaration of their rights, followed by an appeal to the British nation, asserting their claim to a participation of the liberties enjoyed by their fellow-subjects; and lastly, they petitioned the king for a redress of grievances. Having thus laid the foundation of a representative

system, the congress adjourned on the 26th of October, to the 10th of May, in the following year.

While these transactions were taking place in that quarter, ministers introduced into parliament, a bill for the better government of Canada. The chief objects of this legislative provision, were to determine the limits of the province; to form a council at the nomination of the crown; to establish the ancient French laws, by which Canada had been governed before its cession; and to secure to the Roman-catholic laity and clergy, the full enjoyment of their estates. Though this bill was founded on the principles of equity and sound policy, it did not pass the lower house without a fierce opposition; and so strong was the prejudice of the public at this time, that the measure was actually reprobated, as tending to encourage popery and arbitrary power.

On the 30th of September, parliament was dissolved, and the most remarkable circumstance attending the new elections, was the return of Mr. John Wilkes for Middlesex, without any opposition from the court.

The royal speech, at the opening of the session, was principally directed to the insubordination prevailing in the province of Massachusetts; and the refractory spirit manifested in the other colonies; and it concluded with a determination, on the part of the king, to maintain the authority of the legislature over every part of the British empire. The motions on the address produced such animated debates, that, however much ministers might rely upon numerical force, they could not but be sensible that the weight of talent was on A. D. 1775.] the other side. Immediately after the recess, lord Chatham moved for the recall of the troops from Boston, as an indispensable step towards a reconciliation. But the argumentative eloquence of this illustrious statesman, which was wont to operate upon listening senates with electric force, could now command no more than eighteen voices against sixty-eight; a gloomy presage of what was likely to follow.

The same venerable nobleman, however, actuated by the purest principle of patriotism, persevered in his attempt to effect a conciliation; and accordingly, on the the 1st of February, he brought in the outline of a bill entitled, "A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." This proposition also miscarried; and indeed it is obvious, that no measure short of an abandonment of the right of taxation could have at all satisfied the colonists. At this critical period, one person only, in the kingdom, seems to have viewed the question in a clear light. This was Dr. Tucker, dean of Gloucester, who, in a very able pamphlet, made it apparent, that, under the present circumstances, a separation of the colonies from the parent state, by an amicable agreement, was most profitable for both countries. This acute and intelligent writer observed, that it is the nature of all colonists to aim at independence; and when they have arrived at a state capable of supporting themselves, the wisest step the mother country can adopt, is to treat with them on the footing of equality. Unfortunately, neither the ministers nor their opponents could be convinced by this reasoning; for, while the one thought it practicable to coerce the Americans, the other were persuaded, that a concession of the points out of which the dispute arose, would produce perfect friendship between the two states. But both parties in the British senate, at this period, professed an equal degree of indignation at the prospect of granting independency to the American insurgents; nor did the latter, whatever might be the design of their principal leaders, then judge it prudent to make an avowal of such an object. The exertion of the strong arm of authority being resolved upon by both houses of parliament, a joint address was carried up to the throne, declaring the province of Massachusetts Bay in a state of rebellion, and praying that his majesty would therefore employ the most effective means to enforce obedience to the legislative authority. Accordingly, a vote passed, pursuant to the royal answer and message, for an augmentation of the forces by sea and land; while, in order to punish the refractory states, another bill was introduced, to deprive them of the freedom of trade, and of the privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Yet, amidst these vigorous and hostile measures, lord North surprised both sides of the house, by a motion for suspending the exercise of the right of taxation

over such of the colonies as should undertake to grant supplies of their own raising, for the defence of government. The intention of this proposition was, to create a division among the Americans; and the minister himself acknowledged, that his object therein was to separate the best affected from the worst. On the other hand, the motion was characterised by the opposition as insidious and treacherous; but the bill passed by a great majority. Soon after, resolutions were brought forward by Mr. Burke, for a conciliation, on the basis of allowing the colonial assemblies the privilege of granting supplies for the support of their local government, in peace, and of aids to the state in time of war. This proposition was rejected by overwhelming numbers, and another, approaching still more nearly to that of the minister, introduced by Mr. David Hartley, fell also to the ground without a division.

Whilst the British parliament was thus engaged in discussing different schemes for the termination of the dispute between the mother country and the American colonies, the latter were every day increasing their preparations for effectual resistance. The removal of the seat of government, and the custom-house business, from Boston to Salem, was so far from producing any rivalship between the two ports, that the favoured town deprecated the measure with indignation; and the inhabitants of Marblehead offered their stores and wharfs to the merchants of the former place, free of expense. At Boston, as might have been expected, the aspect of affairs became now so alarming, that general Gage thought it necessary both to form an encampment on the common of the peninsula, at the extremity of which the town is situated; and to adopt the further security of seizing the ammunition lodged in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Rhode Island succeeded in carrying off the ordnance from the batteries erected for the defence of their harbour; and the people of New Hampshire took, without resistance, a small fort, containing a quantity of gunpowder. But the most direct denunciations of open war were exhibited in the resolutions of the conventions of Maryland and Pennsylvania, for providing arms and ammunition, as well as for the manufacturing of gunpowder.

In the mean time, the congress of Massachusetts published an address to their fellow-citizens, informing them, that, as hostilities were to be apprehended, from the speedy increase of military force, it would be advisable to arm and discipline the militia. This appeal was answered by the collection of a considerable quantity of ammunition, at the town of Concord, where the provincial congress was held; and general Gage being apprized of the circumstance, sent a detachment of about nine hundred men, to seize and destroy these stores. The movement, though conducted in silence, could not escape the vigilance of the natives; and when the soldiers, on the 15th of April, reached Lexington, they were encountered by a body of the militia, stationed on the side of the road. A skirmish ensued, in which eight of the provincials were killed, and several wounded; the detachment then pushed on to Concord, where they spiked three pieces of cannon, destroyed some gun carriages, and threw into the river a quantity of powder and ball. While thus employed, the people poured in from all parts, and compelled the soldiers to make a hasty retreat, fighting the whole of the way to Lexington, where they fortunately met a strong reinforcement, which saved them from utter extirpation. The loss of the British, in this affair, amounted, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to two hundred and seventy-three; while that of the Americans, according to their own account, was less than a fourth part of the number.

The whole province now rose in arms, and a body of about twenty thousand men invested the military posts at Boston. The other colonies were equally on the alert, and the sound of war began to extend from one end of North America to the other.

On the 10th of May, the congress met for the second time, at Philadelphia, in spite of the royal proclamation inhibiting such an assembly. The first acts of this associate body were, the passing of resolutions for raising an army, and for the issue of paper money on the security of the United States. Their next measures were of a retaliatory nature, prohibiting the colonists from supplying the British fishery with provisions; in consequence of which, Newfoundland suffered great privations. At this early period, some private per-

sons in the back settlements undertook an expedition at their own expense, the object of which was, to gain possession of the forts on the lakes; and a small body of these adventurers, under Warren and Allen, surprised Ticonderago and Crown Point, where they found a quantity of artillery and military stores. At the end of May, generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston with a supply of troops, which, with the ships of war in the harbour, put that place out of immediate danger from the insurgents. The congress at Philadelphia, instead of being dismayed by this increase of naval and military force, entered into a resolution that the compact between the crown and the people of Massachusetts was violated, and that therefore it was expedient for the inhabitants of that province to frame a new government. General Gage, on the other hand, issued a proclamation, offering the king's pardon to all who would return to their allegiance, with the exception of Samuel Adams and John Hancock; at the same time declaring, that those who refused to accept the proffered grace, and remained in arms, should be treated as traitors and rebels. This proclamation had no other effect than that of adding fuel to the flame, and the proscribed Hancock was chosen president of the congress.

The sword being now drawn, further hostilities were anticipated, and both sides made great exertions to insure success. To facilitate their operations against the British force at Boston, the Americans took possession of Charleston, opposite to that place, and here, in the night, they threw up works with great celerity and silence, on Bunker's Hill, commanding the isthmus which unites the peninsula with the continent. As soon as these intrenchments were discovered, in the morning of the 17th of June, a heavy cannonade was opened upon them from the ships, and about noon, a body of troops marched under generals Howe and Pigot, to attack them on the land side. The reception which the British met with on the onset, was so galling, that they fell back, and for some time, their commander, general Howe, was left alone. They were, however, soon rallied, and drove the Americans, at the point of the bayonet, in every direction. Towards the end of the conflict, Charleston was reduced to ashes; but though the victory remained with the British, it was one of which they had no great reason to boast, their loss, in killed and wounded, amounting to above one thousand men, while that of the provincials, as returned by themselves, did not exceed four hundred and fifty. Immediately after this affair, the Americans threw up works on another hill, and by securing their posts with redoubts, while they advanced their lines to the fortifications on the peninsula, they held their opponents in check, and rendered their situation disagreeable.

In the month of October, general Gage returned to England, leaving the army under general Howe not only closely beset in their intrenchments on a neck of land, but much weakened by sickness and scarcity; while their opponents were daily increasing both in numbers and the means of annoyance.

During these operations and conflicts in the north, the inhabitants of Virginia were roused by the arbitrary proceedings of their governor, lord Dunmore, who had seized the public magazine of gunpowder. On being remonstrated with, he threatened to emancipate the negro slaves, and turn them against their masters; in consequence of which menace, the people arose, to recover what had been so illegally taken from them. The governor, after sending his family on board a ship of war, issued a proclamation against the insurgents, to whom he applied the denomination of rebels. Finding, however, that his language was treated with contempt, and being apprehensive of personal danger, lord Dunmore quitted his post, and took refuge in the same frigate with his family. Here his lordship, being joined by some persons attached to the service of government, fitted out a flotilla, which committed many wanton acts of cruelty upon the inhabitants of the coast; but being defeated in an attempt to take the town of Hampton, a proclamation was published, declaring martial law, and announcing freedom to all indented servants and negroes, who would join the royal standard. At length, an infectious distemper on board the vessels employed in this predatory warfare, compelled the chief to remove with them to the Bahama Islands, and thus relieved the Virginians from their implacable enemy.

The accession of the two Carolinas and Georgia to the alliance, further invigorated the counsels of the congress, which gave general satisfaction to the people at large, by the appointment of George Washington, who had served with reputation as an officer in the seven years' war, to the chief command of the American forces. Encouraged by the success of the expedition to the lakes, the invasion of Canada was now resolved upon, and accordingly, a body of troops, amounting to about three thousand men, raised in the provinces of New York and New England, were placed under the orders of generals Schuyler and Montgomery. Schuyler made an attempt to carry Fort St. John, on lake Champlain, but failed, and then retreated to Albany, thus leaving his colleague to conduct the rest of the enterprise. Montgomery, though a young man, had too much spirit to be daunted by this defection. After taking the fortress where Schuyler had sustained a defeat, he attacked Montreal, which capitulated. In the mean time, colonel Arnold, who had been detached with another body of men from the camp near Boston, arrived before Quebec on the 9th of November. That capital was badly provided with the means of defence, and, to increase the difficulty of withstanding a siege, sir Guy Carleton, the governor, was absent. The inhabitants, however, acted with great spirit, and Arnold met with a resistance which he little expected. Thus stood affairs when general Carleton arrived, and immediately adopted the proper measures for securing the important post intrusted to his care. On the 5th of December, Montgomery appeared before the upper town of Quebec, and summoned the governor to surrender, but received no answer to his demand, as general Carleton refused to have any communication with those whom he deemed rebels. Works were then opened in form for a siege, but without producing any effect; on which, as the season was bad, and the American soldiers suffering much, Montgomery resolved to storm the place. A desperate assault was accordingly made by the two divisions, one on the upper, and the other on the lower town; but such was their reception, that Montgomery was killed, and Arnold wounded. Still the blockade was continued through the winter, and several attempts were made to set the town on fire, but without effect. This desperate enterprise ended on the 6th of March, in the following year, by the precipitate retreat of the besiegers, who left their artillery and stores behind them, with some of their sick and wounded.

On the 26th of October, 1775, the parliament met, when the royal speech, as usual, was occupied solely with the state of the war, and the obvious design of the Americans to establish their independence. The introduction of Hanoverian troops at Gibraltar and Port Mahon, in the room of those which were sent to America, occasioned some warm debates, as did also the bill, empowering the crown to call out the militia in every case of rebellion, whether at home or abroad. Some changes in the administration took place this year, on the resignation of the duke of Grafton, who was succeeded as lord privy-seal by the earl of Dartmouth; while the post of colonial secretary, vacated by the latter nobleman, was given to lord George Germaine; and the earl of Rochford relinquished the office of secretary for the southern department, to lord Weymouth.

CHAP. LVIII.

GEORGE III.—(CONTINUED.) A. D. 1775 to 1777.

THE dispute with the revolted colonies had now assumed a formidable aspect, and convinced the government, that the contest would be of the most obstinate and sanguinary description. This might have been foreseen long before; and yet, when hostilities actually began, the means provided for bringing the insurgents to submission, were found totally inadequate to that object. In this emergency, recourse was had to a measure at all times repulsive to humanity, but particularly objectionable in the present instance, where one branch of a great empire was driven to the necessity of taking up arms against the other. The employment of foreign mercenaries in war can only be justified in extreme cases, and when the existence of a state is in imminent danger

Great Britain, in her contention with the colonies, had not that plea to urge for the adoption of such an agency, and if her natural strength was insufficient to the subjugation of the American provinces, she ought to have receded from the conflict; since a state, no longer capable of enforcing obedience, is, in a certain degree, unequal to the power of giving protection. Instead, however, of making a timely preparation for the contest which was about to ensue; or of yielding, with a good grace, that which could not be retained, ministers negotiated with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel for the hire of a body of troops; to which force was added a correspondent one obtained for the same purpose, from his majesty's hereditary estates in Germany. The debate which followed the production of these treaties, in the house of commons, was extremely animated, but the motion for referring them to a committee of supply, was carried by a considerable majority; and, ultimately, the employment of German troops in the British service became one of the principal grievances of this unhappy war. Soon after this, the duke of Grafton, now enrolled on the side of opposition, brought forward a motion for an address to the throne, praying his majesty to issue his royal proclamation, declaring that, if, within a certain period, the revolted colonists would state their complaints, in the form of a petition to the legislature, a suspension of arms should take place until the matters in dispute had undergone a deliberate investigation, and real evils were remedied. The failure of this indefinite proposition was no more than what might have been expected, when the sword was drawn with an equal degree of asperity on both sides; parliament being bent upon the establishment of its authority, and the colonists as resolutely determined to shake it off altogether.

In America, the evacuation of Boston by the king's troops, and the entrance of Washington into that town, afforded a triumphant spectacle, which tended more than ever to extinguish all hopes of a re-union between the conflicting parties. General Howe, previous to his abandonment of that place, destroyed Castle William, but though he succeeded in demolishing the works, he had the mortification to leave behind him a great part of his artillery, and almost the whole of his military stores. From thence the British commander retired to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where he lingered for a considerable time in a state of utter inactivity; thus enabling the insurgents to embody and discipline new troops, to strengthen their frontiers, and to inspirit the people at large, with a full confidence of success. While Howe wasted his time in a pacific colony, where his presence was not wanted, an affair happened in South Carolina, which gave new life to the American cause, and induced many to declare against the British government, who had hitherto acted with cautious wariness, tending rather to neutrality than hostility.

A band of Scotch Highlanders and loyalists, headed by an officer named Macdonald, after committing many ravages, had the boldness to march against general Moore, who was stationed at the strong post of Rockfish-bridge. The attack was impetuous; but the Americans, having been reinforced, compelled the assailants to retreat, leaving behind them their commander, and most of his officers. Combats of this kind, which, in the history of other wars, would be too insignificant for notice or detail, are of moment in marking the progress of a people from imbecility to military strength, and from dependence to sovereignty. Another attempt to establish the royal authority in that quarter, was soon after made by a joint expedition, under admiral sir Peter Parker and general Clinton. The fleet anchored off the bar of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, at the beginning of June, but it was not till the 28th of the same month that an attack was made upon the fort of Sullivan's Island. This assault was conducted wholly by the naval force, the military division having been previously landed in another quarter. By the delay, the Americans profited sufficiently to place the fort in a strong state of defence, in consequence of which, the British ships could make no impression upon it. After suffering, therefore, a prodigious loss in killed and wounded, the admiral found himself compelled to give the signal for retreat, leaving one of the frigates aground, which was set on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

Nor were the Americans less fortunate by sea this year, for commodore

Hopkins, who had under his orders five stout ships, after capturing several merchantmen, ventured to make a sudden attack upon Providence, one of the principal of the Bahama Islands, where he seized the governor, whom he carried off, with all the artillery and military stores.

Flushed with these signal advantages, the congress now threw off all reserve, and, on the 4th of July, declared the thirteen colonies of [A. D. 1776. North America, free and independent states, at the same time abjuring their allegiance to Great Britain, and renouncing every kind of political or commercial connexion with the parent state.

This step alarmed many of the more moderate Americans, and Washington among the rest; not so much, perhaps, from any repugnance to a separation, as from a fear that America, in this incipient state of organization, would not be able to maintain her independence. Dr. Franklin, the author of this measure, was, however, of a different opinion; and he soon convinced the general himself that the course now adopted was both politic and practicable. Franklin, during his long residence in England, well knew the state of parties here, and what difficulties the government would have to encounter, in carrying on its favourite project of legislating for the colonies. But it is now certain, that the same intriguer, while acting in London as an agent for the provinces, held a private correspondence with some of the principal persons at the court of Versailles, to whom all the subjects of difference were regularly imparted; and who, under the mask of a philosophical intercourse, fomented the spirit of discord in America, out of revenge at having been deprived of Canada.

In England, Franklin contrived to deceive his numerous and powerful connexions, by assurances of the loyalty of the American people, and of his own sincere desires, in particular, to preserve the union of the two countries upon a stable foundation. Yet at the very time when he was holding this language here, his confidential letters home, breathed a different sentiment. "Be patient and circumspect a little longer," said this crafty politician, "and you will infallibly shake off a foreign yoke." It deserves observation, however, that Franklin, all this while, was playing a double game, and endeavouring to secure a settlement in England, (to which there is reason to believe he had a strong attachment,) subservient to his private interest. The duke of Grafton held out a promise, that he should be appointed one of the under secretaries of state, but deceived him, and was never forgiven. Lord North also gave offence to the doctor, by not granting him a place at the board of trade, when strongly urged to do so, by some one who had penetrated into the doctor's character, and was well aware of his influence. The disappointment soured the temper of Franklin, but he was too cool and reserved to let any ebullition of the resentment which he felt, escape him in conversation with his English acquaintance. The person, however, who had recommended him to the minister, fairly told the latter, that he would one day sorely repent not having acceded to his proposal. "You had better," said he, "give doctor Franklin the whole board of trade, than refuse him a seat at it." Such are the slender springs by which the fate of empires is often determined. Franklin, from this time, bent his thoughts upon the aggrandizement of America, and the punishment of Britain; though, as long as he remained in the latter country, he assured all his friends that there was nothing which he so much deprecated as the independence of the colonies.

The state of war being now decidedly fixed beyond all hope of accommodation, the British army, after having continued in a state of inactivity some months at Halifax, was conveyed, at the end of June to Staten Island, on the coast of New Jersey, where general Howe, and his brother the admiral, formed a junction. On the 14th of the following month, lord Howe sent, by a flag of truce, a circular letter to the governors of the different colonies, apprising them of the powers with which he and his brother were invested by parliament, of granting general and particular pardons to all who would return to their allegiance. Lord Howe, at the same time, sent a letter to general Washington, as to a private gentleman, without giving him the title belonging to him as the commander of the American forces; in consequence of which it was returned unopened. While these fruitless efforts at negotia-

tion were going on, general Howe, having been joined by considerable reinforcements, and supplied with an abundance of warlike stores, resolved to attack the provincials, who were strongly encamped at Brooklyn, upon Long Island. Accordingly, on the 22d of August, the troops, under generals Clinton, lord Cornwallis, and earl Percy, effected a landing, and two days afterwards an engagement took place, in which the Americans were put to the rout, with the loss of near three thousand men, while that of the British and Hessians did not much exceed three hundred. Had this victory been followed up by an immediate attack upon the American lines, the independent cause would have been reduced to a state of humiliation. Instead, however, of pursuing the advantage which had been gained, the British commander restrained the ardour of his troops; and thereby gave Washington an opportunity of escaping from Long Island, with his baggage, stores, and ammunition. Shortly after this, a conference was held between some members of the congress, of whom Franklin was one, and lord Howe; but it ended as every former negotiation had done; for when the British commissioners, though they carried the olive branch in one hand, and the sword in the other, confined their powers to mere acts of grace and indemnity, the republicans sternly replied, that as they were defending their rights, they stood in no need of pardons. The appeal to arms being thus settled, as it were by mutual obstinacy, it was resolved, on the part of the two commanders of the royal forces, to gain possession of New York, on account of its centrical situation, and marine importance. This was accomplished on the 15th of September, without difficulty, the provincials retiring as the king's troops approached; but previous to their retreat, they set fire to the city in several places; by which atrocious act, a third part of New York was reduced to ashes.

The Americans still occupied some strong works at Kingsbridge, and on the northern side of the island in which New York is situated; but general Howe turned them, and, having embarked his troops, landed them on the Connecticut side of the continent. From thence he pushed on to the high grounds, named the White Plains, which compelled Washington to make such a movement, as placed him in a front direction to the royal army in their line of march, with the river Bronx running between them. In the dispirited and reduced state of his forces, Washington deemed it inadvisable to risk another battle; and therefore, when the British began to cross the river, he called in his advanced posts, and taking advantage of a dark night, on the 1st of November, abandoned his camp, and withdrew into the interior of the country. Fort Washington, on one side of the north river, and Fort Lee on the other, were then taken possession of by a party of British and Hessians, who captured, in the former, a garrison of near three thousand men, but the latter had been dismantled and relinquished.

By these successes, the Jerseys were completely under the command of the royal troops, who extended their cantonments from New Brunswick to the Delaware.

In the mean time, general Clinton, with a combined force of British and Hessians, aided by a fleet under sir Peter Parker, proceeded against Rhode Island, which the republicans abandoned at their approach, and possession was taken of it on the 8th of December. In Canada, also, the royal cause was equally promising, by the defeat of the American flotilla, under the command of Arnold, on lake Champlain, after an obstinate conflict of two days' continuance. Arnold, with only one galley and three small vessels, escaped to Ticonderago; abandoning, in his flight, Crown Point, where he set fire to the houses, and destroyed every article which could not be carried away.

Another unfortunate incident, which tended to throw a gloom over the American cause at this period, was the capture of general Lee, one of the best officers in the republican service. Lee, in his march to join Washington, suffered the main body of his army to advance a considerable distance before him, of which, when colonel Harcourt was apprized, he took advantage, by pushing on with a troop of light horse, and seizing the general, carried him off with such celerity, as to elude all pursuit. The possession of this prisoner was hailed as a victory; and the offer of Washington, to exchange, for his friend, six field-officers, was refused. As Lee had formerly been in the

king's service, he was kept in close confinement, and would have been brought to a court-martial, if the congress had not prevented it, by threatening to adopt measures of retaliation. The fortitude of that assembly at this crisis, when a spirit of despondency was spreading among the people, commanded universal admiration. Instead of giving way to their fears, or suffering discord to weaken their counsels, they framed and signed a formal compact of perpetual union between the thirteen colonies, for their mutual government in war and peace. They also laboured assiduously in raising a new army, and providing a loan for the exigencies in which they were placed. Lastly, they endeavoured to reanimate the people, especially the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and the neighbouring states, to resistance, by powerful invectives against the British army and their auxiliaries.

Notwithstanding the determined stand made by the congress, who had found it expedient, from the proximity of the royal forces, to remove to Baltimore, the republican cause still continued in a state of depression, and many persons of considerable wealth and influence made a public profession of their allegiance. This sentiment of returning loyalty prevailed so much, particularly at Philadelphia, that Washington found it necessary to detach three regiments thither, for the purpose of keeping down the disaffected. At New York, however, the principal inhabitants presented a petition to the British commanders-in-chief, deprecating the conduct of the rest of the colonists, and declaring their acknowledgment of the constitutional sovereignty of Great Britain over the American states.

This was the exact period, when, if it could have been accomplished at all, the reduction of the insurgent provinces was most likely to have taken effect. But instead of seizing the opportunity which the depression of the public mind offered for dissolving the republican union, general Howe dispersed his troops in winter-quarters up and down the country, as if their presence had been barely sufficient to keep the Americans in awe, and to prevent them from breaking the peace.

Washington, perceiving the advantage which this fatal error threw into his hands, immediately availed himself of it, and, on the 26th of December, made a sudden diversion upon Trenton, where three battalions of Hessians, under colonel Rall, and some British cavalry, were quartered. The attack was so little expected, that all the Germans, to the number of near one thousand, were made prisoners, and their commander received a mortal wound; but the British effected their escape. This achievement re-invigorated the Americans to such a degree, that many who had quitted the standard of independence, in despair of success, now returned to it, followed by numerous volunteers; which accession of strength enabled Washington to pursue his advantages, and to carry on more extensive operations.

Amidst these fluctuations, the provincials had also to contend with some of the aboriginal tribes, who were drawn over to the royal standard, as auxiliaries in this afflicting contest. The Creeks and Cherokees first took up the hatchet, under an impression that they should be supported by a considerable force from Florida. But the Indians had not been long in the field, before the Creeks became dissatisfied, and receded from their confederates, in consequence of the failure of the military strength which they expected. The Cherokees, however, being a more resolute race, adhered to their engagement, because it afforded them the means of gratifying their insatiable appetite for plunder and massacre. The depredations committed by these savages, at length roused the people of Virginia, and the two provinces of North and South Carolina, to arms in their own defence; and with such vigour was the war carried on, that the Cherokees, to avoid extermination, sued for peace, which was granted them, upon the condition of abandoning their British alliance.

At this period, while a cloud of doubt hung over the state of the revolted colonists, their cause excited uncommon interest in all parts of Europe; but particularly in France and Spain. Actuated by a spirit of envy and resentment, and not by any love of liberty or justice, these two powers lent their assistance in a covert manner to the Americans, supplying them with artillery and military stores, and tacitly allowing, or rather licensing, engineers and other officers to enter into the rebel service. This warfare in disguise was

heightened still more by the permission given to American cruisers, to bring their prizes into French and Spanish ports, where the vessels and cargoes were openly sold, in defiance of the law of nature and nations. The injury which British commerce thus sustained, obliged the admiralty to put in commission sixteen additional ships of the line, to increase the bounty to seamen, and to recall those who were in foreign service.

At this eventful crisis, a circumstance took place in the East Indies, which seemed to threaten a revolution also in that quarter. The nabob of Arcot, having, by his influence in the council at Madras, prevailed with the presidency there to co-operate in an expedition against the rajah of Tanjore, which ended in the dethronement of that prince, and the dismemberment of his territories, the English company lost no time in sending out lord Pigot to assume the government, and restore the deposed chief. The nabob, aware that something of this kind was to be expected, had taken care to secure, by bribery, a majority of the council in his favour, previous to the arrival of lord Pigot, who found himself clothed with an empty authority. He succeeded, however, in the primary object of his mission, that of the restoration of the rajah; but when he proceeded to suspend two members of the council, and to put under arrest sir Robert Fletcher, the commander of the forces, a conspiracy was formed against him, headed by colonel Stuart, who seized his person in the most treacherous manner, and kept him in close confinement at the mount near Madras.

The confederates having thus usurped the supreme authority, published a declaration, justifying the steps they had adopted towards the governor, who had, as they said, forfeited all legal claim to authority; and, therefore, it was deemed expedient to appoint their leader, Stuart, to act in his place. When the intelligence of this extraordinary transaction reached England, it occasioned warm debates in the court of directors, and the house of commons, but the vote to recall lord Pigot and his enemies, proved nugatory, by the death of that nobleman at Madras, May 11, 1777.

CHAP. LIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1777 to 1778.

THE predatory warfare carried on by the American privateers, and also by French ships under the republican flag, compelled the British government to get a bill passed, enabling the admiralty to issue letters of marque and reprisal against all vessels belonging to the revolted states, or bearing a commission from the congress. This measure, as being a necessary act of self-
A. D. 1777.] defence, went through both houses without opposition.

The same complacency, however, was not shewn to another ministerial motion which accompanied it, for a bill to "empower his majesty to secure and detain persons, charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high-treason committed in America, or on the high seas; or the crime of piracy." This bill, at the first reading, did not attract much notice; but on the second, that great constitutional lawyer, Dunning, detected some clauses which went to the length of suspending the habeas corpus act; in consequence of which an alarm was excited, and the bill amended.

Warm debates also arose in the house of commons, when the army accounts were laid before a committee, and strong disapprobation was expressed at the demand of the landgrave of Hesse for levy-money, in the raising of his hired troops; but barefaced as this act of rapacity was, it did not prevent that mercenary potentate from setting up a dormant claim of forty thousand pounds due to him, as he pretended, in the former war.

Though the conduct of this petty prince created general indignation, so low was England fallen, that ministers submitted to the degradation of their country, and parliament endured the imposition. As a farther trial of the public patience, a message was brought down to the house from the king, stating, that the civil list had incurred a debt of six hundred thousand pounds, and requesting the means of discharging it. When this message came under discussion, it produced a long investigation of the expenditure of the civil

list; notwithstanding which, the royal desire was complied with, and even one hundred thousand pounds added to the yearly allowance. These grants to the crown were attended with a very remarkable circumstance, which occasioned much consideration out of the house, and not a little altercation in parliament. Sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker, on presenting the bill for the augmentation of the civil list to the king, used these expressions, "that his majesty's faithful commons had granted him not only a large present supply, but a very great additional revenue; great," said he, "beyond example; great beyond your majesty's highest expense: and this they have done in a well-grounded confidence that you will apply wisely, what they have granted liberally." The speaker farther remarked, that the present grant was made "at a time full of difficulty and danger, and when the people laboured under burdens almost too heavy to be borne."

Though the house passed an unanimous vote of thanks to their speaker for his dignified conduct on this occasion, ministers afterwards endeavoured to bring him under censure for the indecorousness of his language. Sir Fletcher, thus unexpectedly and unreasonably attacked, appealed for his justification to the recorded vote of the house; but Mr. Fox went farther, in a motion for a still more explicit approbation of the behaviour of the speaker. Ministers, finding how rashly they had acted in this business, now endeavoured to get out of their embarrassment by an adjournment, but failed in the attempt, and the motion was carried.

In the upper house, the earl of Chatham, on the 30th of May, made another effort for the restoration of peace. After a pathetic speech, in which, notwithstanding his infirmities, he pleaded with his wonted ardour, this great man moved an address to his majesty, requesting that the most speedy and effectual measures might be taken for putting a stop to the hostilities carrying on against the American colonies, upon the only just and solid foundation, that of the removal of accumulated grievances. In the course of his speech, he observed, that by "accumulated grievances," he meant all that had passed in parliament, respecting America, since the peace of 1763.

He insisted upon the necessity of adopting an effectual plan of conciliation, from the knowledge that, otherwise, a treaty would be entered into between America and France. At that very time, the noble lord said, America was contending with Great Britain under a masked battery of France, which would be opened as soon as this country was sufficiently weakened. What the illustrious statesman stated, was pretty generally known, and yet the ministerialists had the face to deny that there was any danger apprehended from the designs of the French court. The house gave credit to the assertion, and overwhelmed the motion of the British Nestor, by a majority of seventy-one.

We must now proceed to the great theatre of warfare, on the western continent; where a striking contrast was exhibited between the chief commanders of the contending armies; for while the American continued in active operation throughout the winter, his opponent did not take the field till the month of June. The first object of Howe was to bring his adversary to close action and a general engagement. But Washington was too wary and prudent to hazard the fate of the cause intrusted to him upon the issue of a battle. All his manœuvres were of the defensive kind, and calculated to deceive and harass an enemy who relied upon the numerical superiority of his force. On one occasion only did the republican commander fall into an error, and that was in leaving his fortified post at Middlebrook, under an idea that the British were upon the retreat. This movement, however, was a mere feint, practised by Howe to draw the Americans from their lines; and now, concluding that he had attained his object, he as quickly recalled the decoying troops. Washington, with equal celerity, saw his own mistake, and recovered his camp time enough to avoid what his adversary sought. General Howe, thus foiled, retired to Staten Island, where he embarked, on the 23d of July, for the Delaware; but finding that the river was rendered unnavigable by the sinking of vessels and machines, so as to form a chevaux de frise, he sailed to the Bay of Chesapeak, and there effected a landing. About this time, Colonel Barton, a provincial officer, with a body of volunteers, surprised general Prescott in Rhode island, and carried him off with

his aide-de-camp, by which exploit an equivalent was obtained for the American general Lee, who was exchanged soon afterwards.

Washington, apprehensive that the design of the royalists was to make themselves masters of Philadelphia, quitted the Jerseys, and marched with all haste for the protection of that capital. In the mean time, general Howe, who had been joined by lord Cornwallis, advanced from the head of the Chesapeak, and, on the 11th of September, a spirited action took place between the two armies at Brandywine, a short distance below Philadelphia. In this battle, the Americans had the assistance of the marquis de la Fayette, and other French officers of distinction, notwithstanding which, the republicans were defeated with a great loss. The fugitives first retreated to Chester, and next to Philadelphia; but that place not being tenable, they abandoned it to the victors, who took possession of the city on the 26th, in great triumph. Washington, however, in his retreat, carried off some of the quakers and other inhabitants who were considered as inimical to the republican cause, and sent them to Virginia. He then took up a position in the vicinity of Philadelphia, while the royal forces formed an extensive encampment at German town. Here, on the 4th of October, the Americans made a sudden attack, but were repulsed after a severe contest, in which the loss was great on both sides.

During these operations on land, lord Howe was employed in bringing the fleet from the Chesapeak to the Delaware, where the Americans, besides the obstacles already mentioned, had constructed several batteries upon those points which most effectually commanded the passage. But formidable as these impediments were, the activity and courage of the British seamen overcame them: the river was cleared, the forts were demolished, and the American shipping ran up for safety beyond Philadelphia, till the crews, finding escape impossible, and defence useless, set fire to their vessels, and fled into the country.

General Washington having now received reinforcements, was enabled to take up a position at White Marsh, between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, where he continued to elude all the efforts made by Howe, to bring him to another action. The British army then returned to the city, and Washington removed to a stronger post, called Valley Forge, where he took up his winter-quarters.

While the transactions, of which we have given a sketch, were passing in the centre, operations of great magnitude were going on in the northern extremity of the United States. To cut off all intercourse between one part of America and the other, general Burgoyne undertook to penetrate from lake Champlain to Albany, on Hudson's river, where, if he succeeded in establishing himself, he would have been enabled to keep up a communication with the main army in the middle colonies. Great expectations were formed from this plan, and a force of seven thousand men, exclusive of artillery, was intrusted to the general for the execution of it. A number of Canadians also volunteered their services in this expedition, which was further strengthened by the junction of some tribes of Indians; and to aid the armament, a separate force was placed under the orders of colonel St. Leger, who was to proceed from Fort Oswego, on Lake Ontario, to the Mohawk river. Burgoyne having pitched his camp on the western side of lake Champlain, in June, published a pompous manifesto, warning the inhabitants of the danger of resisting the royal arms, and threatening them with the horrors of savage warfare in case of disobedience. At the beginning of July, the army advanced to Ticonderago, which, though strongly garrisoned, was abandoned by the provincials, and when their flight was traced, an active pursuit commenced, both by land and water. The rear of the fugitives being overtaken, suffered considerably in the loss of many men and all their baggage. Those who escaped reached Fort Edward on Hudson's river, but left that place also as the royal forces advanced, and retired to Saratoga. In the mean time, great exertions were made by the New England States to repel an enemy whom they dreaded. General Arnold was sent to reinforce the Americans who had fled from Ticonderago; but on his approach to Saratoga, being apprized of the march of colonel St. Leger along the Mohawk river, he fell back to Still

Water, in order to prevent the junction of that officer with general Burgoyne. The latter having taken up a position at Saratoga, was now impeded by an increasing enemy, and his army began also to suffer from the want of provisions. In this exigency, a detachment was sent to secure a quantity of stores that had been collected by the Americans at Bennington; but the enterprise failed, and the whole party engaged in it were either killed or taken prisoners. Colonel St. Leger was then employed in an attempt upon Fort Stanwix with a fair promise of success; but the Indians, being alarmed by the rumoured approach of Arnold with a great force, threatened to abandon their allies, if the siege was continued. Upon this, the colonel found himself necessitated to quit the ground on the 22d of August, leaving behind him his tents, with most of his artillery and stores. These checks and disasters enabled Gates, who had superseded Schuyler in the command of the American army, to join Arnold at Still Water. In the mean time, Burgoyne, having procured a supply of provisions, determined to quit his position at Saratoga, and cross the Hudson; which design he put in execution in the middle of September, and on the 19th of that month came up with the united American army at Still Water. A sharp contest ensued, and great bravery was shewn on both sides, without giving the victory to either; though the ultimate advantage evidently rested with those who possessed the best means of recruiting their strength. The British formed entrenchments, and their opponents did the same, but with different prospects. The Americans were in the midst of resources, and continually receiving fresh supplies of men and provisions. The royal army, on the contrary, dwindled away by desertion, and the remainder suffered considerably by fatigue and privations. At the beginning of October, Burgoyne, whose only hope rested upon reinforcements from the central army under general Clinton, made a movement for a reconnoissance, as well as to cover a foraging party. This brought on another engagement, in which the British sustained a severe loss, and were followed into their entrenchments by the enemy.

The only chance now left was to retreat to Saratoga, but that post afforded no security, and on the 17th of October a capitulation was signed with the American commander, who granted more liberal terms to the vanquished, than, under all circumstances, they had a right to expect; the British being not only allowed to march out with the honours of war, but permitted to embark for England, under condition of not serving against America during the contest. The right to search the baggage was even relinquished, and the Canadians obtained permission to return home on similar conditions with their companions.

General Gates, throughout this transaction, behaved with a degree of humanity that did him great honour; but his masters, of the congress, disgraced themselves by refusing to ratify the terms which he had entered into, the consequence of which was, that all the captives, to the amount of near six thousand men, were made prisoners of war, with a view of bringing them over to the republican service.

The conduct of general Burgoyne in this unfortunate business, became the subject of severe animadversion, and certainly in many respects was open to censure. But on the other hand, it is evident that the blame of the failure did not rest with him alone; for the two officers on whose assistance he relied to enable him to face the enemy, and accomplish the plan which he had formed, kept at a distance. Colonel St. Leger, instead of pushing on, as it was intended, to establish a junction with Burgoyne, spent his time in a hazardous attempt to take a fort, which failed, and thus the stores, that should have served for another object, were thrown away.

The conduct of Clinton, who commanded at New York, was still worse, for instead of hastening up the Hudson, to act against Gates and Arnold, he contented himself with destroying ships and seizing stores, the possession of which was dearly purchased by the loss of the northern army. While Burgoyne was cooped up at Saratoga, waiting for reinforcements, the commander-in-chief burnt the town of Esopus, which wanton act, calculated for no imaginable benefit, served to irritate the republicans, and furnished a pretext for the breach of the articles of capitulation which general Gates had concluded.

CHAP. LX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1778 to A. D. 1779.

THE surrender of the army of general Burgoyne struck a damp upon the spirits of those who had augured great things in favour of the royal cause, from that expedition. The members of opposition, on the contrary, appeared to exult in a discomfiture which confirmed what they had often predicted, that the American colonies were not to be reduced to obedience by coercion. In the house of lords, the earl of Chatham, on the 11th of December, 1777, made a powerful speech on the subject, in which, after deprecating the prolongation of a ruinous contest, he dwelt with bitter asperity upon the employment of the savages in the late enterprise; overlooking the fact that the engagement of such auxiliaries was by no means a new thing in American warfare, and that, under his own administration, the very same Indians had been considered as legitimate allies against the French and Canadians.

Notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances which had occurred, and the little probability there now was of attaining the original object of the war, the government still remained firm to its purpose, and the public continued to give it support. Several of the great mercantile and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, as Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, made voluntary offers to raise regiments, not merely for local defence, but foreign service; and though the corporation of London refused to follow the example, the monied capitalists of the city raised a large subscription for the same object. This spontaneous patriotism gave great offence to the opponents of ministers; and the latter, for accepting the contributions of the people, were actually charged, by some violent spirits, with having acted in violation of the constitutional rights of parliament. Lord North, however, was so little affected by this ridiculous accusation, that he boasted of the measure as a triumphant proof that the war was popular, and that his administration was approved of by the public voice. Still the statesman was not so bent upon upholding the rights of the legislature, as to be inattentive to the blessings of peace. At this very time, when the means of augmenting the navy and army occupied much of his thoughts, his mind was impressed with a desire A. D. 1778.] of putting an end to hostilities. In the middle of February, he brought forward two bills, one declaratory of the intentions of parliament, relative to the right of taxing the colonies, and the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners fully empowered to negotiate with the American congress for the termination of existing differences. These bills passed through both houses with some amendments; but it was remarkable, that on this occasion the minister became embarrassed by a new opposition, on the part of his oldest adherents; for the concessions being regarded by them as an abandonment of the principle on which the war commenced, produced reflections not easily answered, and hence arose a division in which king's friends and republicans were strangely intermixed.

When the bills received the royal assent, the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnston, the royal commissioners, were immediately despatched, with doctor Adam Ferguson as their secretary, to America, for the purpose of opening an amicable negotiation with the congress. Previous to their departure, private intelligence was received, that a treaty of defence and commerce had been already signed between the French ministers and the American deputies, at Paris; but so little was the fact known or credited by the British government, that when the duke of Grafton mentioned it in the house of lords, the secretary of state expressed his disbelief that any such thing had taken place, or was even in contemplation. Yet within a fortnight after this, the minister came down to the house of commons with a message from the king, accompanying the French declaration and treaty, the very existence of which had been so lately called in question. The motion for an address to his majesty, pledging the house to support the dignity of the crown, and the rights of the nation, was not carried without being opposed by a strong amendment, severely animadverting upon the conduct of ministers, and praying for their dismissal, as perfectly unworthy of the public confidence.

At this crisis, when the nation was threatened with a new war, the duke of Richmond brought forward a motion on the 7th of April, for an address to the king, submitting that the events of the contest with America had disappointed all their hopes, and that, therefore, it was desirable, for the public welfare, that a negotiation with the American colonies should immediately take place upon an equal footing. The earl of Chatham, though then labouring under a complication of disorders, was so much affected by the intended proposition, that he came down to the house wrapped up in flannel, and scarcely able to support himself on his crutches, purposely to resist it. The duke having finished his speech, the great statesman arose, and after expressing his gratitude that he was enabled to appear once more in the discharge of his public duty, protested, in an energetic manner, against the measure now recommended, as one tending to the national disgrace. "I rejoice," said he, "that I am still alive, to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." After lamenting the state to which the ill-concerted measures of the ministers had brought the country, and repeating what he had so often urged in the same assembly, on the impossibility of reducing the colonies by force; lord Chatham dwelt much upon the importance of those settlements to the parent state, and the necessity of preserving the connexion between them unbroken. A separation he deprecated as alike injurious to both, and particularly to Britain, because it would have the effect of weakening her resources, and of increasing those of France. Then reverting with eagerness to the mischief of a dismemberment of the empire, the venerable orator, like another Demosthenes, burst out into this apostrophe, "Where is the man who will dare to advise such a measure? Shall a nation, seventeen years ago the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon, and stoop so low, as to say to its inveterate enemy, 'Take all that we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible!"

This powerful speech made a strong impression upon the hearers, and after a short pause, the duke of Richmond, who was evidently awed by it, endeavoured to justify his motives upon the plea of necessity, and by the general admission that the breach between the two countries was now become irreconcileable. The earl of Chatham then rose again, with the intent of explaining what he had before advanced, upon the practicability of a re-union, but his enfeebled frame could not sustain the agitation of his excited feelings, and he fell back in a fit. The peers, in alarm, pressed around, each eager to render that assistance which marked their respect for the illustrious object of their attention, and all of them too much overcome to proceed in the important business that had called them together. The house, therefore, adjourned, and on the 11th of the following month, lord Chatham expired, leaving an imperishable fame, and two sons, one to keep up the title, and the other to perpetuate the name of William Pitt. The funeral of this distinguished patriot, who closed his brilliant career in a manner so worthy of his talents and virtue, was celebrated at the public expense, in Westminster Abbey, where a monument to his memory was erected by parliament, which also passed a vote of four thousand a year for the support of the earldom.

The fondness of lord Chatham for the colonial establishment, was natural, considering that a great part of his public life had been devoted to the defence of it against France. North America, in fact, constituted the principal theatre of the glory of this eminent minister; and by wresting Canada from the French crown, he vainly thought that he had provided an effectual security for our territories in that part of the world. The wisest men, however, have their errors, which are always strongest on the side of their partialities. Lord Chatham seems not to have been aware, that in encouraging a military spirit among the colonists, and relieving them from the fear of a foreign enemy, he had unwittingly furnished those elements which, sooner or later, were sure to be employed in resisting the claims of the British parliament. This great statesman saw the consequences of combating France on the transatlantic continent; but he was reluctant to believe that the time was come when the retention of even a nominal sovereignty over America was no longer practicable or desirable.

This session of the British parliament was distinguished by two liberal

CHAP. LX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1778 to A. D. 1779.

THE surrender of the army of general Burgoyne struck a damp upon the spirits of those who had augured great things in favour of the royal cause, from that expedition. The members of opposition, on the contrary, appeared to exult in a discomfiture which confirmed what they had often predicted, that the American colonies were not to be reduced to obedience by coercion. In the house of lords, the earl of Chatham, on the 11th of December, 1777, made a powerful speech on the subject, in which, after deprecating the prolongation of a ruinous contest, he dwelt with bitter asperity upon the employment of the savages in the late enterprise; overlooking the fact that the engagement of such auxiliaries was by no means a new thing in American warfare, and that, under his own administration, the very same Indians had been considered as legitimate allies against the French and Canadians.

Notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances which had occurred, and the little probability there now was of attaining the original object of the war, the government still remained firm to its purpose, and the public continued to give it support. Several of the great mercantile and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, as Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, made voluntary offers to raise regiments, not merely for local defence, but foreign service; and though the corporation of London refused to follow the example, the monied capitalists of the city raised a large subscription for the same object. This spontaneous patriotism gave great offence to the opponents of ministers; and the latter, for accepting the contributions of the people, were actually charged, by some violent spirits, with having acted in violation of the constitutional rights of parliament. Lord North, however, was so little affected by this ridiculous accusation, that he boasted of the measure as a triumphant proof that the war was popular, and that his administration was approved of by the public voice. Still the statesman was not so bent upon upholding the rights of the legislature, as to be inattentive to the blessings of peace. At this very time, when the means of augmenting the navy and army occupied much of his thoughts, his mind was impressed with a desire A. D. 1778.] of putting an end to hostilities. In the middle of February, he brought forward two bills, one declaratory of the intentions of parliament, relative to the right of taxing the colonies, and the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners fully empowered to negotiate with the American congress for the termination of existing differences. These bills passed through both houses with some amendments; but it was remarkable, that on this occasion the minister became embarrassed by a new opposition, on the part of his oldest adherents; for the concessions being regarded by them as an abandonment of the principle on which the war commenced, produced reflections not easily answered, and hence arose a division in which king's friends and republicans were strangely intermixed.

When the bills received the royal assent, the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnston, the royal commissioners, were immediately despatched, with doctor Adam Ferguson as their secretary, to America, for the purpose of opening an amicable negotiation with the congress. Previous to their departure, private intelligence was received, that a treaty of defence and commerce had been already signed between the French ministers and the American deputies, at Paris; but so little was the fact known or credited by the British government, that when the duke of Grafton mentioned it in the house of lords, the secretary of state expressed his disbelief that any such thing had taken place, or was even in contemplation. Yet within a fortnight after this, the minister came down to the house of commons with a message from the king, accompanying the French declaration and treaty, the very existence of which had been so lately called in question. The motion for an address to his majesty, pledging the house to support the dignity of the crown, and the rights of the nation, was not carried without being opposed by a strong amendment, severely animadverting upon the conduct of ministers, and praying for their dismissal, as persons totally unworthy of the public confidence.

At this crisis, when the nation was threatened with a new war, the duke of Richmond brought forward a motion on the 7th of April, for an address to the king, submitting that the events of the contest with America had disappointed all their hopes, and that, therefore, it was desirable, for the public welfare, that a negotiation with the American colonies should immediately take place upon an equal footing. The earl of Chatham, though then labouring under a complication of disorders, was so much affected by the intended proposition, that he came down to the house wrapped up in flannel, and scarcely able to support himself on his crutches, purposely to resist it. The duke having finished his speech, the great statesman arose, and after expressing his gratitude that he was enabled to appear once more in the discharge of his public duty, protested, in an energetic manner, against the measure now recommended, as one tending to the national disgrace. "I rejoice," said he, "that I am still alive, to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." After lamenting the state to which the ill-concerted measures of the ministers had brought the country, and repeating what he had so often urged in the same assembly, on the impossibility of reducing the colonies by force; lord Chatham dwelt much upon the importance of those settlements to the parent state, and the necessity of preserving the connexion between them unbroken. A separation he deprecated as alike injurious to both, and particularly to Britain, because it would have the effect of weakening her resources, and of increasing those of France. Then reverting with eagerness to the mischief of a dismemberment of the empire, the venerable orator, like another Demosthenes, burst out into this apostrophe, "Where is the man who will dare to advise such a measure? Shall a nation, seventeen years ago the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon, and stoop so low, as to say to its inveterate enemy, 'Take all that we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible!"

This powerful speech made a strong impression upon the hearers, and after a short pause, the duke of Richmond, who was evidently awed by it, endeavoured to justify his motives upon the plea of necessity, and by the general admission that the breach between the two countries was now become irreconcileable. The earl of Chatham then rose again, with the intent of explaining what he had before advanced, upon the practicability of a re-union, but his enfeebled frame could not sustain the agitation of his excited feelings, and he fell back in a fit. The peers, in alarm, pressed around, each eager to render that assistance which marked their respect for the illustrious object of their attention, and all of them too much overcome to proceed in the important business that had called them together. The house, therefore, adjourned, and on the 11th of the following month, lord Chatham expired, leaving an imperishable fame, and two sons, one to keep up the title, and the other to perpetuate the name of William Pitt. The funeral of this distinguished patriot, who closed his brilliant career in a manner so worthy of his talents and virtue, was celebrated at the public expense, in Westminster Abbey, where a monument to his memory was erected by parliament, which also passed a vote of four thousand a year for the support of the earldom.

The fondness of lord Chatham for the colonial establishment, was natural, considering that a great part of his public life had been devoted to the defence of it against France. North America, in fact, constituted the principal theatre of the glory of this eminent minister; and by wresting Canada from the French crown, he vainly thought that he had provided an effectual security for our territories in that part of the world. The wisest men, however, have their errors, which are always strongest on the side of their partialities. Lord Chatham seems not to have been aware, that in encouraging a military spirit among the colonists, and relieving them from the fear of a foreign enemy, he had unwittingly furnished those elements which, sooner or later, were sure to be employed in resisting the claims of the British parliament. This great statesman saw the consequences of combating France on the transatlantic continent; but he was reluctant to believe that the time was come when the retention of even a nominal sovereignty over America was no longer practicable or desirable.

This session of the British parliament was distinguished by two liberal

measures of policy; one in extending to Ireland some branches of foreign commerce, from a participation of which that country had hitherto been excluded; and the other was, the repeal of certain penal statutes enacted at the revolution against the professors of the Roman Catholic religion.

On the arrival of general Burgoyne from America, a court of inquiry was appointed to investigate his conduct, but the officers who composed the board, reported, that as he was still a prisoner of war, on his parole, it was contrary to the rules of the service to take any notice of his case. The general, dissatisfied with a decision founded in reason, as well as upon precedent, demanded a court-martial, which was refused upon the same ground. Application on his behalf was next made to parliament, without producing the object that was sought. Government then ordered this unfortunate, though gallant, officer to rejoin his captive army; and on his disobedience of the mandate, deprived him of all his military appointments.

The alliance of France and America, with the extensive preparations carrying on for the commencement of war in Europe, obliged his majesty to embody the militia, and to form several camps on different parts of the coast, which, in the course of the summer, he inspected in person.

In America, nothing of importance occurred till the beginning of May, when the congress received copies of the treaties that had been signed at Versailles, the intelligence of which diffused universal joy throughout the United States. At this critical period, the British commissioners arrived in the Delaware; but unfortunately, no chance of a re-union now remained, for the republicans had taken their stand, from whence they could not recede, and the powers of the deputies were too contracted for a negotiation upon equal terms. The concessions were large, and produced considerable debates in the congress; but as the independence of the colonies was not recognized by the British government, in the documents transmitted, it was resolved that no progress should be made in the adjustment of existing differences upon any other basis. On receiving this answer, sir Henry Clinton, who succeeded sir William Howe as commander-in-chief, immediately determined to evacuate Philadelphia, which design was promptly carried into execution, on the 18th of June, when the whole army crossed the Delaware without molestation. Washington, however, being soon apprised of what had taken place, despatched a corps to harass the rear of the British army, till he should be able to bring up his whole force. The march to Sandy-Hook, which they reached on the 30th of June, was very slow, and the troops suffered much from the oppressive heat of the weather, so that many of the soldiers fell, without a wound, from that cause alone. Notwithstanding this, the retreat was effected in such excellent order, that the Americans were several times repelled; for which Lee, who commanded them, was afterwards suspended by a court-martial.

On their arrival at New-York, the commissioners endeavoured to open a private correspondence with some of the members of the American government, for the purpose of gaining them over to the royal cause, or at least of infusing, through them, a spirit of conciliation into the assembly to which they belonged. This conduct, instead of producing a healing disposition, had the contrary effect; and a paper war ensued between the congress and the commissioners, which was carried on with extraordinary acerbity on both sides. At length, the latter, finding that a farther stay was useless, made preparations for their departure, but previously issued a manifesto, inveighing in strong terms against the congress for uniting with the ancient and inveterate enemy of Britain. This association, they said, totally altered the question between the colonies and the parent state; and therefore, under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct the measures of Great Britain; so as to render the accession of the insurgent provinces to France, of as little value as possible to that power. This language was interpreted by the congress as a threat of extermination, and taking it in that light, a counter-manifesto was published, calling upon the Americans in general, to retaliate, by burning, ravaging, and destroying, all the habitations and property of the adherents of Great Britain, whenever the troops of the latter should attempt to commit any depredations on the subjects of the United States.

At the same time, the marquis de la Fayette, taking offence at some expressions in the declaration of the commissioners respecting his native country, sent a personal challenge to the earl of Carlisle, calling him a liar, for what was advanced in that paper. To this gasconade his lordship made a suitable reply, telling the Frenchman, that private honour being out of the question, that of his nation would be best decided by the fleets of the two countries.

The treachery of the French court was aggravated by the most provoking insult; for while every exertion was making to commence the war on an extensive scale, the king of Great Britain received the polite assurance, that there was nothing of which his most Christian majesty was more desirous than to cultivate a good understanding between the two nations.

This duplicity being treated with the contempt it deserved, the French cabinet immediately evinced the sincerity of its professions, by an order from the minister of marine, to seize all British vessels in the ports of France, although no war had been declared. A similar measure of course took place on the part of England; but as the rupture had been some time anticipated, there were few detentions on either side. That France had long taken a resolution to interfere in the dispute between Britain and the colonies, was fully proved by the celerity of her warlike preparations; for at the time when she affected pacific principles, her navy was put into such a formidable condition, that, at the beginning of June, there were, at Brest, thirty-two ships of the line, all fully equipped for sea; while Keppel, who was appointed to the command of the channel fleet, could muster no more than six. By great activity, however, that officer was enabled to sail from Portsmouth with twenty line-of-battle ships, on the thirteenth of the same month. In the Bay of Biscay, Keppel met two French frigates which were sent out to watch his manœuvres; one of them, the Licorne, being required to bring to, fired a broadside into an English seventy-four gun ship, and then hauled down her colours; the other, the Belle Poule, escaped, after a running engagement with the frigate that was despatched in chase of her. But several merchant vessels, bound for France, were allowed to pass through the English fleet unmolested, as war had not yet been formally declared. Admiral Keppel, finding, from the crew of the frigate, that the fleet in Brest harbour was greatly superior to his own, returned to port for a reinforcement; and on the 9th of July he sailed again with twenty-four sail of the line, to which, before he reached Ushant, six more ships were added. About the same time, the French fleet sailed, in three divisions, under the command of count D'Orvilliers, as the chief, the count Ducheffault, as second, and the duke de Chartres, son of the duke of Orleans, as the third. The English fleet also consisted of the same number of divisions; the van commanded by sir Robert Harland, the rear by sir Hugh Palliser, and the centre by the honourable Augustus Keppel.

On the 23d, the two fleets came in sight of each other, and after manœuvring for some days in such a manner as shewed clearly that the French had no disposition to fight, an action began on the morning of the 27th, which ended towards night, without any loss on either side. Both fleets then drew off, as if by mutual consent, and, to all appearance, with the intention of renewing the contest the next day; but when dawn came on, three French ships only were seen, and they were suffered to get into port without being impeded. This battle, fruitless of laurels, and unproductive of any advantage to either side, created great dissatisfaction in England, and much reflection was cast upon the two principal commanders, Keppel and Palliser, especially as they were known to be political adversaries; the former being a stanch member of the opposition, and the other an adherent of the ministry. After some contention in the public prints, both admirals prefered charges against each other, for neglect of duty during the engagement, and afterwards. The trial of Keppel began at Portsmouth, on the 7th of January, and terminated, at the close of a month, in a complete acquittal; which produced the most enthusiastic joy in many parts of the kingdom, so infatuated were the people by the spirit of party. Both houses of parliament also caught a portion of the same feeling, and thanks were given to the acquitted admiral "for having gloriously upheld the glory of the British flag;"

a vote which few now will be hardy enough to think did any credit, either to those who passed it, or the person in whose favour it was decreed. After this, the trial of Palliser came on; and he too was honourably acquitted, and freed from the charge of having neglected his duty.

Notwithstanding this decision, which should have convinced the public that they were wrong in espousing the cause of one more than the other, the popular outcry was so great against Palliser, that he resigned all his places, and even retired from parliament to a private station.

Previous to this partial engagement between the English and French fleets, a squadron of twelve ships, of the largest dimensions, and three frigates, under the count D'Estaign, sailed from Toulon for America, and, on the 11th of July, appeared off Sandy Hook, where lord Howe lay with only six sail of the line, three fifties, two ships of forty guns, and some smaller vessels. So judiciously, however, had the noble admiral disposed his force within the Hook, that D'Estaign, though he came to an anchor outside, did not think it prudent to make any attack upon the English ships. After remaining there eleven days, he got under weigh, and sailed for Rhode Island; and scarcely had he departed, than some scattered ships, belonging to Byron's fleet in the West Indies, dropped in, having suffered so much in their passage by tempestuous weather, that their arrival on the coast a few days before would have been fatal. The object of D'Estaign, in proceeding to Rhode Island, was to surprise the naval and military force concentrated there; but sir Robert Pigot, who commanded on that station, had made such preparations for defence, that neither the French admiral, nor the American general Sullivan, durst venture to attack his works. Lord Howe being now reinforced, followed D'Estaign with all speed; and the latter, on descrying him, stood out to sea, to avoid an engagement; which would, however, have ensued, had not a sudden storm come on, that parted the two fleets, and enabled the French to bear away for Boston, where they took shelter under the batteries. Lord Howe pursued them quite into the harbour, and came to an anchor. But the situation of the enemy close in shore, the heights of which were all strongly mounted, prevented the attack that had been meditated. The British fleet then returned to Rhode Island, and from thence to New-York, where lord Howe relinquished the command, and took his departure for England.

The southern provinces of America, which had shared but little of the calamity of war, became now the scene of action. At the end of November, an united body of British and Hessian troops, under the command of colonel Campbell, embarked at Sandy Hook, and reached the mouth of the Savannah river, in Georgia, on the 23d of the following month. The landing was effected with little difficulty; and the town of Savannah taken, after defeating a body of republicans stationed there for its defence. The American general then retreated with the remains of his army to South Carolina, and thus the whole province of Georgia became an easy conquest. The military operations in other parts of the American continent, during this year, were of minor importance. The worst were those carried on by a body of native loyalists, called Tories, in conjunction with the Indians, under the command of a chief called Butler, who perpetrated dreadful outrages upon the peaceable inhabitants of the back settlements. These barbarities, however, were retaliated by an American expedition from the interior of Virginia, against the native tribes and Canadians, on the borders of the Ohio, and lake Ontario.

At the beginning of September, a fleet of transports with troops was despatched from New-York, for the purpose of destroying some republican establishments in that part of New-England called Plymouth colony. These places were not of any moment in themselves, but being the resort of privateers, it became necessary to destroy them, for the protection of trade. This service was effectually performed; and the same expedition, besides taking a great number of cattle at Martha's Vineyard, put to the sword a body of American cavalry.

Such was the reduced state of the war on the continent, but in the West Indies it assumed a more active and formidable aspect; though even in that interesting quarter, where Britain had a considerable stake, the negligence

of ministers was grievously felt. On the 7th of September, the marquis de Bouille landed two thousand men upon the island of Dominica, the garrison of which being incapable of making any resistance, capitulated upon honourable terms. Admiral Barrington was then lying at Barbadoes, but so little communication had he with England, that the first information of hostilities between France and England, received by him, was through the medium of a paper published at Martinico.

At the beginning of November, D'Estaign sailed from Boston, but instead of running down the coast to assist the republicans, he shaped his course for Martinico; and on the same day commodore Hotham quitted Sandy Hook, with five thousand men, under the command of general Grant, destined for the protection of the British West India Islands. The two fleets would probably have encountered each other on the passage, had it not been for a violent storm, which scattered the French squadron, but that of Hotham was kept together till their arrival at Barbadoes, on the 10th of December. This timely reinforcement induced admiral Barrington to undertake an expedition against the French island of St. Lucie; and on the 13th of the same month general Meadows effected a landing, and took possession of the heights that had been previously occupied by the French commandant, with the regulars and militia of the island. At the same time, general Prescot, with five regiments, landed in another part of the bay; and while the two divisions were pursuing the flying enemy, the fleet of D'Estaign appeared in sight. This force consisted of twelve ships of the largest size, several frigates, and transports conveying nine thousand troops. The squadron of admiral Barrington, who lay in the Cul de Sac, amounted to no more than four line-of-battle ships, two of fifty guns, and three frigates, which, however, he so arranged, as to form a complete battery against the French, who made two desperate efforts to break through them, without success. D'Estaign then withdrew to another part of the island, where he landed five thousand men, and marched at their head against general Meadows. That officer had only thirteen hundred soldiers under his command, but having gained possession of a neck of land, enfiladed by batteries, he was enabled to withstand three furious assaults, after which D'Estaign retired, having lost thrice the number of his opponents. At length, when he found that all his attempts to dislodge the British were fruitless, he abandoned the island to its fate, and the capitulation was signed before his fleet was out of sight.

In the East Indies, events were equally favourable to the English, for the company being more on the alert than the government, had sent out despatches over-land, to the respective presidencies, apprizing them that hostilities were daily expected; and, therefore, directing that an expedition should be instantly made against Pondicherry. Pursuant to these instructions, major-general Monro, in August, assembled a body of troops in the neighbourhood of that place, while sir Edward Vernon, with the fleet, proceeded to block up the harbour. Off that harbour the English fleet encountered a superior force, commanded by M. de Tronjoly, and a partial action ensued. The French ships ran into Pondicherry, but as soon as they were refitted, came out again, and stood off to sea, leaving the garrison to make the best defence it could. The governor, though abandoned in this shameful manner, conducted himself gallantly, nor, till all his resources were exhausted, did he yield to necessity by an offer to capitulate; which was accepted, and on the 17th of October, the conquest of Pondicherry put an end to the French dominion in the East Indies.

CHAP. LXI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1779 to 1780.

THOUGH ministers were still able to command a sufficient majority in both houses for the prosecution of the war, their strength was occasionally shaken, and the vote of thanks to Keppel on the 12th of February, fol- [A. D. 1779. lowed as it was soon after, by a motion of censure upon the first lord of the admiralty, could not fail to convince them that their power was in the wane.

The motion, indeed, was lost, but the public discontent was loudly expressed, and many officers of rank and merit gave up their employments. The ill success of the British arms in America, contributed also to increase the complaints of the people, and no little share of odium was cast directly or obliquely upon sir William Howe and his brother, for the inefficiency of their operations in America.

These murmurings made such an impression upon the persons implicated, that they demanded an investigation of their conduct. Government would fain have evaded the measure, but a majority of the house of commons acceded to the proposition for an inquiry. A committee was formed, and many curious circumstances were elicited, little to the credit of those who were at the head of different public departments. On the main question, as regarding the general management of the war, several officers were examined, particularly earl Cornwallis, general Grey, sir Andrew Snape Hammond, sir George Osborne, and major Montresor, whose concurrent testimony went to prove that the force sent to America was in no instance adequate to the accomplishment of its object; and that the nature of the country rendered military operations extremely difficult to the invader. On the other hand, general Robertson and Mr. Joseph Galloway, both well acquainted with the localities of the seat of war, were of opinion that the naval and military strength employed, might, by proper exertion, have crushed the insurrection at the beginning of the troubles. After the inquiry had proceeded to some length, it was suddenly stopped, and was never again resumed. While the committee sat, the case of general Burgoyne was gone into, and many circumstances in favour of that officer came to light; but as government wished rather to stifle than to promote inquiry, the proceedings terminated abruptly, without being brought to a decision, or producing any report.

The extension of religious freedom to the Roman Catholics, in the preceding session, encouraged the dissenters to apply for some indulgence, and accordingly a bill was passed, exempting their ministers and schoolmasters from the obligation of subscribing certain formularies of faith, as the conditions of toleration.

A farther attempt was made during this meeting of parliament, to relieve Ireland, by allowing the direct importation of sugars into that kingdom, from the West Indies; but in consequence of the opposition made to it in petitions from Glasgow and Manchester, the ministerial influence was employed to prevent the measure from taking effect, and the motion for a committee on the question, was accordingly lost. In consequence of this narrow spirit on the part of the manufacturers, the merchants of Dublin entered into resolutions against the importation and use of such British goods as could be made or produced in Ireland.

The kingdom was now on the eve of a new war, for the Spanish ambassador, on the 16th of June, presented a manifesto to the court, exhibiting one hundred general articles of complaint, most, if not all of them, of a frivolous character, and evidently brought together to furnish a colourable pretext for the announced departure of his excellency from this country. The document being laid before parliament, produced the customary addresses to the throne, assuring his majesty that no exertions or sacrifices should be wanting for the support of his crown, and the defence of the kingdom. To meet these accumulating dangers, ministers now deemed it advisable to double the militia, and a bill for that purpose was accordingly brought in by lord North, which was carried, with the addition of a clause, proposed by lord Beauchamp, allowing the raising and attaching of volunteer companies to the regiments of each county.

This bill, after undergoing some revision in the house of lords, to which the commons agreed, was passed, and received the royal assent; as also did another, suspending, for a limited period, the exemption from impressment for the naval service, the only persons in whose favour a clause was inserted, being those employed in the coal trade. These strong measures were called for by the perilous state of the country, and the prospect of an invasion, on which account they experienced but little opposition.

The domestic history of this year was stained by the infuriated zeal of

fanaticism which broke out in Scotland, on account of the recent liberality of parliament to the members of the Romish church. Though that bill met with the approbation of all the friends of religious freedom, there were some sectarian bigots who could not endure that toleration should be extended to any but themselves, and least of all, to papists. The general assembly in Scotland refused to countenance this persecuting spirit; and when a motion was brought forward in that body, for a remonstrance against the indulgence of Romanists, it was indignantly rejected. Encouraged by this act of liberality, some members of that persuasion entered into an association, for the purpose of getting the bill that had been passed in favour of the English Catholics, extended to Scotland. This raised the wrath of the champions for the Solemn League and Covenant, to a pitch resembling that which distinguished their forefathers, when cathedrals were destroyed, because they had been profaned by the mass. Inflammatory papers and pamphlets were published, and harangues still more malignant were delivered, to excite the ignorant to acts of outrage. On the night of the 2d of February, the house of the Catholic bishop at Edinburgh was attacked by a mob, who, after pillaging and destroying it, proceeded to commit similar depredations upon the dwellings of other persons belonging to that community. In this work of savage destruction, the old Catholic chapel did not escape, and the rioters, besides demolishing the building, burnt or carried away the furniture and library. These disgraceful scenes were suffered to continue for some days, without the interposition of the magistrates; till, at last, the zealots ventured to attack the house of Dr. Robertson, principal of the university, and that of Mr. Crosbie, an eminent advocate, who were considered as friendly to the Catholic claims. Those gentlemen, however, being apprized of the intended visit, had taken such precautions, that the rioters were obliged to withdraw, after breaking some windows. The dragoons were now called in to prevent further mischief, and the provost condescended to assure the people, that no relaxation of the penal laws against papists was intended. Similar disorders began at Glasgow, but they were more promptly resisted by the magistrates and inhabitants; so that comparatively little damage was done there by the spirit of religious intolerance.

It is now expedient that we should take a brief survey of the state of the war in the western hemisphere. The possession of Georgia by the British army, produced some very active operations in that quarter: and the loyalists of the back settlements, having mustered in considerable force, penetrated into North Carolina, where, however, they experienced a severe check from the militia of the province, and lost about half their number in the conflict. General Prevost commanded at Savannah, and the American general Lincoln in South Carolina. The latter officer took up a position for the protection of that province, as well as to annoy the British on the opposite side of the border-river, about twenty miles above Savannah; while Ashe, another republican general, with the same view, was placed still higher up, having under his command a body of provincials and militia. Lincoln directed Ashe to penetrate into Georgia, and take up a post at the Briar-Creek, near Purisburg, which he had scarcely performed, when colonel Prevost came upon him by surprise, and put his whole force to flight, after they had sustained a great loss. This defeat obliging Lincoln to make a movement by which the passage of the river into South Carolina was in a great degree laid open, general Prevost took the advantage of it, and resolved to advance towards Charleston, where he was told that the inhabitants only waited for his appearance, to declare in favour of the royal cause. After dispersing the feeble force that had been left to defend the pass, the general proceeded without interruption, till he came within gunshot of Charleston, where he took post on the 11th of May. On summoning the town to surrender, he found that either he had been grossly deceived in the information on which he relied, or that the people were overawed by their fear of the republican vengeance. Instead, therefore, of remaining any longer before a place which presented formidable preparations for defence, the British commander deemed it most prudent to retire. Accordingly, on the 29th, he broke up his camp in the night, and crossed Ashley river, intending to station his troops on the small islands

lying at the mouth of Charleston harbour, and to wait there for reinforcements from New-York. On the arrival of these succours, the general removed his army to the island of Port Royal, between Charleston and Savannah; the protection of the latter place, now demanding his sole attention. About the same time an expedition was sent to the Chesapeak, under the command of sir George Collier and general Matthew, which proved of no other service than that of distressing the inhabitants of Virginia, by destroying a quantity of stores, and one hundred and thirty vessels in Elisabeth river.

This enterprise was followed by another on the Hudson, or North river, where general Vaughan and sir George Collier, on the 31st, took the two strong forts of Verplanks and Stoney Point, the capture of which obliged Washington to remove from the Jerseys, and take up a position in the mountainous district, where he continued on the defensive, watching the motions of an enemy that became weaker every day by desultory operations of no material effect. As, however, Stoney Point was a post of importance, by its commanding the passage of the river from the Connecticut side to that of the Jerseys, a detachment under the republican general Wayne was sent to dislodge the British; which object was effected, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Sir Henry Clinton, upon this, hastened with a force against the Americans, who in their turn were compelled to abandon the fort, though they succeeded in demolishing the works, and carrying off the artillery and stores.

In this state of comparative inactivity, the Americans, stimulated by the desire of vengeance, determined to punish the Indians of the Six Nations, who, under the command of Butler, Brandt, and other chiefs, had destroyed Wyoming, and several beautiful townships on the banks of the Susquehannah river. Accordingly, a force under general Sullivan was detached from Washington's army, to march against the Indians and their confederates, who made a resolute stand, but were defeated; and the republicans, not content with totally destroying their villages, laid waste all the corn growing on their plantations. Butler, however, was not subdued by this blow, for, at the beginning of November, he led on his savage associates to the attack of Fort Stanwix, which was carried by assault, after a great slaughter.

Among the naval occurrences on the American coast during this year, one of the principal was an expedition against a settlement formed by the British on the Penobscot river, to the north of Boston. The inhabitants of that city and neighbourhood being alarmed for their trade, despatched commodore Saltonstall with a military force, and thirty-seven sail of ships, for the purpose of dislodging the British garrison, and dismantling their fort. The Americans, however, found the place too strong to be carried by their efforts, and after battering it for a fortnight, the appearance of sir George Collier, who was detached to its relief by sir Henry Clinton, impelled them to abandon their works, and run up the river, where they destroyed all their vessels except two, which were taken.

At the beginning of the year, the French government sent out a squadron under the marquis de Vaudreuil, to reinforce D'Estaign; and this force, in its passage, made a descent upon the English factories at Senegal, and other parts of the coast of Africa, all of which were captured. In the mean time, admiral Byron quitted the American coast for the West Indies, where he took the command, and being now in a state to contend with the French fleet, endeavoured, without effect, to draw D'Estaign out of Martinico. When, however, the English admiral left the station, for the purpose of convoying the Leeward Island fleet on its passage to England, the French commander sent a force to capture St. Vincent's, a conquest that was soon accomplished. D'Estaign next put to sea with a considerable armament, which had been increased by a reinforcement under La Motte Piquet, and, at the beginning of July, landed on the island of Grenada. Lord Macartney, the governor, had made all the preparations for defence that lay in his power, but the strength of the enemy by sea and land obliged him to propose terms of capitulation, which D'Estaign refused to grant, and the place was surrendered at discretion.

At this critical moment Byron's fleet returned, and on the sixth of the same month, the two squadrons came in contact, the British consisting of

twenty-one ships of the line and a frigate; and the French of twenty-six ships of the line and twelve frigates. An engagement followed, but it was of so very partial a description, that neither side gained an advantage, and both fleets parted, one for St. Christopher's, and the other for Grenada. Early in September, D'Estaign, with twenty-two sail of the line, departed for the American coast, where he had the good fortune to capture the English ship, Experiment, of fifty guns, and two frigates. The return of the French fleet excited so much alarm at New-York, that the royal troops were drawn from Rhode Island, of which place the republicans immediately took possession. It soon appeared, however, that D'Estaign's object did not extend to that quarter; for, on the 9th of September, his fleet came to anchor off the mouth of the Savannah river, where a considerable force was landed, which joined that under the command of general Lincoln, and an attack upon the town soon commenced. During the cannonade, general Prevost sent a letter to D'Estaign, desiring permission to put the women and children on board the vessels in the river; but this request was inhumanly refused, at the instigation, as was said, of Lincoln, to whom the count afterwards applied the most opprobrious epithets. After bombarding Savannah above three weeks, the united forces made a desperate attempt to carry the place by assault, but were so vigorously repulsed, that they broke up their camp, and D'Estaign set sail for Europe, leaving behind him neither admirers nor friends.

At the southern extremity of the continent, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, Don Galvez, made an easy conquest of the British settlements on the Mississippi. As a counterbalance, however, to this achievement, admirals Parker and Rowley, after capturing several valuable French West India ships, and three frigates, reduced Fort Omoa, in the bay of Honduras, hitherto deemed impregnable. This exploit, which was performed by a very small combined force of sailors and soldiers, threw a valuable booty into the hands of the victors. A garrison was put into the fort, but the climate proving very unhealthy, the place, not long after, reverted to its former masters.

In Europe, the two powers of France and Spain formed a plan of operations on a scale of great magnitude; and while preparations were made for an attack upon Gibraltar, the combined fleets were intended to strike a blow at the heart of the British empire. Accordingly, on the 4th of June, count D'Orvilliers sailed from Brest with twenty-eight sail of the line; which, on his arrival at Cadiz, was augmented by a Spanish force, that made the whole fleet consist of near seventy line-of-battle ships, exclusive of a number of vessels of inferior rates. This new armada, after passing unobserved the squadron under sir Charles Hardy, then cruising in the Bay of Biscay, entered the British channel about the middle of August, and extending from shore to shore, like a semicircular chain, swept all in its way, till it came off Plymouth sound, where the Ardent, of sixty-four guns, was so completely deceived, as to run quite into the body of the combined fleet, and was captured. The alarm excited all along the western coast, and particularly at Plymouth, was naturally very great; but while every one trembled for that important naval arsenal, and expected hourly to hear of the landing of the enemy, no attempt at debarkation was made; and before the end of the month, this extraordinary armament sailed down channel, just at the moment that sir Charles Hardy hove in sight, who, however, had the good fortune to escape into port without any loss or damage. The cause of this departure of the combined fleets, was now as much a matter of conjecture, as its first appearance had been of apprehension. Some attributed it to a want of concord between the commanders, and others to the prevalence of a disease in the crowded ships; but whatever might be the cause which operated to prevent a disembarkation on the British shore, there was but one opinion as to the culpable neglect of the government in not providing for the national security.

The presence of an hostile fleet riding triumphantly in the British seas, was not the only mortification which the nation had to endure at this time. Paul Jones, a freebooter, licensed by the American deputies at Paris, fitted out a privateer, and, in conjunction with some others, committed considerable mischief on the eastern and western coasts of England, as well as on the shores of Scotland. This bold adventurer presumed, at last, to attack a con-

voy coming from Hull, off Flamborough Head, and after a smart action, took the Serapis frigate, and the Countess of Scarborough armed ship, which he carried with him into Dunkirk.

In addition to so many causes of discontent at this eventful period, the state of Ireland was such as to threaten another disruption in the empire. Ever since the commencement of hostilities with the colonies, the Irish people had exhibited symptoms of great impatience under the impolitic restrictions which had for a long series of years shackled their commerce. A few relaxations of the rigid system had indeed at times been wrung from the British legislature; but still too many remained, for an aggrieved people easily to endure. The American contest made the inhabitants of that kingdom sensible of their own rights; and circumstances arose out of the war, which convinced them of their strength. In consequence of the extraordinary demand for men to supply the deficiencies of the armies abroad, the military establishment of Ireland was reduced so low as to create some apprehensions for the safety of the island. In this exigency, recourse was had to the measure of associating for the purpose of raising volunteers, which plan soon became so popular, that men of all ranks and persuasions pressed forward with a tender of their services. After giving encouragement to this spontaneous feeling, government began to be uneasy, and endeavoured to reduce this new species of force under the control of the crown. The proposition, however, was resisted; and ministers, having gone too far to recede with a good grace, acquiesced in the system, and supplied the arms necessary for its support. The Irish became now so much aware of their relative importance and inherent power, that they no longer courted, in a suppliant strain, the enjoyment of a free trade, but insisted upon it as their natural right, which they were determined to obtain. The parliament of that kingdom, which met in October, became only the organ of the general sentiment, when, in their addresses to the throne, they declared that this concession was indispensably necessary for the preservation of the connexion between the two countries. This language was followed up by a correspondent resolution, for, apprehensive lest the government might again aim to crush the rising spirit by a prorogation, the parliament passed a money bill only for six months; knowing full well that the necessities of the state would, at the expiration of that period, require a farther supply.

The British parliament met at the end of November, and one of the first subjects that came under discussion, was the state of Ireland. In the house of lords, the earl of Shelburne moved a resolution of censure upon ministers, for having criminally neglected the affairs of Ireland. The motion, indeed, was negatived, but it drew forth a remarkable declaration from earl Gower, the late president of the council, that while in office, he had done every thing in his power for the relief of Ireland, without being able to carry his wishes into effect. On the 13th of the following month, lord North introduced into the house of commons his propositions for the benefit of the sister kingdom. These were, the repeal of the laws prohibiting the export of Irish woollens to any part of Europe; next, a repeal of the act prohibiting the importation of glass made in that country; thirdly, leave for the Irish to carry on a direct trade to and from the British colonies and the coast of America, subject to such regulations as should be enacted by the parliament of Ireland. These propositions, which, a short time before, would have produced a general clamour among the manufacturing interests, now passed without opposition; and before the recess, two bills, embodying the principal of them, received the royal assent.

The public service, this year, lost two valuable officers under very melancholy circumstances. The first was captain Cook, who, after enriching the sphere of geographical knowledge by his important discoveries in three arduous voyages, perished by the hands of the savages of Owhyhee, on the 14th of February, 1779. The other was captain Farmer, of the Quebec frigate, who was blown up, after silencing the fire of a French ship of superior force, off Ushant, on the 6th of October.

CHAP. LXII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1780.

THE patience with which the nation had hitherto borne increasing burdens, and the confidence reposed in government, had been so ill repaid by the measures pursued, that the spirit of discontent began now to be manifested in petitions to parliament for a redress of grievances, particularly in regard to the prodigality of the public expenditure. Encouraged by the number and weight of these applications, Mr. Burke brought forward, on the 11th of February, 1780, his plan "for the better security of the independence of parliament, and the economical reform of the civil and other establishments." This famous scheme comprehended five distinct bills, having for their objects the abolition of useless and sinecure places, the sale of the royal forests and crown lands, and the annexation of the jurisdictions of Wales and the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall to the crown. Leave was given for the introduction of the proposed measure upon the grounds specified in the motion, but in the issue the only point that was suffered to be carried into effect was that for the annihilation of the board of trade and plantations, which passed by a majority of only eight votes. Various other propositions for reform in the national revenue and expenditure were rejected; yet as the opposition had thus partially succeeded in one article, and it was evident that the public mind was strongly impressed in favour of the general principle, new efforts were made, and, in one very remarkable instance, with effect. This was, the resolution proposed by Dunning, afterwards lord Ashburton, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." The motion passed, as also did another proposed by the same celebrated advocate, "That it is competent for this house to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue." A third resolution, moved by Mr. Thos. Pitt, afterwards lord Camelford, "That it was the duty of the house to provide an immediate redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions that had been presented," was equally successful; and thus far the opponents of ministers appeared to have gained an advantage that was likely to produce more immediate and important results. By this time, however, the alarm was felt, not only in the cabinet, but through all the subordinate departments of the executive government. The administration rallied their forces, and such was their influence, that when Dunning moved an address, praying his majesty neither to dissolve nor prorogue parliament till measures should be adopted to diminish the regal influence, and to correct the evils that were generally complained of, his motion was rejected.

Besides the open enemies with which England had to contend at this period, she suffered much from the secret traffic in naval and military stores carried on by the Dutch, contrary to the law of nations and the express provision of particular treaties. Remonstrances took place on both sides; and the dispute appeared to be set at rest, when the rupture with Spain produced a demand on the States General to fulfil the condition of the existing contracts, by which it was settled, that in case Spain attacked either Britain or Holland, the two powers should make a common cause against that power. In virtue of this agreement, a call was made upon the States General for the stipulated aid; to which no reply was returned. While matters thus stood in suspense, the British government obtained intelligence that several Dutch ships, laden with stores for Brest, were about to leave the Texel, under the convoy of admiral count Byland, who was proceeding to the Mediterranean. Upon this, commodore Fielding was sent out with orders to examine the convoy, and detain all those ships, on board of which he should find any articles contraband of war. When the two squadrons met, the English boats, which were sent to search, were fired at; and the Dutch admiral went still further, by pouring a broadside into the ship of the commodore, and then struck his colours. The whole fleet came into Spithead; and on the 17th of April a proclamation was published, in which it was declared,

that the subjects of the United Provinces were to be considered as other neutrals not privileged by treaty.

In the mean time, the maritime rights of Britain were attacked by the armed neutrality, as it was termed, of the northern powers. At the head of this confederacy was the empress Catharine, who caused a manifesto to be issued at Petersburgh on the 26th of February, declaring that "free bottoms make free goods," and thus at once asserting the privilege of all neutrals to trade indiscriminately in every article, whether warlike stores or the necessaries of life, with belligerent powers.

Against a principle so adverse to all the acknowledged rights of nations, and particularly hostile to the interests of Britain, a firm stand was made, and the domineering autocratix was obliged to temporize in her policy, though the other powers at war, for obvious purposes, highly approved of the doctrine.

At the beginning of the year, sir George Rodney was sent to the West Indies, with directions to proceed first for the relief of Gibraltar, then closely blockaded by the Spaniards. On his passage he fell in with a convoy bound to Cadiz, consisting of fifteen merchant vessels, under the protection of a line-of-battle ship and some frigates, all of which he captured. A few days afterwards, on the 16th of January, being off Cape St. Vincent, Rodney came up with the Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Juan de Langara, who endeavoured to elude an engagement; but all his efforts to escape proving fruitless, by the superior skill of his antagonist, an action ensued, the result of which was the capture of the admiral's ship of eighty guns, and three others of seventy guns each: two of the same force ran on shore after striking their colours, and one was blown up, with all the crew. The rest of the Spanish fleet got into Cadiz; while Rodney, after performing his commission at Gibraltar, sailed for his appointed station, leaving the prizes to be conveyed to England by admiral Digby, who in his passage captured a French ship of war, and some vessels laden with military stores for the Mauritius. Rodney, on his arrival in the West Indies, endeavoured to draw the French admiral Guichen out of Martinique, where he lay with a superior force; but as no manœuvres could induce him to quit the harbour of Fort Royal, the English commander left some light vessels to keep a look-out, and then sailed for St. Lucie. In the middle of April, Guichen set sail, and was pursued by Rodney, whose force consisted of twenty sail of the line, while that of the French amounted to twenty-three. A partial action took place, but nothing decisive was produced, and the two fleets separated without sustaining any material injury. On the 15th of May, another engagement occurred, with a similar result; greatly to the dissatisfaction of the English admiral, who complained indirectly of the conduct of some of his officers. Soon after this, the Spanish admiral Solano, with twelve sail of the line, and a fleet of transports, conveying above eleven thousand men, arrived in the West Indies, and joined the French, making in the whole thirty-six line-of-battle ships, which put the British islands, particularly Jamaica, in a state of great jeopardy. In the midst of the alarm produced by the appearance of so great a force, the two fleets separated, on account of the sickness which broke out in the Spanish ships, and compelled them to bear away for the Havannah; while that of Guichen, being in a bad condition, steered for Europe.

The operations on the continent of America were somewhat more active at the beginning of this year than they had lately been; but they were still far from assuming a magnificent or decided character. After a long passage, sir Henry Clinton arrived in February off Savannah, from whence he proceeded to South Carolina, where he landed his troops, and soon afterwards obtained possession of the islands to the south of the harbour of Charleston. On the 1st of April he laid siege to the capital, which was vigorously defended by general Lincoln, while several bodies of troops, regular and irregular, contributed to harass the besiegers. On the other hand, the arrival of admiral Arbuthnot, who forced his way into the harbour, proved of effectual service to the British army. The siege lasted till the 11th of May, when Lincoln finding that the place was no longer tenable, offered to surrender, and accordingly articles of capitulation were signed, by which the Americans in arms, to the

number of about six thousand, were made prisoners of war. A considerable quantity of artillery, with three American frigates, one French ship of the same description, and a polacre, fell into the hands of the victors; but all private property was respected.

While these operations were going on, lord Cornwallis, who had a separate command on Cooper's river, having received information that an American force was assembled on the borders of North Carolina, despatched thither colonel Tarleton, at the head of a body of cavalry, and another of light infantry. That officer proceeded with such celerity, as to surprise the enemy at a place called Waxsaw, where the republicans suffered a total defeat, with a great loss of men and all their artillery and baggage. These successes had such an effect in the south, that when sir Henry Clinton departed for New-York, there were few persons in arms against the British government in that quarter; and many of the leading inhabitants voluntarily took the oaths of allegiance to his majesty. In the absence of the commander-in-chief, an expedition was undertaken by generals Knyphausen, Tryon, and Robertson, against the advanced posts of Washington at Springfield. Accordingly, six thousand men crossed from Staten Island to Elizabeth Town, in New-Jersey, but when they came to the place of destination, it was found too well guarded to admit of an attack with any prospect of success, and the party returned without accomplishing any thing. On the arrival of sir Henry Clinton from Carolina, the plan was resumed, and though the Americans had now collected a greater force in that quarter, their troops were drawn in, and the town of Springfield was totally destroyed.

On the 11th of July, a French fleet arrived at Rhode Island, with six thousand men, commanded by the count de Rochambeau, who was welcomed with extraordinary demonstrations of joy by the republicans, and more so when he declared that he was only the harbinger of a much greater force destined for the same service. At the same time, the British fleet, under the command of Arbuthnot, received such a reinforcement by the junction of admiral Graves, as enabled these two officers to proceed, without delay, to Rhode Island, where the French squadron was completely blockaded. Sir Henry Clinton, who accompanied the fleet with about six thousand men, was desirous of attacking the works of the enemy on Rhode Island, but the naval commanders being of a contrary opinion, the design was given up, and general Clinton returned to New-York in time to save that place from the design formed against it by Washington, who had crossed the north river for the purpose of making the attempt; however, on the unexpected arrival of the British commander-in-chief, the American general relinquished his project.

After the surrender of Charleston, earl Cornwallis, who had been left in command in that quarter, sent lord Rawdon to Camden, with a considerable force for the support of the royalists in North Carolina. Upon this, the republicans collected a formidable army, which was placed under the command of general Gates, who marched towards Camden. Lord Cornwallis, on being apprized of this movement, hastened to the same place with about two thousand men, of whom one fourth were militia and refugees, who had seen little service. Notwithstanding the disparity of force, both in numbers and effect, between the republicans and royalists, his lordship, on learning where Gates lay encamped, marched in the night, and on his way fell in with the enemy, who was advancing with the view of attacking the British by surprise. At daylight on the 15th of August, an action took place, at the very beginning of which, the militia attached to the American army made a precipitate retreat; and though the other troops continued the combat for some time, they also at last gave way, and carried off their commander with them. The loss of the vanquished consisted of near nine hundred killed, and one thousand taken prisoners; while that of the victors did not much exceed three hundred.

The defeat of the hero of Saratoga was not the only mortification which the Americans experienced in that quarter; for, not long after, general Sumpter was taken by surprise at the Catawba springs, by colonel Tarleton, and entirely routed, the greatest part of his force being either killed or made prisoners. On the other hand, colonel Ferguson, a very active officer, who had

been despatched with a force, part of which was of his own raising, to the frontier, for the purpose of harassing the enemy in North Carolina, was overtaken, in his return, by a body greatly superior to his own, and killed, after an obstinate conflict; and those who fell not in the battle were taken captive, to the amount of eight hundred men. In the north, Fort Anne and Fort George were reduced by major Carleton, whose force was composed chiefly of Indians. In the same quarter, sir John Johnson destroyed the settlements of Schohary and Stone Arabia, after several engagements, in all of which he proved victorious. It merits observation, that, contrary to the reports of the Americans, the Indians in this warfare were stated by those officers to have behaved with the greatest moderation, neither stripping, nor in any respect ill-using, their prisoners.

In the central part of the continent, an event occurred at this period, which threw a gloom over the aspect of the war, and gave to the republican cause a feature of forbidding austerity. General Benedict Arnold, who had distinguished himself by his bravery and activity in the cause of independence, from the beginning of the hostilities, having received, as he thought, some harsh treatment from the congress, opened a secret negotiation with sir Henry Clinton, for delivering up the post and troops which he commanded at West Point, on the north of Hudson's river. The British commander, in order to facilitate this important object, despatched major André, the aide-de-camp general, up the river, to arrange the proper measures with Arnold; and, on the 21st of September, that officer landed in the night near the American camp. After communing with the general some time, and receiving some documents of moment, the major was furnished with a horse and passport, under the name of Anderson, to make his way back, by another route, to New-York. He passed the outposts of the army without molestation, but on the next day was stopped and examined by three volunteers, who were at first disposed to let him proceed; but some suspicions arising in the minds of the men, they insisted upon his going to head-quarters. Here the presence of mind of André forsook him, and by offering a reward for his liberty, he betrayed himself. On being taken to quarters, the papers with which he had been intrusted by Arnold, were found; a council of war was held, and this gallant young man received sentence of death. Even the American soldiery bewailed his fate, but their stern commander was inexorable, and André was ignominiously executed as a spy. In England, a general sympathy was excited by this tragic circumstance, and a monument was erected in honour of this valuable officer and excellent man, for such he was in every respect, in Westminster Abbey. Arnold, as soon as he became acquainted with the unfortunate capture of the victim of his treachery, effected his escape; obtained the rank of brigadier-general in the British service; and during the rest of the war, distinguished himself by many heroic exploits against his countrymen. Before the termination of hostilities, he came to England, and died in London about twenty years since. With respect to the case itself, though major André was disguised, he could not strictly be considered as a spy, inasmuch as he came accredited by his own general to the commanding officer of a particular post, and was furnished with passports from the latter for his safe-conduct. Washington lost more by this act of barbarity, than he ever gained by all his military achievements. Shortly after this catastrophe, Henry Laurens, the late president of the congress, was taken on his passage to Holland, and in his possession was found the projected treaty with the states-general. After an examination by the privy-council, he was committed to the Tower, on a charge of high-treason; of which crime, abstractedly, he was as much guilty, as André was of being a spy. The British government, however, did not proceed to such an extremity, and, at the close of the following year, Laurens was set at liberty. This capture brought the differences between England and Holland to that point which had been long foreseen, and on the 20th of December, war against the latter power was publicly declared.

We must now revert to those naval proceedings of this year which have not already been detailed.

Admiral Geary having succeeded to the command of the channel fleet, on the death of sir Charles Hardy, sailed at the beginning of June, with twenty-

three ships of the line, to which soon afterwards six more were added. In the following month, he had the fortune to capture twelve French ships bound home from the West Indies, but the rest of the fleet escaped in a fog. On the other hand, a valuable convoy of English ships, bound for the East and West Indies, fell in the way of the combined French and Spanish fleets, which took five of the former, and above fifty of the latter. Admiral Darby, who succeeded Geary in the command of the channel fleet, had a partial action with a French force much superior to his own, in the month of November; but as neither side seemed disposed to continue the combat, and no captures were made, the rencounter was without a victory.

After the relief of Gibraltar by Rodney, the Spaniards exerted themselves to the utmost in blockading that fortress on all sides; and in order to destroy a British squadron which lay in the bay, several fire-ships, supported by galleys, row-boats, and men-of-war, were sent in; but the attempt proved abortive, through the enterprising bravery of the sailors and the garrison.

In the West Indies a dreadful hurricane occurred, which began at Jamaica on the 3d of November, accompanied by an earthquake and an irruption of the sea, that in its regress swept away the town of Savanna la Mar, with three hundred of the inhabitants. At Barbadoes, it did not commence till the 10th of the same month, but the consequences were lamentable, in the destruction of Bridgetown; and the death of some thousands of the people. The devastations in the other islands, English and French, were also very great; and many ships were lost, together with the crews. The squadron of admiral Rowley, in convoying home the Jamaica fleet, suffered so much, that several of the vessels were obliged to return in a disabled state, and two men-of-war foundered at sea.

Having taken this review of the state of hostilities by sea and land, our attention must now be directed to the condition of the British capital, which exhibited, in the course of the summer, a frightful picture of anarchy, produced by the inflammatory spirit of fanatical bigotry. In the preceding year, as we have already noticed, disgraceful riots broke out in Scotland, occasioned by the virulence of some zealots, who fancied that the Protestant religion was endangered by the repeal of the penal laws against popery. After the suppression of those disorders in the north, it was little to be expected that scenes of similar outrage would occur in the metropolis of the empire. Such, however, was the case; and lord George Gordon, brother to the duke of Gordon, having become the head of an enthusiastic body, calling themselves "The Protestant Association," harangued them with such effect, that it was agreed to present a petition to parliament for the repeal of the late act, signed by twenty thousand persons at least. Accordingly, on the second of June, above twice that number assembled in St. George's Fields, and being marshalled into companies, with flags and favours, proceeded in military order to Palace-yard, where lord George undertook to present their petition to the house of commons, of which he was a member. This he did, and moved at the same time, that it should be taken into immediate consideration. A debate ensued, and while the subject was under discussion, lord George went out several times to address the petitioners, many of whom were in the lobby. The motion for reading the petition being negatived, produced a strong sensation in the mob, who behaved with great insolence to several noble personages, as they were going to and from the house of lords. The arrival of a party of soldiers had the effect of dispersing the associators, but it was only to collect again in other places; and the same evening, the mob destroyed two Romish chapels, one in Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and the other in Warwick-street, Golden-square. The next day, being Saturday, the disposition to riot appeared to have subsided, but the following evening, without any regard to the Sabbath, a mob assembled, and burnt the Romish chapel, with three dwelling-houses, belonging to persons of that persuasion, in Moor-Fields. On Monday and Tuesday, many houses were destroyed, not of Roman Catholics only, but of persons who were considered as friends to the extension of toleration; or who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the associaters, by their activity in endeavouring to preserve the peace, and to take the rioters into custody. On

Wednesday, the disorder was at its height; and thirty-six fires were seen blazing at once, in different parts of the metropolis. Among other places that fell before the mob, were the prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, and King's Bench. The Bank also was in a very perilous state, two attempts having been made to force the building, the preservation of which was chiefly owing to the exertions of alderman Wilkes, the only one of the city magistrates who distinguished himself during the riots. The lord mayor, Kennet, appeared panic-struck, and his conduct was altogether so scandalous, that a prosecution was ultimately instituted against him, in the court of King's Bench, where he was pronounced guilty of a dereliction of duty. When, by the pusillanimity of the magistrates, and the no less strange imbecility of ministers, the capital appeared to be on the verge of destruction, the king, who had sat up two or three nights in extreme anxiety, issued his mandate to the military to act without the civil power; in consequence of which, public tranquillity was restored in a few hours, though not without the sacrifice of several lives. A special commission soon followed, for the trial of the prisoners, several of whom were executed in London and Southwark; but many more received the royal pardon. During these outrages in the capital, a similar spirit appeared at Bath; but after the destruction of the Romish chapel, and of the house adjoining, belonging to the priest, the riot was quelled, and the principal leader executed. Lord George Gordon was now taken into custody, and sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason; but when brought to his trial, in the court of King's Bench, on the 5th of February, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty, conceiving that his offence did not amount strictly to the crime for which he was indicted.

At the meeting of parliament after the recess, some resolutions were brought forward in the lower house, to quiet the apprehensions of ill-informed people, respecting the act for the relief of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion; and, at the same time, a bill passed through the commons, restraining Papists from educating the children of Protestants. When the proposed act, however, came before the peers, it was rejected, very justly, as an improper concession to the spirit of persecution that had already produced such horrible effects. During this session, the letter that had been issued by lord Amherst, the commander-in-chief, giving orders for taking away all arms from persons who had not the royal authority for having them, underwent a rigid investigation, and motions of censure followed, which were negatived without a division. On the 8th of July, parliament was prorogued, and on the 1st of September it was dissolved.

CHAP. LXIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1780 to 1781.

WHILE Britain was involved in a war with three European powers and the American states, a formidable confederacy threatened the entire expulsion of the East India company from their possessions. This association consisted of Hyder Ali, the Nizam of the Deccan, and the Mahrattas, who enrolled among their adherents, several of the petty chiefs in different parts of Hindoostan. To ward off the threatened danger, the government of Bombay placed a considerable force under the command of general Goddard, who, in February 1780, marched against Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat, which he took by assault. He next attacked the camp of the Mahratta chiefs, Scindiah and Holkar, with such impetuosity, that after sustaining a great loss, the enemy abandoned their position. These advantages were followed with some other achievements equally favourable, in that quarter; while on the side of Bengal, the fortress of Gwalior, hitherto considered impregnable, fell before a force commanded by major Popham. On the other hand, the coast of Coromandel exhibited a very different aspect; for while the other presidencies were on the alert, that of Madras, though most immediately endangered, continued in a state of torpidity, till Hyder Ali, like an alpine avalanche, burst through the Ghauts, and overspread the plains of the Carnatic with his numerous hosts of cavalry and infantry. His son,

Tippoo Saib, at the same time, marched with a powerful army against the northern circars; while on the opposite side, numerous bodies of native tribes, well armed and desperate, approached Madura and the Tinevelly district. Hyder, taking advantage of the panic into which the rapidity of his movements had thrown the British authorities, and against which they had made no preparations, suddenly invested Arcot. To relieve that important fortress, sir Hector Monro collected a very inadequate force, and despatched orders to colonel Baillie, then commanding a body of troops in the Guntoor circar, to join him with all speed. Hyder, aware of this design, threw himself in the way, between the British army commanded by Monro, and that which was advancing under Baillie. Tippoo Saib was also ordered, by his father, to fall upon the latter with all his force, but met with such a reception that he was obliged to retreat. The colonel, however, being still incapable of penetrating with his small army, through the immense mass opposed to him, applied to sir Hector Monro for assistance; in consequence of which, colonel Fletcher hastened to him with a reinforcement, and succeeded in forming the desired junction. The united forces now proceeded in a forward direction towards Conjeveram, where, on the 10th of September, they were encountered by Hyder and his whole army, consisting of twenty-five thousand cavalry, thirty regiments of native infantry, a body of French auxiliaries, and a numerous train of artillery, served by experienced engineers of the same country. Such was the disparity of numerical strength between the combatants; and yet, after a desperate conflict, Hyder was upon the point of quitting the field, when accident gave him that victory, which all his prowess could not have accomplished. At this critical moment, one of the tumbrils of ammunition belonging to the British army blew up; and Tippoo, with the French confederates, perceiving the opening caused by the explosion, immediately rushed in upon the centre. Upon this all was confusion and carnage; colonel Fletcher fell, with many other brave men, and colonel Baillie, being desperately wounded, was made prisoner. Arcot, after this disaster, was closely beset on all sides; but though relief was hopeless, the garrison held out bravely till the 8th of November, when the place was carried by storm.

Intelligence of the alarming state of Madras being communicated to the presidency of Bengal, sir Eyre Coote lost no time in hastening thither, for the purpose of repelling an enemy, whose ascendancy, there was too much reason to dread, would be attended with fatal consequences to the British interests in the east. The general reached Madras two days after the fall of Arcot, and instantly formed his camp of seven thousand men, at a place close to the town, called the Mount, patiently waiting for an opportunity to commence effective operations against Hyder Ali. That chief also augmented his forces very considerably, employing them in different sieges, for the purpose of diverting the attention of the British commander, and weakening his force. General Coote marched first to the relief of Wandewash, before which Hyder himself lay in great strength; but as soon as the English army advanced, he made a precipitate retreat, and likewise drew off the troops which were investing other places. From the middle of January, to the 1st of July, 1781, the Mysore chief contrived to avoid a general engagement, but on that day Coote forced him to a battle near Cuddalore; and, after a desperate conflict, defeated him with great slaughter. Hyder, however, being superior in cavalry, removed, in tolerable order, to the neighbourhood of Arcot, whilst his antagonist advanced towards Bengal, to meet the reinforcement which he expected from thence. Having effected a junction with that force, at the beginning of August, he marched against Trepassore, and on taking it, proceeded to attack Hyder, with whom he fell in on the 27th of that month, and fought another battle, which ended still more gloriously than the former, in driving that chief from all his strong posts, and forcing him to abandon the field. A month afterwards, Hyder appeared at Sholingeer, with a numerous army, in which were many French officers of great ability; but again the British triumphed, and sir Eyre Coote, having relieved Vellore, which was reduced to the last extremity, closed the campaign.

From this scene of Indian warfare, we must now return to the proceedings of the British parliament. On the 25th of January, the public business began

with a message from the king, communicating the papers relating to the rupture with the United Provinces. Some altercation ensued, in which the opposition, as usual, called in question the justice and policy of the new war; but though amendments were proposed in both houses, the addresses, as originally moved, in approbation of the conduct of government, were carried. Soon afterwards, two petitions were presented to the lower house, one from a number of British residents in the provinces of Bahar, Bengal, and Orissa, complaining of the oppressions committed by the supreme court of judicature at Calcutta; and the other from the governor-general and council of Fort William, concurring with the former respecting the grievances produced by that establishment, and praying for an act of indemnity, on account of their having employed a military force to protect the people.

As the court, which gave occasion for these extraordinary appeals to the legislature, had been instituted under the auspices of lord North, that minister was very anxious to save its credit; but the evidence in support of the allegations proved so strong, that the motion for a committee of inquiry was carried without a division; and when the report was brought up, the abuses were so fully substantiated, that a bill for new-modelling the court of judicature, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. The minister himself soon after moved for a secret committee, to inquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic; which was carried, but not without an opposition from Mr. Fox, who proposed, as an amendment, that the investigation should be conducted openly. The committee, consisting of fifteen members, though chosen by ballot, proved to be four to one in favour of the minister; who obtained another triumph over the company this session, by compelling them to pay £20,000 as a remuneration for the continuance of their charter. The original proposition was £634,000; but that sum appeared so enormous, under existing circumstances, that the minister was obliged to reduce the demand, which even then was justly reprobated as one of the most arbitrary acts of financial tyranny ever witnessed.

Mr. Burke again brought forward, but without success, his bill for an economical reform in the public departments, which was seconded, in a most luminous speech, by Mr. William Pitt, who, on this occasion, gave the first display of his extraordinary powers as a statesman and parliamentary orator.

The loan for twelve millions, negotiated by lord North, subjected him to some very severe censure, on account of the extravagance of the terms, by which, it appeared, that the contractors had gained near half a million. That the bargain was a most improvident one, the minister himself allowed, saying that he would not have made it, could he have foreseen what had happened. This plea of ignorance, however, was evidently affected, and intended to cover a nefarious job, which had for its object the acquisition of majorities in parliament, to support ministers in their places.

Thus the public benefit gave way to motives of ambition and private interest; a war was procrastinated, when the end for which it was originally entered into, was confessedly no longer attainable; and the people were burdened with increasing taxation, merely to enrich contractors and stock-jobbers. Against such a phalanx, it was no wonder that the various propositions for removing evils, proved abortive, and that the motion made at the close of the session by Mr. Fox, for concluding peace with the colonies, was negatived.

Of the military transactions in Europe and America, this year, the first to be mentioned, is the attempt made on the 6th of January, 1781, to seize the island of Jersey by surprise. This enterprise was undertaken by baron de Rollecourt, who, with eight hundred men, landed upon the island in the night, and before day, reached the town of St. Helier, which he entered so suddenly, as to take prisoners the lieutenant-governor, magistrates, and principal inhabitants, who were compelled to sign a capitulation, under a threat of seeing the place destroyed in case of a refusal. Elizabeth castle was then summoned to surrender; but captain Aylmer, who commanded the garrison, instead of complying with the demand, fired upon the invaders. In the mean time, the militia and some of the king's troops were collected by major Pierson, and formed upon the heights which commanded the town: and when

required by Rollecourt to comply with the terms of the capitulation, returned for answer, that if the French did not surrender prisoners of war within twenty minutes, they should be attacked. This was no empty threat; for the gallant officer, at the head of his little band, soon drove the enemy from street to street, to the market-place, where their commander, who had obliged the lieutenant-governor to stand by his side, fell mortally wounded. Major Pierson also received a shot through the heart; which tragical event threw a dismal cloud over a victory, that terminated in the death or capture of all the invaders.

The transatlantic war appeared now to have taken a turn favourable to the side of royalty. Owing to the exhausted state of the republican treasury, the army of Washington was reduced to great hardships, and a spirit of insubordination arose, occasioned by the want of pay, and a service not only arduous in itself, but prolonged beyond the original term of enlistment. After much murmuring, many remonstrances, and no redress, the Pennsylvania line quartered at Morristown, in the Jerseys, broke out, on new-year's day, into open mutiny; and declared they would serve no longer, unless their demands were satisfied. Attempts to reduce the malcontents by force proved ineffectual, and irritated them to such a degree, that they seized the military stores, formed a separate camp at Princetown, and elected a commander with other officers from among themselves. When general Clinton heard of this defection, instead of watching it with caution, he adopted the rash measure of tempting the mutineers to join the royal standard; and, as if he thought his propositions were sure of acceptance, he moved to Staten Island, to take advantage of what might happen. The insurgents, however, though dissatisfied with their own government, had too much of republican sternness of temper, to yield to these overtures; and instantly executed summary vengeance upon the messengers. They then removed to Trenton, for the purpose of being as far as possible from the British lines, and to avoid any more allurements of the same kind. A similar mutiny soon after broke out in the Jersey division; but both parties returned to their obedience, on being assured that all the subjects of which they complained should be speedily settled to their satisfaction.

In the south, lord Cornwallis, early in January, advanced towards the borders of North Carolina, against Greene, who had succeeded general Gates in that quarter. Greene eluded an engagement, but Morgan, a republican partisan, being encountered, on the 18th of that month, by colonel Tarleton, near the Pacolet river, defended his position with such firmness, that the royalists were totally routed. Lord Cornwallis, on being informed of this disaster, hastened a part of his force to intercept Morgan; but that attempt failing, he turned his whole attention to the pursuit of Greene; with whom he came up on the 15th of March, at a place called Guilford Court-house. The republicans were vastly superior in numbers to the British troops, who were besides much harassed by excessive fatigue. Notwithstanding this inequality, the royal cause prevailed, and the Americans were driven from the field; though the defeat was not so complete as it would have been, had the victors been able to follow up their success by a pursuit of the fugitives. Lord Cornwallis then returned slowly to the neighbourhood of Wilmington, in North Carolina, which place had been previously reduced by some troops from Charleston. Greene, notwithstanding his defeat, soon found himself sufficiently strong to march against lord Rawdon, who was posted at Camden. The American general came before that town, on the 19th of April, and instantly began to make demonstrations for an attack. Lord Rawdon, however, instead of giving him an opportunity to commence an assault, rushed out with every man of his corps, and taking the Americans by surprise, put them completely to the rout.

This achievement, though highly honourable to the heroic ardour of the commander and his brave soldiers, proved of no essential benefit; for such was the state of the country, that Camden appeared to be no longer a safe position; and therefore the British troops soon after left it for Charleston. At this time Greene invested Fort Ninety-six, and made several ineffectual attempts to carry it by assault; on which he turned the siege into

a blockade, but when lord Rawdon came to its relief, he broke up his camp, and made a hasty retreat. Upon his departure the fort was demolished, and the garrison proceeded to join the main army. Lord Cornwallis now deemed it advisable to march with all his force into Virginia, where general Phillips, who was seconded by Arnold, carried on a desultory warfare against the republicans. The march of his lordship took up a month, and on his arrival at Petersburgh, he found that general Phillips had fallen a victim to his exertions, after defeating several bodies of provincial troops, and destroying many dockyards, arsenals, and shipping on the rivers. Lord Cornwallis continued the same course of operations for some time, but when La Fayette, to whom he was opposed, received considerable reinforcements, the British commander was compelled to act upon the defensive; for which purpose he first took up a position at Williamsburgh, and next at York-town, lying on a peninsula formed by two rivers. Here he threw up fortifications, as he also did on the opposite side, called Gloucester Point, to guard the entrance of James river. His lordship had reason to apprehend that he should soon have to contend with the combined American and French forces, for the general attention was now drawn to Virginia, the inhabitants of which province, as well as their neighbours, made loud complaints on account of the losses they had sustained through the passive conduct of Washington. The republican commander, however, appeared to be so little moved by these murmurings, that he seemed rather to encourage them, for the purpose of carrying his schemes more effectually. While the people in the southern states were clamorous for his presence, Washington made great demonstrations for an attack upon New-York, in which he so completely deceived Clinton, that the British commander was kept in continual alarm; and instead of sending off a supply of troops to assist lord Cornwallis, he reserved all his force to repel an assault which was never intended. Thus affairs stood till Washington, who was now joined by Rochambeau, finding that he could reach Virginia in a shorter time than Clinton, broke up his camp on a sudden, and, by forced marches arrived early in September at Annapolis in Maryland.

In the mean time admiral Hood came into the Chesapeak from the West Indies, with fourteen sail of the line; but not meeting there sir Samuel Graves, as he expected, sailed immediately for Sandy Hook, where that officer assumed the command. At this critical period, the French admiral De Grasse arrived off the Chesapeak from the West Indies, and so completely blocked up the rivers, as to prevent the escape of the British army from York-town by sea; while, on the land side, the combined forces were too numerous to be attacked with the least chance of success. On the 5th of September, an engagement took place between the two fleets, that of De Grasse consisting of twenty-four sail of the line, and that of Graves to nineteen. Neither side gained the victory; but while each lay by to repair, the French received such a reinforcement, as obliged the English to return to New-York. Thus lord Cornwallis was left to his fate, surrounded by a French army of about eight thousand men, and thirteen thousand Americans. The trenches were opened on the 7th of October, when near one hundred pieces of ordnance kept up an incessant fire on the works of the British, which were soon reduced to a ruinous condition. Notwithstanding this, lord Cornwallis held out with surprising resolution till the 19th, when, finding that all hope of assistance was at an end, and that it was impossible to resist the threatened assault, which would have been attended with a useless waste of life, he reluctantly gave up the place, and his army became prisoners of war. Five days after this event, the English fleet, with the army under Clinton, arrived from New-York, but on being made acquainted with what had occurred, returned again to that place; nor did the French admiral think it advisable to risk an action.

While the royal cause became desperate in that quarter, Arnold, who had been despatched with a body of troops into Connecticut, made himself master of New-London, which town he wantonly destroyed, though he was a native himself of the province. In South Carolina, the republican general Greene, having received some reinforcements, marched against colonel Stew-

art, who was stationed on the Congaree river; but the latter being apprised of the intended attack, retreated to the Eutaw Springs, about sixty miles from Charleston, where he waited for the enemy, and on the 8th of September, an obstinate conflict took place, which ended without any advantage on either side. The British, however, continued to fall back upon Charleston, where they took up a strong post, and continued to carry on an indecisive warfare for some time.

Early in the summer of this year, Pensacola, the capital of East Florida, was taken, after a long siege, by a Spanish force under the command of Don Galvez, governor of the Havannah.

If the naval exploits of this year were not of a very brilliant nature, they still kept up the character of our seamen for bravery, as well as of their commanders, for consummate skill and perseverance.

Admiral Rodney, after his return to the West Indies from New-York, concerted, with general Vaughan, a plan for the recapture of St. Vincent; but finding the defences too strong, the meditated attack was relinquished. These commanders next turned their attention to the Dutch settlements; and on the 3d of February took possession of the island of Eustatius, the governor being totally unapprized of the war between the two countries. As this place had been long a free port, and the general depository of West Indian and American commodities, the riches that came into the hands of the captors were immense, and amounted, at the lowest calculation, to three millions sterling. In addition to this booty, two hundred and fifty vessels were taken in the harbour, besides a fleet of thirty merchantmen, with their convoy, which had but just before sailed for Europe. As a farther decoy for the sake of making prizes, the Dutch flag was kept hoisted for some time, in consequence of which many ships entered the harbour, without the least suspicion of the change that had taken place. Of the property thus captured, a considerable proportion belonged to neutrals, and not a little to British subjects, who claimed it of Rodney; but received for answer, that "The island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, and that therefore as Dutch it should be treated." The case of these sufferers was hard in the extreme, and the conduct of the victors produced loud complaints in parliament; where, though motions for inquiry were successfully resisted by ministerial influence, many proofs of rapaciousness and oppression came out in the discussion, which left a deep stain upon the parties implicated. Before the end of the year, this island again reverted to its former masters, by the landing of the marquis De Bouille, who, after subduing Tobago, dispossessed the English from Eustatius, and retook much of the spoils which they had not been able to carry away. About the time when Rodney achieved this conquest, with little credit to himself, a squadron of privateers, uncommissioned, penetrated into the rivers of Demerary and Essequibo, on the coast of Guiana, where they seized a number of Dutch ships, and plundered many houses; in consequence of which, the governor made a voluntary surrender of these settlements to the British authorities at Barbadoes, for the purpose of being protected from those freebooters.

In Europe, the siege of Gibraltar occupied much attention, and the operations against that fortress were carried on with such vigour by the Spaniards, that the town was reduced to a heap of ruins, though the fortifications sustained but little injury. So closely, however, was the place blockaded on all sides, that the garrison suffered very much for the want of provisions. At the beginning of March, therefore, admiral Darby, who commanded the channel fleet, sailed thither with a large supply of stores, which he succeeded in conveying into the place without any loss. In his passage out he was accompanied by a squadron under commodore Johnstone, consisting of two ships of the line, and three of fifty guns each, with some frigates, and a convoy of East Indiamen. The object of this expedition was an attack upon the Cape of Good Hope, on which account, three thousand men, commanded by general Meadows, were embarked on board the respective ships. After parting from Darby, the commodore proceeded to Port Praya, in St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, where, on the 16th of April, he was attacked by the French admiral Suffrein, who was bound to the East Indies, with five

sail of the line. The action began with great spirit on both sides, the Indiamen taking part in the engagement, till the fire became too heavy for vessels of their burden, and they retired from the conflict. Suffrein, though greatly superior in force, did not think proper to continue the contest, but bent his course with the utmost speed to False Bay, near the Cape. The design of the English was now disconcerted, but Johnstone, being apprized that five homeward-bound Dutch East Indiamen lay in Saldanha Bay, hastened thither without delay, for the purpose of capturing them. On his approach, the Dutch ships ran ashore, and were set on fire by the crews; but the English seamen succeeded in saving four, and the other blew up. The commodore, with his own ship and the frigates, then conveyed the prizes to England, leaving general Meadows, and the remainder of the fleet, to proceed to India.

On the 5th of August, a desperate battle was fought off the great Dogger-bank, in the North Sea, between the Dutch and English fleets; the one commanded by Zoutman, and the other by Hyde Parker. The former consisted of eight ships of the line, from fifty-four to seventy-four guns, ten frigates, and five sloops; the latter amounted to five sail of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and several frigates. Each fleet had a convoy under its protection, but at the beginning of the engagement, the merchant vessels were sent off with the frigates; the Dutch to the Texel, and the English to their own coast. The action lasted near four hours, and was contested with the utmost fury on both sides, till both fleets lay like hulks upon the water. No ship was taken; but the Hollandia, a Dutch ship of sixty-eight guns, went to the bottom, in making for port.

About the same time, the French and Spanish fleets, after landing some forces at Minorca, for the purpose of reducing St. Philip's castle, passed through the straits, and shaped their course for the British channel, off the entrance of which they appeared at the end of August, stretching in a close line from Ushant to the isles of Scilly. As admiral Darby was then at sea with only twenty-one sail of the line, and the united force of the enemy consisted of near fifty, the most alarming apprehensions were entertained for his safety. The English fleet, however, got into Torbay without any loss, and the ships, now increased to thirty, were immediately moored in such a manner as to present a formidable front in case of an attack. But, though this was hourly expected, owing to a difference between the French and Spanish commanders, no engagement took place; and by the middle of September, the two squadrons separated, that of Guichen for Brest, and that of Cordova for Cadiz. Early in December, the former put to sea again, with nineteen sail of the line, and a large convoy under his protection, consisting of transports and store-ships, some bound for the East, and others for the West Indies. The British ministers had intelligence of the departure of this force, but not of the number of ships; so that Kempenfelt, who was sent out to intercept Guichen, had, when he fell in with him, only twelve sail of the line; notwithstanding which, he succeeded in capturing twenty of the transports, with eleven hundred troops on board, and a great quantity of warlike stores.

Our attention is now called to the affairs of India, where transactions of considerable moment took place in the course of this year. The district of Benares, which formerly belonged to the nabob vizier of Oude, had, in 1775, been transferred by treaty to the presidency of Bengal, from whom of course Cheit Sing, the rajah, derived his authority. After the rupture between France and England, the conduct of this chief became very suspicious, and his disaffection to the Company increased to such a degree, when Hyder Ali appeared in the field, that Mr. Hastings, the governor-general, deemed it expedient to put him under arrest at Buxar, in July 1781. The rajah, however, contrived to effect his escape; and Mr. Hastings, who was then at Chunar on the Ganges, proceeded to depose him, and appoint another chief in his room. In the interval, Cheit Sing made an effort to secure himself, with his treasures, at Bidjuygur, a fortress hitherto reckoned impregnable; but on the approach of a force commanded by major Popham, the deposed rajah thought it most prudent to take a second flight, carrying off the greatest part

of his riches with him, leaving enough, however, to reward the captors for their fatigue and exertions.

In the month of August, the members of the English factory at Fort Marlborough, in Sumatra, with the assistance of the crews of five East Indiamen, made themselves masters of the Dutch settlements on that island. But a more important acquisition was that of Negapatam, a sea-port and fortress belonging to the same nation, on the coast of Tanjore; which capitulated to a conjunct military and naval force, commanded by sir Hector Monro and sir Edward Hughes, on the 12th of November, after a siege of nine days. In consequence of this capture, Hyder Ali abandoned all the places which he had taken in that part of the Carnatic.

CHAP. LXIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1782.

As it was now clear that the prosecution of the war in America had been attended with no advantage, and that all hope of recovering the sovereignty over the colonies was at an end, the ministerial influence began to lessen rapidly, both in and out of parliament. On the 22d of February, 1782, general Conway moved an address to the throne, imploring his majesty to adopt measures for a reconciliation with the revolted colonies. This motion produced a long and warm debate; but though ministers endeavoured to muster their utmost strength in support of the contest, they could succeed only in obtaining a majority of one; which, they were fully sensible, amounted rather to a defeat than a victory. Five days afterwards, the opposition followed up their advantage, by moving a direct resolution against the continuance of an offensive war in North America; which blow, ministers attempted to ward off, by a motion for an adjournment, but failed; and the original proposition was carried against them, by a majority of nineteen votes. An address formed upon this resolution was then presented to the king, who returned for answer, that he would take such measures as should appear most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts should, at the same time, be directed in the most effectual manner, against his European enemies, until a peace could be procured, consistent with the interests and welfare of the kingdom. On the report of this answer to the house, and the motion for the customary address of thanks to the king, general Conway introduced another resolution, that the house of commons would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all who should advise or attempt the prosecution of an offensive war in North America, which passed without a division; and thus completed the downfall of lord North's administration. Shortly after this, his lordship appeared in his place, and having announced to the house that he was no longer in office, moved an adjournment, which was carried without opposition.

In the mean time the new cabinet was formed, consisting of the marquis of Rockingham, as first lord of the treasury; the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, secretaries of state; earl Camden, president of the council; the duke of Grafton, lord privy-seal; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; viscount Keppel, first lord of the admiralty; the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; general Conway, commander of the forces; the duke of Portland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and lord Thurlow, the only member of the former administration, as chancellor.

It was rather from necessity than choice, that the king submitted to this change; and the parting with lord North was felt very seriously by his majesty, who esteemed that nobleman greatly and deservedly, for his public integrity and private virtues. Perhaps no minister in this country ever struggled through more difficulties; and certainly none was more unfortunate. As a statesman, he excelled in finance, but he was defective in judgment, and incapable of conducting the affairs of a great kingdom upon an extensive scale of operations. Hence his plans were badly formed, and worse executed; nor when any error was discovered in the management of the war, had he, or his colleagues, the skill to retrieve it, by adopting better measures.

One blunder followed another in quick succession,; and when, by good luck rather than by foresight, a favourable event took place, it was generally counterbalanced by some misfortune of greater magnitude. As an apology for the minister, who so long, and under such perilous circumstances, maintained his post, it has been said, that he entirely disapproved of the American war; and that he conducted it from year to year, in obedience only to the resolution of his royal master.

The truth of this statement rests upon no evidence of authority, and therefore may justly be called in question. But if the assertion could be proved, the plea would weaken instead of justifying the character of the statesman on whose behalf it has been confidently advanced; since it would shew that his sense of public duty was weakened, to say the least, by a tame submission to the pertinacity of the sovereign, whose favour he regarded beyond the interests of the public. The story, however, is incredible, and more so, as it was never brought forward by the political enemies of the minister, though they carried their animosity against him so far as to threaten him with impeachment and the block.

At the next meeting of the house after the arrangement of the new administration, Mr. Eden, who had been secretary to lord Carlisle, the late viceroy of Ireland, moved, without a previous notice, for leave to bring in a bill to repeal that clause in the act of George the First which asserted the right of the British parliament to make laws binding upon the sister kingdom. As an excuse for his precipitancy in bringing forward this important subject, Mr. Eden observed, that Ireland was in a state of perturbation, which rendered some such concessions necessary to prevent a rupture. Instead, however, of giving the honourable mover credit for the purity of his motives, the new ministers fell upon him with extraordinary acrimony, charging him with being guilty of an act of indecency and presumption, for introducing so grave a subject, without first making known his intention, or communicating the facts of which he was in possession, to his majesty's government. It was further insinuated against Mr. Eden, that his singular conduct was the result of pique, occasioned by the dismissal of the earl of Carlisle from the viceregal dignity and the lord-lieutenancy of the county of York. But these allegations were less disreputable to the person accused, than to those by whom they were brought; since, on his part, they evinced a warmth of friendship, and on theirs a spirit of illiberal resentment. At length, borne down by a torrent of invective, Mr. Eden escaped by withdrawing his motion: and the very next day, a message was brought down from the king, corresponding exactly with the proposition which had been so unmercifully treated. This was soon followed by a repeal of the obnoxious act, which measure shewed plainly enough that the outcry raised against the original mover, as though he wanted to gain a little momentary popularity, arose from the wish of ministers to engross the merit of favouring Ireland to themselves.

When the duke of Portland communicated the resolutions of the British legislature to the Irish legislative assemblies, a vote of thanks was immediately passed, accompanied by a grant of one hundred thousand pounds to government for raising twenty thousand seamen. At the same time, a sum of fifty thousand pounds was voted by parliament, for the purchase of an estate, to be settled upon Henry Grattan, in consideration of his eminently patriotic services to Ireland. The British senate, during the remainder of this session, was chiefly occupied in the discussion of various plans of reform; among which were two bills, one for disqualifying revenue officers from voting at the election of members of the house of commons; and the other for excluding contractors from a seat in parliament. Both bills received the royal assent, and thus were a vast number of persons deprived of their natural rights and elective franchise, because they held subordinate places under public boards, while their superiors, who possessed greater influence, were allowed to retain, not only the privilege of voting for candidates, but that of sitting in the house of commons. About the same time, the famous economical bill of Mr. Burke was revived, with a recommendation from the throne, in consequence of which a committee was appointed to investigate the civil list: and, upon their report, an act was passed for the abolition of

various superfluous offices; the salaries of which amounted to seventy thousand a year. In the progress of this bill through parliament, many persons observed that it differed materially from that which was originally proposed by its author, who assigned as his reason for contracting the plan, and making so many alterations in it, that he merely complied with the opinions of others, and the change of circumstances. The truth, however, was, that while ministers felt themselves bound by their former pledges to adopt some measures of reform, they were equally unwilling to abridge the means which they possessed, of obliging their numerous friends, and of thereby strengthening their parliamentary interest.

Another subject of moment which excited public attention at this period, and produced a long and animated debate in the house of commons, was the motion made by Mr. Pitt, on the 7th of May, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in parliament, and to make a report thereon." In the general principle, that the existing system of legislative representation is unequal, irregular, and unconstitutional, the mover and Mr. Fox concurred; but many friends of both these great men differed widely from them, to such a degree, that the motion was rejected by a large majority. Among the other proceedings of the senate during this session, those which related to the government of India were some of the most prominent. In the course of the inquiry and discussion, the conduct of several persons who had filled offices of great trust in the East, were subjected to severe animadversion; and the peculations of some of them, particularly sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. Whitehall, and Mr. Perring, were deemed deserving of a bill of pains and penalties. The committee on India affairs also moved an address to the king for the recall of sir Elijah Impey, who held a judicial seat in Bengal; which measure was adopted. Another incident, of minor consequence, in the parliamentary history of this year, was the motion for rescinding the resolution of the house of commons against Wilkes in the year 1769. This proposition was carried, though opposed not only by lord North, but by Mr. Fox; for which the reason assigned was, that both these statesmen formed part of the administration by whose influence the expulsion of Wilkes took place

While the government was busily occupied in effecting improvements throughout the several departments of the state, and in endeavouring to bring about a peace with the republic of America, an event occurred on the first of July, which suddenly dissolved the cabinet. This was, the death of the marquis of Rockingham, who was immediately succeeded at the head of the administration by the earl of Shelburne. The appointment of this nobleman, however, gave such dissatisfaction to several of his colleagues, that they resigned their places; in consequence of which, the new minister called to his aid Mr. Pitt, as chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Charles Townshend and lord Grantham, as secretaries of state, and earl Temple, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This sudden change surprised the nation, and produced some sharp conflicts in parliament, where general Conway and Mr. Fox, from being political friends, became warm combatants. The general, who still continued in the cabinet, charged the seceders with a dereliction of duty, and a neglect of the public good for private ends; while Mr. Fox, on the other hand, sarcastically observed, that his gallant friend had too much complaisance, and was too ready to trust the promises of other men. The great orator then adverted in strong language to the conduct of the noble earl at the head of affairs, and drew no flattering portrait of him, by way of contrast to that of the deceased marquis, of whom he said, "that he promised little, because he religiously performed every promise that he made. The noble earl, on the contrary," added Mr. Fox, "had an extravagance and profusion in his manner of making promises, and a magnanimity in his manner of breaking them."

Mr. Pitt was not behindhand in repelling these furious attacks upon his noble associate, and the argument which he made use of was extremely pointed. "If," said he, "the right honourable gentleman had really such a dislike to lord Shelburne, how came he to accept him as a colleague?"

From the bickerings of statesmen, and the transactions of parliament,

which closed its sitting on the 11th of July, we must now turn to take a review of the events of the war in different parts of the globe.

In the West Indies, the settlements of Demerara and Essequibo were recaptured at the end of January, by the French military and naval forces, under the command of the marquis de Bouille and count de Grasse; who also succeeded, shortly after, in taking St. Christopher, or St. Kitt's, notwithstanding the exertions made for its protection, and the relief of the distressed garrison, by admiral Hood. This loss was followed by the capture of the islands of Nevis and Montserrat. These disasters on the part of the English, placed Jamaica in a very perilous situation, for while the French fleet rode triumphant in the Caribbean sea, the Spaniards, on the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, used such exertions, that in a little time the combined naval force would have consisted of sixty ships of the line, which, with a correspondent military strength, must have rendered them resistless. Such was the alarming state of the British settlements in that quarter, when Rodney, on the 19th of February, arrived at Barbadoes, where he was soon after joined by three ships, thus making an entire force of thirty-three sail of the line, besides frigates. On the 8th of April, De Grasse left the harbour of Fort Royal, in Martinique, with a large convoy, and the next day the two hostile fleets came in sight of each other, when an engagement began, which ended with no loss on either side; except that two of the French men-of-war were so much disabled, as to be obliged to run into Guadaloupe to refit. In the mean time, De Grasse kept on his course with the rest of his fleet and transports, followed by the English at a considerable distance. But on the 12th, the pursuers, by carrying a press of sail, came within gunshot, and a general action ensued, which lasted without intermission from seven in the morning till sunset. The battle was most obstinately contested, but the manœuvre which at this time was put in practice, of breaking the enemy's line, gave the English one of the completest victories ever recorded in the history of naval achievements. The Ville de Paris, of one-hundred-and-twelve guns, carrying the flag of De Grasse, after beating off several ships, and suffering a dreadful carnage, struck to the Barfleur, commanded by admiral Hood. Four other ships of large dimensions were captured at the same time, but one of them blew up almost immediately after her surrender; and another went down during the engagement, on receiving a single broadside.

What rendered this triumph peculiarly remarkable and satisfactory, was the circumstance of its not being attended with the loss of a single vessel on the part of the victors; and though the slaughter was great, that in the whole English fleet did not exceed what was sustained on board the Ville de Paris alone. Of the ships that escaped, some were dispersed, but the greater number, under Bougainville and Vaudreuil, crowded all the canvass they could spread, for St. Domingo, pursued by admiral Hood, who, in the Mona passage, came up with, and captured, two sail of the line, and as many frigates. Rodney, on the completion of his victory, directed his course to Jamaica, where he was received as the deliverer of that island, and of all the West India settlements belonging to Great Britain. But at home, the new administration treated this great commander in a very different manner; by depriving him of his employment, and ordering him to return to England, where, by way of palliating their own disgrace, they raised him to the rank of a peer.

In the month of May, the Spanish governor of Cuba made an attack upon the Bahama islands, which fell without resistance, by being unprovided with the means of defence. In the bay of Honduras, the Spaniards, after recovering Fort Omoa, made themselves masters of Fort Dalling on the Mosquito shore; but their attempt to expel the British settlers and logwood-cutters, failed, by the exertions of a mixed force of regulars, negroes, and Indians, who not only repelled the aggressors, but were enabled to become assailants in their turn, on the Black River, where the Spaniards were routed, and left a great store of plunder to the victors.

During the summer, a petty enterprise, which did little honour to those who planned it, was undertaken against the English settlements in Hudson's Bay; where Perouse, who afterwards was lost in a voyage of discovery, destroyed the storehouses, with the exception of one which he spared, for the

accommodation of the defenceless inhabitants. On the other hand, some land-forces belonging to the African Company, assisted by the crews of two ships of war, carried with little trouble all the Dutch settlements on that coast. In Europe, the war assumed a more formidable appearance. Fort St. Philip, in the island of Minorca, after a siege of near six months, surrendered to a combined force of French and Spaniards, commanded by the duke de Crillon; but the capture tended more to the glory of the vanquished than the victors, the garrison, at the time of the capitulation, being reduced by slaughter and disease, to no more than six hundred and forty men capable of bearing arms, and those so wasted by fatigue and famine, as to draw tears from the eyes of their conquerors, when they marched out with the honours of war. The duke de Crillon met with a reverse of fortune in the next employment of his talents, which were directed against the fortress of Gibraltar.

The reduction of that important place had long been, very naturally, an object upon which the court of Madrid placed its hopes; but no time appeared so favourable to the attainment of it as the present, when England was involved in an apparently unequal contest with three powerful states, after a long and ineffectual attempt to subjugate her American colonies. The siege of Gibraltar began immediately after the commencement of hostilities on the part of Spain, and had now lasted near four years with little progress, for such was the unremitting vigilance, and so fertile were the mental resources of the governor, general Elliot, that works looked upon as irresistible fell before him as fast as they were erected. After allowing the assailants to carry on their operations for a considerable time, almost without interruption, and until their batteries were nearly completed, this cool and intrepid commander, on the night of the 27th of November, 1781, sent out a small detachment of two thousand three hundred men, soldiers and sailors, who attacked the Spaniards with such promptitude, that they fled in every direction. The pioneers and artillery-men then spread their fire with a rapidity of execution, that reduced, in a few moments, all their formidable preparations, and the labour of many months, to a mass of ruins. Though appalled by this blow, the besiegers did not relinquish their design. Twelve thousand French troops were called to assist in the attempt to recover the fortified rock; and the command of all the forces employed in the service, was given to the duke de Crillon, while the plan of attack was intrusted to the chevalier d'Arcon, one of the ablest engineers in Europe. The scale on which this mighty project was formed, excited, by its magnitude, so much attention, that many persons famous for their prowess and tactics, resorted to the scene of action to witness the operations. Among others who visited that famous spot, to behold the greatest display of military art ever exhibited since war became a system, were the two French princes, the count D'Artois, afterwards Louis XVIII. and the duke de Bourbon. The conductor of the siege, and his engineer, founded their confidence of success upon the formation of floating batteries, so constructed, they thought, as to be incapable of being set on fire or sunk; while the artillery which they carried, consisting of brass cannon of an extraordinary calibre, should convey certain ruin into the works against which they were directed. For this purpose, ten ships of the largest size were cut down, and furnished with additional timbers of prodigious thickness, that side of each, next the line of attack, being fortified with a wall of cork, and another of impregnated wood, between which were layers of wet sand and gravel; while the interior was amply supplied with water. In addition to these gigantic machines, several new batteries, of commensurate magnitude and force, were formed on the land, and a fleet consisting of forty sail of the line, with other vessels of various sizes, protected the whole.

Early in the morning of the 13th of September, 1782, the floating batteries were arranged in a line from the new to the old mole, and at the distance of about nine hundred yards from the English works. As soon as these stupendous structures were properly moored, a tremendous cannonade opened on each side; and the fire of the batteries seemed to give a sure promise of accomplishing the most sanguine expectations of those who felt an interest in their success. After some hours, however, had been spent in the bombardment, without any apparent impression on the works of the place, torrents of fiery

balls descended from the rock, with an aim and effect that could not be resisted even by the precautions adopted to secure the floating batteries from destruction. The ship of the Spanish admiral was the first which caught fire, and in a few minutes all the rest of the line exhibited the same awful appearance. As night came on, the scene was so magnificently awful, that even the imagination of Homer would have failed in the attempt to describe it with language and imagery adequate to the grandeur and diversified objects of this terrific scene. In the confusion produced by the conflagration of the batteries, the crews of the English boats were seen combating, as it were, hand to hand with the enemy, to prevent them from extinguishing the flames, and of saving the other vessels which were most exposed to the fire. When, however, the victory was complete, the same intrepid men who had fearlessly risked their lives in the conflict, were equally venturous in relieving their enemies. Some of these unhappy beings were clinging to broken pieces of timber, and others swimming, while numbers remained in the burning vessels, from whence the heated guns spread death around in all directions. Notwithstanding this accumulation of horror and danger, the sailors in our gunboats, commanded by captain Roger Curtis, were seen every where exerting themselves to save those with whom they had but just before been engaged most furiously in combat; and it may well be observed, that the four hundred Spaniards who were thus rescued from the flames, or a watery grave, by British humanity, formed the proudest trophy of that memorable day.

The garrison suffered comparatively but little loss during this tremendous attack; and the damages sustained by the works were quickly repaired. All idea of reducing Gibraltar by military operations, being now relinquished, the combined powers placed their hopes entirely upon the superiority of their naval force, which was considered as fully sufficient to cut off any supplies that the British government might send for the relief of the fortress. Every nerve, however, was strained, to save this valuable outpost of the empire: and in the middle of September, Lord Howe sailed for Gibraltar with thirty-four sail of the line, several frigates, and fire-ships, to protect a large fleet of transports, with troops and stores for the relief of the garrison. After suffering much by gales of wind in the bay of Biscay, the armament entered the mouth of the straits of Gibraltar on the 11th of the following month, at the very critical moment when the combined fleet at Algeziras was so much disordered by the tempestuous weather, that several of the store-ships were enabled to run into the bay without difficulty. The rest of the transports, however, were driven by the violence of the current into the Mediteranean, followed by the admiral; and two days afterwards, the combined fleet, to the number of forty-two ships of the line, sailed in the same direction. Lord Howe, though his force was now reduced to thirty-two line-of-battle ships, on the appearance of the enemy drew up to receive them; but when they perceived his intention to risk a battle, they altered their position, and ran in shore; thus leaving the straits and bay of Gibraltar entirely open to the British fleet. All the supplies were now landed, and on the 20th Lord Howe sailed again, followed by the enemy; who, the next day, endeavoured to cut off the rear of the British, but when battle was once more offered them, they declined the challenge, and returned to Algeziras; while their gallant opponents, having fully accomplished the arduous service on which they had been employed, made the best of their way for England.

The channel fleet this year being greatly inferior to the combined force of the enemy, was obliged to act principally on the defensive, in the protection of the coast and commerce. In April, admiral Barrington sailed with twelve ships of the line, for the bay of Biscay, where, on the 20th of the same month, he captured the Pegase, French man-of-war, and a ship armed en flute with twelve transports, conveying soldiers and stores to the East Indies. On the other hand, the French and Spanish fleets, at the beginning of June, fell in with the outward-bound Newfoundland and Quebec convoys, of which they took eighteen, the rest, with the armed vessels, effecting their escape by superior sailing. This misfortune created so much alarm for the safety of the homeward-bound Jamaica fleet, that lord Howe sailed early in July, with twenty-two sail of the line, for the purpose of meeting and defending it

against the attempts of the enemy, though the combined squadrons of France and Spain were then actually riding at the mouth of the channel with above double his force. By superior seamanship and great bravery, the whole convoy arrived safe, and the protecting fleet returned without injury to Spithead. Here, however, a melancholy accident occurred shorly after, in the loss of the Royal George, of one-hundred-and-eight guns, commanded by admiral Kempferfelt. This fine ship having been hove down for the purpose of examining her bottom, suddenly gave a heel, which threw her off the balance, and the ports being open, she instantly went down, with eight or nine hundred souls on board; among whom was the admiral, who, at the time, was writing in his cabin. In addition to this calamity, the second Jamaica fleet, on its voyage to Europe, under the convoy of sir Samuel Graves, suffered so severely by a storm, off the banks of Newfoundland, that the admiral's ship, the Ramillies, was abandoned and set on fire. The Centaur, captain Inglefield, was kept above water by extraordinary efforts, till the 23d of September, when, as she was on the point of going down, the commander and ten of the crew pushed off in a boat, and were scarcely clear when the ship went to the bottom. In this dreadful state, the wretched survivors, with a small stock of provisions, and a blanket for a sail, struggled sixteen days, but at last arrived safe at Fayal. The Ville de Paris also, and the Glorieux, two of the prizes taken by lord Rodney, foundered, and only one man of the former ship escaped to relate the awful tale. The Hector, man-of-war, while in the act of sinking, was cruelly attacked by two French frigates, and had many of her people killed or wounded. Such was the inhumanity of the enemy, that they abandoned the remainder of the crew, to share the fate of the ship, from whence, however, they were providentially delivered by a vessel bound to Newfoundland. Besides the men-of-war, there perished in this hurricane a great number of the convoy.

CHAP. LXV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1782 to 1783.

OUR attention is now called to the state of the war in the eastern part of the world. At the beginning of January, 1782, sir Edward Hughes, with a combined naval and military force, carried by assault the Dutch settlement of Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon. This capture threw a rich booty into the hands of the victors, who, however, did not long retain possession of the place, which in the course of the summer was retaken by the French admiral Suffrein. That commander, previous to his success in gaining Trincomalee, had three indecisive actions with sir Edward Hughes, the first in February, the second in April, and the last on the 6th of July, when a French line-of-battle ship of sixty-four guns struck to her antagonist, but afterwards rehoisted her colours, and bore away with her companions for Cuddalore. The English admiral demanded the surrender of this vessel, agreeably to the laws of war, but received for answer, that the striking of the colours was a mere accident. After the recapture of Trincomalee, another engagement took place between the two fleets, on the 3d of September, without any loss on either side; but one of the French ships, in its return to Ceylon, was wrecked at the mouth of the harbour.

During these maritime operations, transactions equally active, but more efficient, were taking place on the Indian peninsula. Hyder Ali, after closely besieging Tellicherry for a considerable time, was suddenly attacked, on the 8th of January, by major Abingdon, who had just arrived with a respectable force from Bombay. The assault upon the fortified camp of the Mysore chief was so vigorous, that his troops fled precipitately, and left an immense booty to the victors. On the other hand, in the following month, Tippoo Saib, with the French under M. Lally, surrounded a detachment of horse and foot, commanded by colonel Braithwaite, on the banks of the Coleroon river, near Tanjore, and after an obstinate conflict, defeated the English force, all of whom were either taken or slain. This disaster was succeeded by the fall of Cuddalore, which on the 8th of April surrendered to the French,

could only be justified by the hardest necessity. On the division, the opposition triumphed in the lower house, by a majority of sixteen in favour of the amendments moved by lord John Cavendish and lord North, to the address of thanks brought forward by Mr. Thomas Pitt. In the upper house, however, the result was different, for the amendment proposed by the earl of Carlisle was rejected by a majority of thirteen. On the 21st of the same month, the subject was resumed in the commons by lord John Cavendish, who moved "that the concessions granted to the adversaries of Great Britain, were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual state of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength."

This resolution, after a long and eager debate, was carried by a majority of seventeen; and, in consequence of it, the earl of Shelburne resigned his situation as first lord of the treasury. Notwithstanding this dissolution of the administration, the executive government remained at a stand for some weeks, owing to the difficulty of forming a new cabinet.

During this suspension of the public business, Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, on the 24th of March, moved an address to his majesty, beseeching him to form an administration entitled to the confidence of his people, and such as might tend to bring to a close the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country. The address was graciously received, and, on the 2d of April, the famous coalition ministry was publicly announced: consisting of the duke of Portland, as first lord of the treasury; lord North and Mr. Fox, as secretaries of state; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Keppel, at the head of the admiralty; lord Stormont, president of the council; the earl of Carlisle, lord privy-seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; and the earl of Dartmouth, steward of the household; viscount Townshend, master-general of the ordnance; Mr. Burke, paymaster-general of the forces; Mr. Charles Townshend, treasurer of the navy; and Mr. Fitzpatrick, secretary at war. The earl of Northington was appointed viceroy of Ireland; and the seals were taken from lord Thurlow, out of pique, and put into commission.

The first measure of importance which emanated from this extraordinary juncture of discordant elements, was a loan for 12,000,000, on the three per cent. stock. In the discussion of this important subject, which took place on the 16th of April, Mr. Pitt evinced his great financial powers, to the astonishment of the house, and, by a close investigation, demonstratively proved, that the bargain was beneficial only to money-lenders, and speculators in the funds. The conclusion was partially admitted by ministers; but in justification of themselves, they adopted the plea which they had so often reprobated on former occasions, when lord North called necessity to his aid, as an excuse for the extravagance of his contracts.

On the 7th of May, Mr. Pitt again brought forward his motion for a reform in the system of parliamentary representation; but his proposition was rejected by the usual power of numbers, after a debate containing a repetition of the old arguments on both sides. It was observable, however, that though Mr. Fox supported the motion upon general principles, he treated the subject in a much more reserved and cautious manner than he had done when out of place; while his colleague, lord North, on the other hand, defended the constitution as it stands, and maintained the influence of the crown as an essential barrier against the democratic ascendancy of the house of commons.

On the 23d of the following month, ministers brought down a message from his majesty, recommending to the consideration of parliament, the formation of a separate establishment for the prince of Wales. The sum required being only sixty thousand pounds as an outfit, the king taking upon himself to allow the prince fifty thousand a year out of the civil list, the proposition was acceded to without the least dissent.

Early in this year, a new institution of chivalry took place, exclusively intended for the honour of Ireland, by the title of the knights of the illustrious order of St. Patrick, of which the reigning monarch is always to be the sovereign, and the lord-lieutenant for the time being, the grand master.

CHAP. LXVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1783 to 1784.

WHEN the two parties who now formed the cabinet, agreed to bury their animosities in oblivion, and to coalesce for the purpose of overthrowing the administration of lord Shelburne, they estimated their strength by the numerical force which the combination would give them in parliament; without once taking into consideration the influence of public opinion. This shewed that the men who had been for so many years at direct enmity with each other, were actuated less by patriotic, than ambitious motives; and that all their strife arose from the love of place, and the endeavour to gain or secure power. The Whigs suffered more in reputation, by this unnatural junction, than their associates, for the latter having been always on the defensive while in office, could hardly be charged with having compromised any thing of their principles, when at the conclusion of the war they acceded to the terms of alliance proffered them by their old antagonists. The case was far otherwise with Mr. Fox and his friends, for they had often assailed the moral character of lord North, and repeatedly denounced him as a great public delinquent, with whom it was criminal to have any political connexion. The people could not easily forget the strong language which had been so often used by the great leader of the opposition, in the house of commons; or how often he had there threatened to bring the minister to trial and the block, for the ruinous condition to which he had reduced the country. Such a union, therefore, as the present, at the very period when the nation was smarting under the wounds which it had received by the measures of the noble lord, was too palpably inconsistent and grossly indecorous, to be palliated by any excuse, either of necessity or policy. Every independent and conscientious mind regarded the coalition with concern; but those persons who dived deeper into the causes of political changes, were of opinion that this singular association must have some secret object, for the developement of which they looked with intense anxiety. The idea was natural, and they who entertained it were not suffered to wait long for the realization of what they apprehended. Scarcely had this heterogeneous conjunction taken place, before its fruits appeared in a most portentous and gigantic form, equally alarming to the people and the crown. Here again the coalition ministry displayed a strange want of political prudence, for instead of waiting till the public sentiment was secured in their favour, they all at once ventured to bring forward a scheme of legislation, calculated by its boldness and novelty to excite general suspicion.

Immediately after the opening of the autumnal session, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in two bills, one "For vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public;" and the other "For the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India." In the former, it was proposed to transfer the management of the eastern possessions, revenues, and commerce of the Company, with all the powers hitherto enjoyed by the board of directors or court of proprietors, to seven persons named in the bill, who were to hold the trust four years. Subordinate to this parliamentary board, but for trading purposes only, were to be placed nine assistant directors, each a proprietor of two thousand pounds India stock. The vacancies in the chief directorship were to be filled up, as they occurred, by the king; and those at the inferior board, by a general court of proprietors; but to complete the climax of absolute power on the part of ministers, the whole of each body might be ejected at any time by an address to the crown from either house of parliament. The second bill related solely to the powers and conduct of the governor-general and council in the East.

The speech of Mr. Fox, on introducing a motion for leave to bring in his plans, lasted above two hours, and in it he took a very luminous view of the history of the government of British India, concluding with professing it to be his intention to abolish monopolies altogether, as extremely injurious to

could only be justified by the hardest necessity. On the division, the opposition triumphed in the lower house, by a majority of sixteen in favour of the amendments moved by lord John Cavendish and lord North, to the address of thanks brought forward by Mr. Thomas Pitt. In the upper house, however, the result was different, for the amendment proposed by the earl of Carlisle was rejected by a majority of thirteen. On the 21st of the same month, the subject was resumed in the commons by lord John Cavendish, who moved "that the concessions granted to the adversaries of Great Britain, were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual state of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength."

This resolution, after a long and eager debate, was carried by a majority of seventeen; and, in consequence of it, the earl of Shelburne resigned his situation as first lord of the treasury. Notwithstanding this dissolution of the administration, the executive government remained at a stand for some weeks, owing to the difficulty of forming a new cabinet.

During this suspension of the public business, Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, on the 24th of March, moved an address to his majesty, beseeching him to form an administration entitled to the confidence of his people, and such as might tend to bring to a close the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country. The address was graciously received, and, on the 2d of April, the famous coalition ministry was publicly announced: consisting of the duke of Portland, as first lord of the treasury; lord North and Mr. Fox, as secretaries of state; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Keppel, at the head of the admiralty; lord Stormont, president of the council; the earl of Carlisle, lord privy-seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; and the earl of Dartmouth, steward of the household; viscount Townshend, master-general of the ordnance; Mr. Burke, paymaster-general of the forces; Mr. Charles Townshend, treasurer of the navy; and Mr. Fitzpatrick, secretary at war. The earl of Northington was appointed viceroy of Ireland; and the seals were taken from lord Thurlow, out of pique, and put into commission.

The first measure of importance which emanated from this extraordinary juncture of discordant elements, was a loan for 12,000,000, on the three per cent. stock. In the discussion of this important subject, which took place on the 16th of April, Mr. Pitt evinced his great financial powers, to the astonishment of the house, and, by a close investigation, demonstratively proved, that the bargain was beneficial only to money-lenders, and speculators in the funds. The conclusion was partially admitted by ministers; but in justification of themselves, they adopted the plea which they had so often reprobated on former occasions, when lord North called necessity to his aid, as an excuse for the extravagance of his contracts.

On the 7th of May, Mr. Pitt again brought forward his motion for a reform in the system of parliamentary representation; but his proposition was rejected by the usual power of numbers, after a debate containing a repetition of the old arguments on both sides. It was observable, however, that though Mr. Fox supported the motion upon general principles, he treated the subject in a much more reserved and cautious manner than he had done when out of place; while his colleague, lord North, on the other hand, defended the constitution as it stands, and maintained the influence of the crown as an essential barrier against the democratic ascendancy of the house of commons.

On the 23d of the following month, ministers brought down a message from his majesty, recommending to the consideration of parliament, the formation of a separate establishment for the prince of Wales. The sum required being only sixty thousand pounds as an outfit, the king taking upon himself to allow the prince fifty thousand a year out of the civil list, the proposition was acceded to without the least dissent.

Early in this year, a new institution of chivalry took place, exclusively intended for the honour of Ireland, by the title of the knights of the illustrious order of St. Patrick, of which the reigning monarch is always to be the sovereign, and the lord-lieutenant for the time being, the grand master.

CHAP. LXVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1783 to 1784.

When the two parties who now formed the cabinet, agreed to bury their animosities in oblivion, and to coalesce for the purpose of overthrowing the administration of lord Shelburne, they estimated their strength by the numerical force which the combination would give them in parliament; without once taking into consideration the influence of public opinion. This shewed that the men who had been for so many years at direct enmity with each other, were actuated less by patriotic, than ambitious motives; and that all their strife arose from the love of place, and the endeavour to gain or secure power. The Whigs suffered more in reputation, by this unnatural junction, than their associates, for the latter having been always on the defensive while in office, could hardly be charged with having compromised any thing of their principles, when at the conclusion of the war they acceded to the terms of alliance proffered them by their old antagonists. The case was far otherwise with Mr. Fox and his friends, for they had often assailed the moral character of lord North, and repeatedly denounced him as a great public delinquent, with whom it was criminal to have any political connexion. The people could not easily forget the strong language which had been so often used by the great leader of the opposition, in the house of commons; or how often he had there threatened to bring the minister to trial and the block, for the ruinous condition to which he had reduced the country. Such a union, therefore, as the present, at the very period when the nation was smarting under the wounds which it had received by the measures of the noble lord, was too palpably inconsistent and grossly indecorous, to be palliated by any excuse, either of necessity or policy. Every independent and conscientious mind regarded the coalition with concern; but those persons who dived deeper into the causes of political changes, were of opinion that this singular association must have some secret object, for the developement of which they looked with intense anxiety. The idea was natural, and they who entertained it were not suffered to wait long for the realization of what they apprehended. Scarcely had this heterogeneous conjunction taken place, before its fruits appeared in a most portentous and gigantic form, equally alarming to the people and the crown. Here again the coalition ministry displayed a strange want of political prudence, for instead of waiting till the public sentiment was secured in their favour, they all at once ventured to bring forward a scheme of legislation, calculated by its boldness and novelty to excite general suspicion.

Immediately after the opening of the autumnal session, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in two bills, one "For vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public;" and the other "For the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India." In the former, it was proposed to transfer the management of the eastern possessions, revenues, and commerce of the Company, with all the powers hitherto enjoyed by the board of directors or court of proprietors, to seven persons named in the bill, who were to hold the trust four years. Subordinate to this parliamentary board, but for trading purposes only, were to be placed nine assistant directors, each a proprietor of two thousand pounds India stock. The vacancies in the chief directorship were to be filled up, as they occurred, by the king; and those at the inferior board, by a general court of proprietors; but to complete the climax of absolute power on the part of ministers, the whole of each body might be ejected at any time by an address to the crown from either house of parliament. The second bill related solely to the powers and conduct of the governor-general and council in the East.

The speech of Mr. Fox, on introducing a motion for leave to bring in his plans, lasted above two hours, and in it he took a very luminous view of the history of the government of British India, concluding with professing it to be his intention to abolish monopolies altogether, as extremely injurious to

the general interests of trade and the country. Mr. Pitt made an able reply to this speech, but the great contest was reserved for another occasion. In the mean time, petitions against the proposed measure, were poured in, not only from the court of directors and the great body of proprietors, but from the city of London, and other places; and it soon became very clear, that the nation at large was hostile to the new system, as one that tended directly to give an undue influence to the ministers of the crown. The bills, however, proceeded rapidly through the respective committees of the house of commons; and though combated in every stage with unabating perseverance and talent, the first was carried on the morning of the 9th of December, by a majority of one hundred and six. But the grand trial of strength was now to come, and the whole empire looked with eager expectation for the decision of the house of lords, where the bill was first read on the very day after its passing the commons. Two days were then taken up in hearing counsel against it at the bar: after which, a motion was made, on the 17th, for referring the bill to a committee; but it was rejected in a division of ninety-five to seventy-six, leaving the ministers in a minority of nineteen. Thus fell one of the greatest efforts of policy ever contrived by any set of statesmen while in power; but its magnitude was too unwieldy even for the able hands with whom it originated, and at the very moment when they flattered themselves in having fixed it upon an immoveable basis, the whole machine overturned, and crushed its authors in the downfall. Within a few hours after the loss of the bill in the house of lords, a messenger came from the king to the two secretaries of state, demanding their official seals, and at the same time informing them that a personal interview would be disagreeable to his majesty. The rest of the cabinet received, on the following day, their dismissal, with similar marks of the royal disapprobation. A new ministerial arrangement was immediately formed, at the head of which was William Pitt, who, at the age of twenty-four, united in himself the two offices of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; earl Gower became president of the council; viscount Sydney, secretary of state for the home department; and the marquis of Caermarthen, for that of foreign affairs; while lord Thurlow resumed the great seal; lord Howe was appointed at the head of the admiralty; the duke of Richmond obtained the ordnance; the duke of Rutland was appointed lord privy-seal; Mr. William Wyndham, Grenville, and lord Mulgrave, became joint-paymasters; and Henry Dundas, treasurer of the navy.

Respectable as this assemblage of talent and connexions was, it wanted the confidence of the house of commons; in consequence of which the nation now saw, with fearful interest, that branch of the legislature at direct variance with the throne. Under such circumstances, a dissolution of parliament was naturally expected; and, therefore, to ward it off, Mr. Erskine brought forward a resolution, purporting that the house of commons would consider as a public enemy, any one who should advise his majesty to adopt such a measure. This proposition was carried, and an address to the king, founded upon it, received for answer: "That his majesty would not interrupt their present meeting by any exercise of his prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution." The meeting of parliament, on the 12th of January, 1784, after the recess, exhibited a tempestuous appearance, more nearly resembling the stormy days of Charles the First, than any other period in the English annals. The matter at issue was no longer a mere question of particular policy, but whether the sovereign had a right to choose and retain his own ministers. Mr. Fox, in a long speech, maintained, that the present government was worse than none, because it was one originating in, and supported by, secret influence; he therefore moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to examine into the state of the nation. The debate on this motion was very long and violent; but at the end of it, three resolutions were carried, the first, that no sums should be issued from the treasury for a limited time, without stating the reasons of the disbursement, and the objects to which the same were applied; the second, that an account of all sums issued from the 19th of December, up to the present day, should be laid on the table; and lastly, that the second reading of the mutiny bill should be post-

poned till the 23d of February. After thus impeding government, by stopping the necessary supplies, the opposition, through the medium of lord Surrey, moved the following proposition, "That in the present state of the country, it was highly necessary to form an administration possessing the confidence of the public." This was also carried; and another resolution followed it, "That, previous to the late arrangement of a ministry, rumours had been industriously propagated, and ways and means used, in no respect calculated to conciliate the confidence of parliament in the present administration; and that the sacred name of majesty had been intentionally employed and abused, for promoting these measures."

On the 16th, the committee was resumed, when lord Charles Spencer produced a motion to this effect, that "As ministers came into office under new and extraordinary circumstances, and did not possess the confidence of parliament, their continuance was disrespectful to the house of commons, and highly injurious to the public." This resolution was also adopted after a repetition of the old charges, and not a little asperity, on both sides.

It was observable, however, amidst this storm, that Mr. Pitt, young as he was, towered with admirable dignity above all his compeers, and frequently threw his antagonists into confusion by his firm and cool behaviour. In the face of an overwhelming majority, he kept his seat undauntedly, and even ventured to bring forward his own bill for the better government and management of the affairs of the East India company. This bill was read the first time as a matter of course; but when its commitment was moved for on the 23d of January, Mr. Fox entered into a rigorous examination of the plan: contrasting it with his own, and claiming, as was natural enough, the superiority for his unfortunate offspring, which, he affirmed, would, if it had not been strangled in the birth, have proved an absolute remedy for all existing disorders, and an effectual preventive of future abuses. Though the rejection of the bill followed, as was to have been expected, yet the majority was only eight, which, considering the temper and strength of opposition, indicated a feeling rather favourable to its merits.

While the conflict was running high, some of the most independent members of the house of commons, being desirous of extinguishing the flame of discord, which seemed to threaten serious consequences, held several meetings, for the purpose of effecting a pacification between the leaders of the two parties. The result was, a proposal to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, for a reciprocal conjunction of interests and connexions. No objection was made to the design, either by his grace or the minister; but when the former consulted Mr. Fox, it soon appeared that the desired adjustment was impracticable. Nothing would satisfy the man of the people, as he was called, but an absolute surrender of the citadel at discretion; and therefore when the duke of Portland, at the next meeting, laid it down as an indispensable preliminary, that Mr. Pitt should resign his place, the minister indignantly spurned at the base condition, and the negotiation terminated. The door of amity being now shut, hostilities were renewed with increased animosity, and, on the 2d of February, the opposition carried this resolution, "That the continuance in office of the present administration is an obstacle to the union which is necessary to conciliate the confidence of the house and of the public."

Hitherto the peers had preserved a perfect neutrality, but when they observed that the struggle affected not only the constitutional rights of the crown, but their own particular powers as an integral part of the legislature, it became evident that silence could no longer be maintained with a proper sense of the duty they owed to themselves, the sovereign, and the nation. The stopping of the supplies by a vote of the commons, was a direct attack upon the upper house, inasmuch as it was an usurpation of a right to suspend the operation of acts already passed for public benefit. Interposition, therefore, being now called for by the extraordinary presumption of the dominant party in the lower house; the earl of Effingham, on the 4th of February, after a speech replete with good sense, and marked by moderation, moved these resolutions, "That an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the execution of a law, by separately assuming to itself the

right of a discretionary power, which, by act of parliament, is vested in any body of men, to be exercised in such a manner as they judge expedient, is unconstitutional. Secondly, that, according to the known principles of this excellent constitution, the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of executive government, is solely vested in his majesty; and that this house has every reason to place the firmest reliance on his majesty's wisdom in the exercise of this prerogative." These resolutions being carried by a majority of fifty-seven, were succeeded by an address to the throne, in which the lords assured his majesty, that they would, upon all occasions, support him in the just exercise of those prerogatives which the wisdom of the law had intrusted to him, for the preservation of their lives and properties; and upon which depended the blessings the people derived from the the best of all forms of government."

Thus the nation witnessed the uncommon spectacle of a contest between the different branches of the legislature, the democratic part of the constitution being at direct issue both with the aristocracy and the monarchy; but the most extraordinary circumstance attending the conflict was, the support given by the people to the crown and the ministers at this interesting crisis. The resolutions of the house of peers produced six of an opposite description in the commons, demanding of the king the formation of an efficient administration. To this peremptory requisition, no other answer was returned than by the declaration of Mr. Pitt in his place, "That his majesty had not thought proper to dismiss his ministers; and that the latter had not deemed it necessary to resign."

Upon this, the asperity of Mr. Fox rose to the highest pitch of intemperance; and he scrupled not to affirm, that such language had never been heard in the house of commons since the Revolution, or at least since the accession of the reigning monarch. "It was," he said, "a flat and peremptory negative to the sentiments and wishes of his majesty's faithful commons, who, ardently and solicitously desirous of the public welfare, and the honour of every branch of the legislature, had taken the most cautious and delicate means in their power, not only to prevent a breach, but even to close the wound that was already made." In the same extraordinary strain of declamation he went on to declare, that "if the king continued to retain the ministers he had appointed, contrary to the resolutions of the commons, the two parties were at direct issue, and that the latter had a right to lay an embargo upon the public money."

After an adjourned debate, distinguished by more than ordinary acrimony, another address to the king was resolved upon, praying his majesty to "give satisfaction to the house, by forming an administration agreeable to the public wish, and adequate to the situation of affairs."

To this demand the king returned a calm but determined answer. "I observe," said he, "that there is no charge or complaint suggested against my present ministers; nor is any one or more of them specifically objected to; and numbers of my subjects have expressed to me, in the warmest manner, their satisfaction at the late changes I have made in my councils. Under these circumstances, I trust my faithful commons will not wish that the essential offices of the executive government should be vacated, until I see a prospect that such a plan of union as I have called for, and they have pointed out, shall be carried into effect." Unabashed by this explicit and argumentative declaration, the dominant party were resolute in bringing the regal prerogative under their feet; and with as little respect to the principles of equity, as to the feelings of the monarch, they carried up another address, much more diffuse, and expressed in a higher tone of dictation than the former. Without assigning any reasons for the required change, the commons concluded their remonstrance in these haughty terms: "We feel bound to remain firm in the wish expressed to your majesty in our late humble address, and do therefore find ourselves obliged again to beseech your majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to lay the foundation of a strong and stable government, by the previous removal of your present ministers."

The reply of the king to this unconditional demand that he would surrender up his most valuable privilege to the ambitious will of a powerful faction,

was distinguished by the same firmness with his former answers. After repeating his desire to form an administration upon a broad and stable principle, his majesty said, "I remain in the same sentiments, but I continue equally convinced, that it is an object not likely to be obtained by the dismission of my present ministers. I must repeat, that no charge or complaint, nor any specific objection, is yet made against any of them. If there were any such ground for their removal at present, it ought equally to be a reason for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united administration which you state to be requisite. I did not consider the failure of my recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the purpose which I had in view, if it could have been obtained on those principles of fairness and equality, without which, it can neither be honourable to those who are concerned, nor lay the foundation of such a strong and stable government, as may be of lasting advantage to the country. But I know of no further steps which I can take, that can be effectual to remove the difficulties which obstruct that desirable end."

Indignant at this repulse, the party made another desperate attempt to shake the royal resolve, by moving a declaration of grievances, without condescending to specify what they were; and by expressly calling upon the sovereign to admit the principle, that he was bound to discard his servants, whenever they should become obnoxious to a majority of the house of commons, who, on their part, were under no obligation to assign a reason for the demand. The king called upon them for a statement of their motives, and a specification of offences; in reply to which, they said, "We have made no charge against any of them, because it is their removal, and not their punishment, which we have desired." Between a dismissal and a punishment, it is not easy to perceive a distinction; but the arrogance of the faction, in demanding of the king to abandon the universal rule of equity which equally binds states and individuals, was so flagrant, that many members who had hitherto gone on with the opposition, now receded, and the new resolution passed only by a single vote.

This division was a death-blow to the party; but their complete humiliation was yet to come. On the 10th of March the mutiny bill was suffered to pass, and on the 24th, the parliament was prorogued by the king in person, who made a very short speech, in which he said, "I can have no other object, but to preserve the true principles of our free and happy constitution, and to employ the powers intrusted to me by law for the only end for which they were given, the good of my people." The next day a dissolution took place, by proclamation; and thus that appeal was made to the nation which the opposition had strenuously endeavoured to avoid, though, at the same time, they boasted of their popularity. The issue proved the futility of their pretensions, for in many parts of the kingdom, interests were overthrown, which had hitherto been deemed immoveable, and, on the whole, above one hundred and sixty of the old members were rejected, solely on account of the part which they had recently acted in the house of commons. On the 18th of May the new parliament met, and the preponderance of the ministerial interest was immediately felt, in the addresses of thanks moved to the king, for having, by his fortitude, saved the constitution, under circumstances of great and unprecedented danger.

The most severe contest during the late general election, was that for Westminster, where the candidates were lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and sir Cecil Wray; but the struggle lay between the two last candidates. At the end of the poll, instead of returning Mr. Fox, who had a clear majority in his favour, the high-bailiff granted a scrutiny, the consequence of which was, that eight months elapsed before the successful candidate could take his seat for Westminster, after vacating that for the Scotch borough of Kirkwall. For this procrastination, the high-bailiff was called to account, and, in an action brought against him, was cast in two thousand pounds damages.

On the 21st of June, the ministers brought forward several resolutions, on which was founded the Commutation act, so named from its providing, by a tax upon windows, for a proportionate reduction in the impost upon teas. The chief inducement alleged for this measure was, the increase of smuggling;

the quantity of tea actually consumed in the kingdom at that time, being proved to be more than double what was sold by the India company. To recommend the proposed plan still further, it was asserted, that a great saving would be made by the reduction of a number of revenue officers; and that there would, moreover, be a considerable addition made to the tonnage of shipping employed in the East India commerce. The bill, notwithstanding these reasons in its favour, was vigorously opposed in its progress through parliament; but it obtained the royal assent, and was followed by two others, one in favour of the East India company, enabling them to divide an interest of eight per cent. on their capital; and the other, granting them a further respite of duties then owing to the exchequer; with allowance to accept bills beyond the amount prescribed by former acts, and also permission to settle their future dividends. These steps were preliminary to the important act, "For the better governing of the affairs of the East India company;" which was only a modification of that brought into the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, in the preceding parliament. In the first place, a board of control was established, consisting of commissioners nominated by the king from the members of the privy-council; and authorized to superintend and check the operations of the company, civil or military, in the East; with a right of investigating their papers at home, and all despatches received by them from abroad. The court of directors, by this act, was also restrained from sending any orders or instructions to India, without previously communicating the same to the board; though the latter, in cases of emergency, was empowered to transmit their own orders thither, subject to no revise or inspection whatever. The appointment of the commander-in-chief was by this act vested in the crown, together with the power of removing the governor-general, president, or a member of the council, in any of the settlements of the company. The governor-general and council of Bengal were hereby vested with entire authority over the other presidencies, in all matters relating to transactions with the native powers, and in the application of the revenues and forces. The other parts of the bill embraced various particulars for the regulation of the internal concerns of India, and the establishment of a new court of justice for the prosecution of crimes committed in the East. This bill was encountered by a furious opposition, who left not a single part of it unassailed; notwithstanding which, it went triumphantly through both houses by great majorities. At the end of June, the budget was brought forward, containing a loan of six millions, with some new taxes, which experienced a very favourable reception, and the minister received many compliments from all sides on his financial abilities. A motion was soon afterwards made for the restoration of the forfeited estates in Scotland to the heirs of those who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1745; which passed the commons without opposition; but in the upper house it was resisted by the chancellor Thurlow, whose objections, however, were overruled, and the bill received the royal assent. On the 20th of August this session of parliament ended.

The state of Ireland at this period was extremely interesting, and exhibited an appearance indicative of important changes. In the month of September, 1783, a representative meeting of the volunteers was held at Dungannon, where it was agreed to hold another assembly of convention, as it was called, in November following, at Dublin, for the purpose of carrying into effect a plan of parliamentary reform. At the time appointed, Mr. Flood, a member of the Irish house of commons, and celebrated for his oratory and patriotism, brought the subject forward, in a motion for leave to bring in a bill "For the more equal representation of the people." This motion was rejected by a majority of eighty, and both houses concurred in an address to the king, expressing the happiness they enjoyed under his government, and their resolution to support the constitution with their lives and fortunes. The convention of delegates, upon this, drew up an address to the king, of an opposite tendency, stating, that their wish for the remedying of certain perversions in the parliamentary representation, ought not to be imputed to a spirit of innovation, but to a desire of upholding the constitution, and of cementing the union of the two kingdoms.

In March, 1784, Mr. Flood renewed his motion, which, however, was again

rejected by an overwhelming majority. The defeat of this measure produced another meeting of reformers at Dublin, on the 7th of June, when a petition to the king was resolved upon; together with an address to the people, in which it was proposed that five persons should be elected from every county, city, and great town, to meet at the capital, under the name of the "National Congress." This ominous sound excited the alarm of government to such a degree, that proceedings were instantly adopted to guard against the apprehended danger. Accordingly, the attorney-general for Ireland sent a letter to the sheriffs of the city of Dublin, threatening them with an official prosecution, if such an assembly was suffered to take place. At the same time, the high-sheriff of the county of Dublin was proceeded against in the court of king's bench, for having presided at an assembly of delegates, for which he was sentenced to a fine and short imprisonment. Some other magistrates in different counties were prosecuted on the same account; as also were the printers and publishers of the newspapers in which the proceedings and resolutions of illegal meetings were advertised. In spite of these rigorous measures, the congress met on the 25th of October, and passed several resolutions of a similar nature to those which were determined upon at the former assembly. In addition to this cause of discontent, the people of Ireland were greatly agitated by the depressed state of their manufactures; and the rejection of a plan proposed in their parliament during this session, for laying protecting duties on all articles of drapery imported into that kingdom, raised a ferment, which broke out in some serious riots in Dublin; but by the interposition of the guards, order was restored without the loss of any lives.

CHAP. LXVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1784 to 1786.

ABOUT this time, the tranquillity of Europe was greatly endangered by the conduct of the emperor Joseph towards the states of Holland. Taking advantage of the reduced condition to which the Dutch government had been brought by the late war, and particularly of the dissensions into which the country was thrown by the spirit of opposition to the stadtholderate, his imperial majesty laid claim to the country of Maestricht, and the free navigation of the Scheldt. In April, 1784, the states-general sent deputies to Brussels, for the purpose of settling these disputes; but on the day of the arrival of the plenipotentiaries in that city, the Austrian forces entered Holland, and made themselves masters, without resistance, of the old Fort Lillo; which hostile measure was followed by the demolition of the barriers, and different attempts to force the passage of the Scheldt. Matters having gone thus far, the negotiations at Brussels were broken off, the imperial ambassador quitted the Hague, and an Austrian army was about to march into the Dutch territories, when the French court interfered, and prevented further hostilities; though not before the people of Holland had broken one of their dykes, and inundated the country. At length the dispute terminated, and a definitive treaty was concluded at Paris, by which it was settled, that the sovereignty of the Scheldt, from Antwerp to the Saftingen, should belong to the emperor, but that from thence to the sea, the right of navigation should remain with the Dutch. Thus was prevented that object which had been so much desired by the imperialists, of making Antwerp a free port. Besides this point, the Dutch also retained the country round Maestricht; but not without the payment of a considerable sum, which replenished the almost exhausted treasury of the emperor. That eccentric monarch also conceived, at this period, another project, in which, however, he met with still worse success. This was, the proposed exchange of the Low Countries for the electorate of Bavaria; a measure which, if it could have been carried into effect, would have greatly enriched his Austrian dominions. But the scheme having alarmed several of the German princes, they gladly placed themselves under the protection of the king of Prussia, who, old as he was, became the head of the confederation, and made such vigorous preparations for war, that the emperor relinquished the design, and the effusion of blood was prevented.

The British parliament, after the recess, met again on the 25th of January, 1785, when the principal feature of the royal speech was the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. This subject occupied a considerable part of the session; and after much examination of evidence at the bar of the house, the ministry brought forward sundry propositions, which were classed under two heads, first, the importation of the produce of our colonies in America and the West Indies, through Ireland into Great Britain; secondly, a mutual exchange between the two countries, of their respective productions and manufactures upon equal terms. These concessions occasioned so much opposition from various commercial interests, that several amendments and additions were afterwards made to them by Mr. Pitt, the principal of which were, that whatever navigation laws the British parliament should hereafter enact, the same should be passed by that of Ireland; that there should not be imported through that island into Great Britain, any of the commodities of the West Indies, except such as were the growth of our own colonies, and that Ireland should not trade to any country beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the straights of Magellan, to the detriment of the East India Company. The bill, including these propositions, having been read once in the English house of commons, was transmitted by the privy-council to Ireland, where it created such a ferment, that, notwithstanding the majority of nine in its favour, ministers thought it most prudent to let it proceed no further. In the mean time, the Irish national congress met at Dublin, attended by above two hundred delegates; and in May, Mr. Flood renewed his motion for the reform of parliament, with the same success as before. Associations were now formed in every part of that kingdom, hostile to the British supremacy, and bearing a very near resemblance to those provincial assemblies which laid the foundation of the American independence. The principal resolutions of the Irish meetings went to the prohibition of all articles of English manufacture; and those merchants in Dublin who were reluctant to comply with the general sentiment, became exposed to the vengeance of the mob, in consequence of which, parties of soldiers were distributed throughout the city, to preserve property, and restrain the populace.

The debts of the nabob of Arcot engaged much of the consideration of parliament during this session. This was one of the first objects to which the attention of the new board of control had been devoted, and, in pursuance of instructions from that body the court of directors drew up orders to be sent to the committee at Madras, for the investigation of these debts. The board, however, disapproved of these orders, and caused a new letter to be framed, in which the claims of the creditors were expressly acknowledged, and a period for the payment assigned, out of the revenues of the Carnatic. The matter was now brought under the notice of the house of lords, on a motion of the earl of Carlisle, for copies or extracts of all orders or letters issued by the directors, conformably to the new act. A debate ensued, and the motion was negatived; as also was another to the same effect, in the house of commons.

The proposition of Mr. Pitt, for a reform in parliament, was again brought forward on the 18th of April; and the plan recommended was, to transfer the right of having representatives, from thirty-six decayed boroughs, to the counties, and those principal towns which do not send members to parliament. The motion, though ably discussed, was rejected by a majority of seventy-four.

A treaty of alliance was entered into this year, between France and Holland, by which the former gained a complete ascendancy over the Dutch counsels. The effect of this influence was soon seen in the attempts made by the republicans to get rid of the stadtholderate. The states of Holland deprived the prince of Orange of the government of the Hague, and his bodyguard, in consequence of which that prince withdrew to Breda, and sent his family to West Friesland. Upon this, the states proceeded to discharge the soldiers from their oath of fidelity to the stadtholder, and took from the prince all military honours. His highness, who had removed to Middleburg, then went to Guelderland, where, as well as in the adjacent provinces of

Utrecht, he had many adherents. Thus stood the posture of affairs in that country, when the venerable Frederic, king of Prussia, interposed on behalf of the prince, who was his nephew; but so little were his remonstrances regarded, that the refractory states actually began to take measures for warlike operations.

On the 24th of January, 1786, the British parliament assembled, and when the usual address of thanks to the king was moved, Mr. Fox seized the opportunity of censuring the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in suffering the French influence to preponderate over the councils of the Dutch republic. That great orator then entered into a wide field of argument, to shew the necessity of our forming continental alliances; in which he was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who no less strenuously endeavoured to maintain, that the true interest of this country lay in the observance of a strict neutrality. Thus men of the strongest minds fluctuate in their judgment according to circumstances, and the political doctrine which at one period they regard as incontrovertible, becomes, under new impressions, inconsistent and dangerous. Within a short space of time after this, the eloquent assertor of the right and duty of Britain to meddle with the internal concerns of foreign states, attacked the minister for adopting that very line of policy which he had himself recommended. The first subject of moment that came under the consideration of the house of commons this session, was the plan proposed by the duke of Richmond, as master-general of the ordnance, for erecting fortifications to protect the important naval arsenals of Plymouth and Portsmouth. On bringing forward the estimate of the measure, accompanied by a motion for carrying it into effect, an interesting debate arose, the result of which was, an equal division of one hundred and sixty-nine votes on each side. The speaker then, as is usual in such cases, gave his casting vote against the proposition, and the scheme was in consequence abandoned.

On the 29th of March, Mr. Pitt introduced his plan for the reduction of the national debt, by setting apart, yearly, the sum of one million out of the public revenue, to constitute a sinking fund. The minister calculated, that the interest of the stock purchased by these means, and suffered to accumulate at a compound rate, would, with the annuities occasionally falling in, leave, at the end of twenty years, a surplus of four millions, which might be applied to the exigencies of the state. The principle of this measure was generally admitted, and though objections were made to some parts of the plan, the bill passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. This celebrated act was followed by another, for transferring certain duties on foreign wines, from the customs to the excise. The reasons assigned for this change, were the necessity of putting a check upon smuggling, and of suppressing the illicit practice which too extensively prevailed, not only of adulterating wines, but of manufacturing spurious liquors which were sold under that denomination.

This bill was followed by another, appointing commissioners for inquiring into the condition of the woods, forests, and landed estates of the crown. Some opposition was set up against this institution, but the motion for it passed, and the board has ever since continued to act. By far the most important business of the session, however, was that which produced the memorable prosecution of Mr. Hastings. On the 17th of February, Mr. Burke brought the subject forward in a prolix detail of the history of Indian affairs, from the commencement of lord Clive's administration, to the reports of the committees, and the resolutions founded upon them by the commons. Having taken this survey of the case, with a view to an impeachment, Mr. Burke proceeded to move for papers, on which to ground his articles of accusation. Most of these were granted; and on the 4th of April, Mr. Burke, in his place, charged Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, with sundry high crimes and misdemeanors. Nine articles were then exhibited, and in the following week, thirteen more were produced. On the 26th, a petition from Mr. Hastings was presented to the house, praying to be heard in his defence, and to be allowed a copy of his accusation, which was granted; and the 1st of May appointed for his appearance. The hearing took up three days; and, on the 1st of June, Burke entered into his first charge, which related to the

Rohilla war. After a luminous speech, in which the orator displayed all the powers of his extraordinary mind, the house came to a resolution, that the conduct of the accused was justified by the circumstances in which he was placed; and thus the primary article of accusation fell to the ground. On the 13th of June, Mr. Fox introduced the charge respecting the expulsion of Cheit Sing, the rajah of Benares; and though the advocates of Mr. Hastings clearly proved that there was nothing in this case but what was perfectly conformable to the Eastern laws, and that the deposed chief was a dependant on the Company, so little was the history of India known at this time, that the resolution, to make the article a ground of impeachment, was carried by a majority of forty. This decision struck the friends of Mr. Hastings with astonishment, for they had been led to expect a very different result; but they were more chagrined at finding that the minister had voted with the majority. Many of Mr. Pitt's admirers, and some of his colleagues too, were not less surprised and concerned upon this occasion. Lord Thurlow's indignation was roused very high, and it required some address to keep him from throwing up the seals. The excuse which the minister made to his private friends, was, that he conceived the prosecution would overwhelm the managers in disgrace, and speedily terminate in the triumph of the accused party. But in this idea he was mistaken; and the enemies of Mr. Hastings having gained their object thus far, were resolved to push matters to the utmost extremity, by embarrassment and protraction.

In the course of these proceedings, Mr. Dundas brought in a bill to amend the act of his coadjutor, for regulating the government of the East India Company. By this supplementary enactment, it was provided that the governor-general should also enjoy the office of commander-in-chief; have the right of filling up vacancies in the council; and be empowered to decide upon all measures, whether agreeable to the judgment of that board or not. This bill experienced considerable resistance in both houses; notwithstanding which, by ministerial influence it was carried, and, at the close of the session on the 11th of July, received the royal sanction.

During the same month, a convention was agreed to in London, between the Spanish and English governments, by their representatives, for the purpose of adjusting some differences respecting the boundaries within which the cutting of logwood and mahogany should be carried on in the bay of Honduras, and along the Mosquito shore. After much discussion, England recognized the absolute sovereignty of Spain over those territories; while, on the part of that power, a more extended line of demarcation was granted to the British settlers, than they had before possessed. A still more important treaty was concluded soon after, between France and England; the primary object of which was, the reception, upon certain conditions, of the commodities of each country into the ports of the other. Hitherto, the jealousy of trade, by the imposition of high duties and other exactions, had almost precluded any commercial intercourse between the rival nations; but now a more enlightened policy began to operate for their reciprocal advantage; and one proof of the ascendancy of liberal principles was given by the French government, in the abrogation, as far as related to British subjects, of the barbarous droit d'aubaine, by which the personal property of all foreigners dying in that country, was considered as belonging to the crown.

Public sensibility was much affected this summer, by the attempt of a female maniac upon the life of the king. On the 2d of August, as his majesty was stepping out of his private carriage at the garden-gate of St. James's palace, a decently dressed female held out a paper, and when the king extended his hand to receive it, a blow was aimed at his breast with a knife. Though the king warded off the stroke, the woman was about to repeat it, when she was prevented from effecting her object by one of the yeomen of the guard. A council was immediately convened; but the insanity of the woman, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, appeared so manifest, that, instead of sending her to trial, she was consigned to the hospital of Bethlehem, where she lived many years. The fortitude and humanity of his majesty were on this occasion remarkably conspicuous. When first assaulted, the king drew back, and said, "What does the woman mean?"

At that moment, the yeoman discovering the weapon, exclaimed, "It is a knife!" when the king, with the greatest calmness, observed, "I am not hurt; take care of the poor woman; she is mad; do not hurt her."

The news of this attempt made a great impression upon the public mind at large, and there was scarcely a hamlet in the empire that did not join in congratulating their sovereign on his providential escape.

Among the foreign occurrences of this year, the death of Frederic, commonly called the Great, of Prussia, merits notice. This celebrated monarch, whose military fame, at one period, extended over the whole world, closed his career at Potsdam, on the 17th of August, 1786, in his seventy-fifth year, leaving the throne to his nephew, Frederic William the Third. Boundless as his ambition had been during the former part of his eventful reign, his latter years were marked by moderation; and, while he watched over the liberties of Germany with proper attention, he devoted his principal care to the arts of peace, and the improvement of his dominions.

CHAP. LXVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1787 to 1789.

On the 3d of January, 1787, the British parliament commenced its sitting, after a very protracted recess; and the first measure of importance that came under consideration, was the commercial treaty recently concluded with France. Mr. Pitt stated, in a very clear manner, the advantages that were likely to result from such an intercourse of trade, to both countries, and concluded with moving a resolution, that all articles which were of the growth or manufacture of the European dominions of the French monarch, and not specified in the tarif of the treaty, should be imported into this kingdom on the payment of equal duties with those charged on the same kinds of goods brought from other countries. Mr. Fox, though he could not combat the general principle on which the treaty was founded, argued strenuously for the necessity of keeping up a spirit of rivalry in this country, as a counterpoise to the power of France. In conformity with this position, the basis of which was mere assumption, he attacked the provisions of the treaty, and proposed an amendment to the motion of Mr. Pitt, but without success; and the original resolution was carried by a majority of thirty-one. The minister followed up this resolution, by moving that the wines of France be imported, subject to the same duties as those of Portugal. This also was combated with great energy, as injurious to the interests of our old ally, and repugnant to an existing treaty with that state. The resolution, however, was carried, and the measure having received the sanction of both houses, a concurrent address of thanks was presented to the king, for having entered into a connexion so favourable to the manufacturing interests.

About the same time, a singular dispute arose in the house of lords, relative to the privileges of the Scotch peerage. Two members of the sixteen representatives, the earl of Abercorn and the duke of Queensberry, having recently been created English peers, it became a question whether they could, after that, continue to sit in an elective capacity, as well as hold their hereditary seats. Lord Stormont holding that they could not, made a motion accordingly, in which he was ably seconded by lord Loughborough; while, on the other hand, the chancellor as vigorously maintained that both characters were compatible. The house, however, decided in favour of the motion; and it was resolved, that by the creation of the earl of Abercorn as viscount Hamilton, and of the duke of Queensberry as baron Douglas, in England, there were two vacancies in the representation of the peerage of Scotland.

In the house of commons, Mr. Pitt, on the 26th of February, produced his great plan for the consolidation of the customs and excise; a measure of incredible labour and detail, but of infinite advantage in commerce, by facilitating and simplifying the intricacies attendant on mercantile transactions, and the settlement of duties. A few trifling objections were made to some particulars of the measure, but they were overruled; and when the bill

Rohilla war. After a luminous speech, in which the orator displayed all the powers of his extraordinary mind, the house came to a resolution, that the conduct of the accused was justified by the circumstances in which he was placed; and thus the primary article of accusation fell to the ground. On the 13th of June, Mr. Fox introduced the charge respecting the expulsion of Cheit Sing, the rajah of Benares; and though the advocates of Mr. Hastings clearly proved that there was nothing in this case but what was perfectly conformable to the Eastern laws, and that the deposed chief was a dependant on the Company, so little was the history of India known at this time, that the resolution, to make the article a ground of impeachment, was carried by a majority of forty. This decision struck the friends of Mr. Hastings with astonishment, for they had been led to expect a very different result; but they were more chagrined at finding that the minister had voted with the majority. Many of Mr. Pitt's admirers, and some of his colleagues too, were not less surprised and concerned upon this occasion. Lord Thurlow's indignation was roused very high, and it required some address to keep him from throwing up the seals. The excuse which the minister made to his private friends, was, that he conceived the prosecution would overwhelm the managers in disgrace, and speedily terminate in the triumph of the accused party. But in this idea he was mistaken; and the enemies of Mr. Hastings having gained their object thus far, were resolved to push matters to the utmost extremity, by embarrassment and protraction.

In the course of these proceedings, Mr. Dundas brought in a bill to amend the act of his coadjutor, for regulating the government of the East India Company. By this supplementary enactment, it was provided that the governor-general should also enjoy the office of commander-in-chief; have the right of filling up vacancies in the council; and be empowered to decide upon all measures, whether agreeable to the judgment of that board or not. This bill experienced considerable resistance in both houses; notwithstanding which, by ministerial influence it was carried, and, at the close of the session on the 11th of July, received the royal sanction.

During the same month, a convention was agreed to in London, between the Spanish and English governments, by their representatives, for the purpose of adjusting some differences respecting the boundaries within which the cutting of logwood and mahogany should be carried on in the bay of Honduras, and along the Mosquito shore. After much discussion, England recognized the absolute sovereignty of Spain over those territories; while, on the part of that power, a more extended line of demarcation was granted to the British settlers, than they had before possessed. A still more important treaty was concluded soon after, between France and England; the primary object of which was, the reception, upon certain conditions, of the commodities of each country into the ports of the other. Hitherto, the jealousy of trade, by the imposition of high duties and other exactions, had almost precluded any commercial intercourse between the rival nations; but now a more enlightened policy began to operate for their reciprocal advantage; and one proof of the ascendancy of liberal principles was given by the French government, in the abrogation, as far as related to British subjects, of the barbarous droit d'aubaine, by which the personal property of all foreigners dying in that country, was considered as belonging to the crown.

Public sensibility was much affected this summer, by the attempt of a female maniac upon the life of the king. On the 2d of August, as his majesty was stepping out of his private carriage at the garden-gate of St. James's palace, a decently dressed female held out a paper, and when the king extended his hand to receive it, a blow was aimed at his breast with a knife. Though the king warded off the stroke, the woman was about to repeat it, when she was prevented from effecting her object by one of the yeomen of the guard. A council was immediately convened; but the insanity of the woman, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, appeared so manifest, that, instead of sending her to trial, she was consigned to the hospital of Bethlehem, where she lived many years. The fortitude and humanity of his majesty were on this occasion remarkably conspicuous. When first assaulted, the king drew back, and said, "What does the woman mean?"

At that moment, the yeoman discovering the weapon, exclaimed, "It is a knife!" when the king, with the greatest calmness, observed, "I am not hurt; take care of the poor woman; she is mad; do not hurt her."

The news of this attempt made a great impression upon the public mind at large, and there was scarcely a hamlet in the empire that did not join in congratulating their sovereign on his providential escape.

Among the foreign occurrences of this year, the death of Frederic, commonly called the Great, of Prussia, merits notice. This celebrated monarch, whose military fame, at one period, extended over the whole world, closed his career at Potsdam, on the 17th of August, 1786, in his seventy-fifth year, leaving the throne to his nephew, Frederic William the Third. Boundless as his ambition had been during the former part of his eventful reign, his latter years were marked by moderation; and, while he watched over the liberties of Germany with proper attention, he devoted his principal care to the arts of peace, and the improvement of his dominions.

CHAP. LXVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1787 to 1789.

On the 3d of January, 1787, the British parliament commenced its sitting, after a very protracted recess; and the first measure of importance that came under consideration, was the commercial treaty recently concluded with France. Mr. Pitt stated, in a very clear manner, the advantages that were likely to result from such an intercourse of trade, to both countries, and concluded with moving a resolution, that all articles which were of the growth or manufacture of the European dominions of the French monarch, and not specified in the tarif of the treaty, should be imported into this kingdom on the payment of equal duties with those charged on the same kinds of goods brought from other countries. Mr. Fox, though he could not combat the general principle on which the treaty was founded, argued strenuously for the necessity of keeping up a spirit of rivalry in this country, as a counterpoise to the power of France. In conformity with this position, the basis of which was mere assumption, he attacked the provisions of the treaty, and proposed an amendment to the motion of Mr. Pitt, but without success; and the original resolution was carried by a majority of thirty-one. The minister followed up this resolution, by moving that the wines of France be imported, subject to the same duties as those of Portugal. This also was combated with great energy, as injurious to the interests of our old ally, and repugnant to an existing treaty with that state. The resolution, however, was carried, and the measure having received the sanction of both houses, a concurrent address of thanks was presented to the king, for having entered into a connexion so favourable to the manufacturing interests.

About the same time, a singular dispute arose in the house of lords, relative to the privileges of the Scotch peerage. Two members of the sixteen representatives, the earl of Abercorn and the duke of Queensberry, having recently been created English peers, it became a question whether they could, after that, continue to sit in an elective capacity, as well as hold their hereditary seats. Lord Stormont holding that they could not, made a motion accordingly, in which he was ably seconded by lord Loughborough; while, on the other hand, the chancellor as vigorously maintained that both characters were compatible. The house, however, decided in favour of the motion; and it was resolved, that by the creation of the earl of Abercorn as viscount Hamilton, and of the duke of Queensberry as baron Douglas, in England, there were two vacancies in the representation of the peerage of Scotland.

In the house of commons, Mr. Pitt, on the 26th of February, produced his great plan for the consolidation of the customs and excise; a measure of incredible labour and detail, but of infinite advantage in commerce, by facilitating and simplifying the intricacies attendant on mercantile transactions, and the settlement of duties. A few trifling objections were made to some particulars of the measure, but they were overruled; and when the bill

offended the people of Brabant by his innovations, thought proper, at the beginning of the year, to abolish the old courts of judicature, and to institute a new system of jurisprudence and civil government for those states. As these alterations were repugnant to the old constitution, known in Flanders by the name of the "Joyous Entry," the people became alarmed, and the spirit of disaffection spread rapidly throughout the country. In Brussels, the syndics of the trading companies joined in a memorial, declaring, that if the sovereign persisted in a violation of the articles of the Joyous Entry, his subjects were discharged from their allegiance. Intimidated by this resistance, the Austrian authorities suspended the imperial edicts, till the final resolution of the monarch could be known. Instead, however, of making any concession, the emperor was about to send an army into Brabant; but at the moment when scenes of carnage were expected, the march of the troops was countermanded, and the Joyous Entry, for the present, was restored. This sudden change in the imperial councils was occasioned by the declaration of war, on the part of the Turks, against Russia; and, as the court of Vienna was in alliance with the latter power, immediate orders were given to send a large force into the field.

At this time, the internal state of France exhibited strong symptoms of disorganization. The deteriorated condition of the public revenue, owing partly to the extravagance of the court, but chiefly to its imprudence in joining the Americans against England, rendered some great financial measures necessary, to provide for the national distress. The first step taken, was that of calling a convention of the notables, or principal persons belonging to the different classes throughout the kingdom. This assembly met at Versailles on the 2d of February, and, in the course of the proceedings, the minister, M. de Calonne, after laying before the members an exact state of affairs, proposed various sources of supply, the principal of which was one resembling the land-tax. This impost was so far from being agreeable to the body, that a general spirit of resentment was excited against the proposer of it, and he became so much an object of popular dislike, as to find it necessary to go into voluntary exile. To him succeeded M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse; but as the measures of that prelate were not more acceptable than those of his predecessor, he also quitted France for Italy.

Louis the Sixteenth being thus forsaken by his ministers, and dissatisfied with the assembly to whose collective wisdom he had looked for support, dissolved the convention, without being able to provide any effectual means for the removal of his difficulties. In this exigency, the parliament of Paris recommended to the monarch, the convocation of the states-general of the kingdom, a measure which had not been adopted for near two centuries. In the mean time, the necessities of the state calling for an immediate supply, the king had recourse to the usual mode of raising money by royal edicts, which the parliament of Paris refused to register; and for its contumacy was banished to Troyes. This proceeding only increased the embarrassments of the government, and the monarch, who wanted talents and fortitude, was prevailed upon to revoke the sentence which he had passed, and also to withdraw the offensive edicts.

The calm produced by this act of conciliation, however, was of short duration; for the wants of the state becoming every day more pressing, the king met the parliament on the 19th of November, and produced two new edicts, one of which was for a loan of 450 millions of livres, and the other for the restoration of the protestants to their civil rights. This last was obviously intended to render the other more palatable; but instead of having that effect, a warm debate arose, in the midst of which, the king, tired out by the delay, interrupted the proceedings, and insisted upon the immediate registry of the act. The demand was opposed by the duke of Orleans, in a vehement protest; and the parliament followed his example. In consequence of this behaviour, the duke was exiled to one of his estates, and two members of the parliament were sent to prison.

In consequence of the agitated state of the continent, parliament was called together at the end of November, but the alarm of war having by this time passed away, an adjournment again took place till after the recess. On

the 20th of February, 1788, lord Rawdon moved an address to his majesty, praying him to take into consideration the services of those captains in the navy, who, on account of their age, had been passed over in the late general promotion. A similar motion was brought forward in the lower house, but the fate of both was the same; as it was considered, if not unconstitutional, yet inexpedient, for parliament to interfere in the advancement of flag officers.

The principal subject which came under notice this session, was the African slave trade. A petition for the abolition of this iniquitous traffic had been presented from the society of Quakers, in the preceding year; and so powerful was the impression made by that statement, as to elicit similar applications in behalf of the poor negroes from the two universities and other public bodies. The management of this important cause was intrusted to the care of Mr. Wilberforce; in whose absence, on the 9th of May, Mr. Pitt moved a resolution that the house would, in the ensuing session, take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade. Some objection being made to the proposed delay, sir William Dolben very prudently brought forward, as a temporary measure in the cause of humanity, a bill for the regulation of the shipping employed in the African trade, by restricting the number of slaves to the amount of tonnage. This measure was adopted, and, with some amendments, was passed into a law. At the close of the session in June, the minister introduced a proposition for the relief of those Americans, who, during the late war, had suffered on account of their loyalty. A sum, amounting to about a million and a half, was accordingly voted for this purpose, to be paid by instalments, and raised in the way of lottery.

On the 13th of February, this year, the trial of Mr. Hastings began in Westminster-hall, with a very imposing effect, the galleries being crowded with all that was splendid and august in rank and fashion. After spending two days in the customary formalities, Mr. Burke opened this great cause in a speech of uncommon length, but rendered peculiarly interesting by the variety of information which it imparted, and the richness of the language in which it was clothed. The managers of the impeachment then stated their intention to try each article singly, which mode of procedure being objected to by the counsel for Mr. Hastings, was referred to the lords, who equitably determined, that the whole of the charges should be disposed of on the part of the prosecution, previous to the defence. The trial then went on till the 15th of June, when it was adjourned to a day after the ensuing meeting of parliament.

Never perhaps did England appear to more advantage than at this period: the threatened storm of war had been providentially averted; party feeling had subsided into urbanity; trade was flourishing; and the finances began in consequence to gather strength. Such was the state of the country at the beginning of autumn, when suddenly the horizon assumed a lowring aspect, and alarming apprehensions were entertained respecting the king; though for some time the public were kept in entire ignorance of the malady which was supposed to threaten his life. In the course of the summer, their majesties visited Cheltenham, as well for amusement, as for the benefit of the medicinal waters of that place. Soon after their return to Windsor, rumours of the most serious nature were spread respecting the health of the king; and at one time it was even reported that he was at the point of death. These fears, however, were dissipated by his appearance at the levee; but at the end of October, the fact became too well ascertained, that a mental derangement had taken place. This melancholy event produced a general concern throughout the nation; and a deep solicitude was felt respecting the measures to be adopted in the exigency occasioned by the suspension of the executive government.

Parliament having been prorogued to the 20th of November, met on that day as a matter of course; when both houses adjourned for a fortnight. In the mean time, the royal physicians were examined by the privy-council, on the state of the king. Their answers were, that his majesty was incapable of business, and that, though there was a great probability of his recovery, it was impossible to say when the desired event would take place. On the 4th of December, parliament again assembled, and, in each house, a commit-

tee was appointed to examine the physicians, whose report was to the same effect as before stated. This necessary inquiry being finished, Mr. Pitt moved for another committee of the house of commons, to search the journals, and report precedents of such proceedings as had been adopted in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, or infirmity. To this motion Mr. Fox objected, as unnecessary, it being his decided opinion, that whenever the sovereign became incapable of discharging the regal functions, the heir apparent had an indisputable right to take upon him the executive power. This strange doctrine was treated by the minister as bordering very closely upon treason to the constitution; and, in direct opposition, he boldly maintained, that the heir apparent had no more right, in such an emergency, than any other subject; and that the privilege of supplying the deficiency lay in the two branches of the legislature.

This important subject occasioned considerable discussion, and when Mr. Fox found that the sense of the house, as well as of the nation, was against him, he attempted to extricate himself by getting rid of the question. The other friends of the prince did the same, but the minister being now resolved to bring the matter to an absolute decision, refused to suffer it to remain in a dormant state of uncertainty. It was a point of great public interest; and therefore, though Mr. Pitt was aware that his conduct rendered him obnoxious to the ascending power, he nobly determined to forego all private consideration, for the general benefit. The result was, the triumph of principle over party; and, in both houses, powerful majorities decided against the claim so injudiciously set up for the prince of Wales.

Upon this, Mr. Pitt moved and carried sundry resolutions, stating, that as his majesty was incapable of fulfilling the functions of royalty, it was the right and duty of the lords and commons to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the regal authority, in such a manner as the exigency of the case required.

Thus stood this momentous business at the commencement of the new year, 1789, and in the midst of it, the speaker of the house of commons, Mr. Cornwall, died, whose place was filled up by the honourable William Grenville. Another examination of the physicians now took place, and their report was favourable to the hopes entertained of the king's recovery, though some of these gentlemen were much less sanguine in their expectations than others. On the 16th of January, Mr. Pitt proposed, that the prince of Wales should be invested with the whole royal authority, as regent, subject to certain limitations and restrictions. The first was, that his royal highness should not have the power of creating peers. The second, that he should not grant any other place or pension for life, or in reversion, than such as, from its nature, is so held; and the third, that he should have no power over the king's personal property. In addition to these resolutions, the minister proposed two others; one, intrusting the queen with the entire care of the person of the king during his illness, and the whole authority over the royal household: the second was, for the nomination of the council to assist her majesty with their advice. All these resolutions were moved separately, and every one produced a warm debate; the leading members of the opposition being extremely indignant at the restrictions laid upon the regent. Notwithstanding, however, the accession of strength which that party had gained, by the defection of some members who had been accustomed hitherto to vote on the ministerial side, the resolutions proposed were all carried, and ordered to be delivered to the lords in a conference between the two houses. On the 27th Mr. Pitt proposed the appointment of a committee to wait upon the prince of Wales, with the resolutions that had been agreed to by parliament, and to ascertain from his royal highness, whether he was willing to accept of the regency on these conditions. This proceeding was adopted in concurrence with the lords; and the prince returned for answer, that his duty to the king, his regard for the interests of the people, and his respect for the desires of the two houses, outweighing every other consideration, he would undertake the weighty trust proposed to him, conformably to the resolutions, though sensible of the difficulties that must attend its execution, in the peculiar cir-

cumstances in which it was committed to his charge, and of which he was acquainted with no other example. This business settled, the next measure was, that of enabling the two houses, which till now had sat merely in the capacity of a conventional parliament, to act as a legislative body. For this purpose, earl Camden, the president of the council, moved that letters patent under the great seal should be issued, appointing commissioners to open the parliament in the usual form. This motion was carried, and, on the 3d of February, Mr. Pitt brought in the regency bill, containing thirty-two clauses; but as it was not passed into a law, a particular detail of it in this place is unnecessary. While it was yet pending in the upper house, the lord chancellor, on the 19th of the same month, stated, that from the report of the physicians, he apprehended there was no need for proceeding any farther with the bill; a few days afterwards, his lordship acquainted the house, that he had, on that day, seen his majesty, and found him perfectly recovered.

Adjournments of the two houses, in consequence, took place, till the 10th of March, when the parliament was regularly opened by a commission, under the sign manual of his majesty. The accustomed formalities having been gone through with, the chancellor informed the commons, that the king being now recovered, and capable of attending to public business, had commanded the commissioners to convey his warmest acknowledgments for the proofs they had given of attachment to his person, and of their concern for the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his dominions. Congratulatory addresses were unanimously voted to the king and queen, by both houses; and great rejoicings took place at this happy event all over the country. A day of general thanksgiving was also appointed, which was observed with remarkable solemnity; and the king, accompanied by the royal family, and attended by the two houses of parliament, went in procession to the cathedral of St. Paul's, where an appropriate sermon was preached before the august audience, by Dr. Porteus, bishop of London.

Upon the question of the regency, the Irish parliament differed totally from that of Great Britain, for, without waiting to be guided by the decisions of the superior legislature, that body determined at once upon presenting an address to the prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself, unconditionally, the government of that kingdom, during the incapacity of his majesty. Deputies were appointed to bring over this address; but on their arrival, the convalescence of the king was announced, and the Irish proposition became, in consequence, a mere matter of compliment.

CHAP. LXIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1789 to 1791.

THE parliamentary history of the year after the restoration of the royal faculties, was not marked by any transactions worthy of a particular notice. In the month of June, the election of a new speaker took place, occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Grenville, on his being appointed secretary of state in the room of lord Sydney. The choice then fell upon Mr. Addington, now lord Sidmouth, who was opposed by sir Gilbert Elliot, on the popular interest. The trial of Mr. Hastings, owing perhaps to the great national question which had arisen in consequence of the king's illness, went on with so many interruptions, that the prisoner, in a very pathetic address, set forth the hardships and grievances which he had to sustain by the length of this heavy prosecution; the like of which, for procrastination, was never before known. "It is impossible," said Mr. Hastings, "that I should survive to its close, if continued as it has hitherto proceeded; and although I know not what to make the specific prayer of my petition, I do beseech your lordships to consider what injury my health and fortune must sustain, if it be your determination, that I must wait till it shall please the justice, or the candour, of the honourable house of commons, to close this prosecution."

In reply, it was feelingly observed by earl Camden, the venerable president of the council, that there was not a noble lord present, who did not wish to render Mr. Hastings the assistance he prayed for, but that it was out of the

power of the house of lords to relieve him, being bound to sit it out, let it be ever so long. It was a proceeding which, in its nature, this country had never before experienced, and it was beyond the gift of foresight to tell when an end would be put to it. The further consideration of the trial was therefore put off to a future day, and on the 11th of August parliament was prorogued.

A circumstance occurred in the course of the trial, which excited much notice, and placed the conduct of the managers in a very unfavourable light. Mr. Burke, in one of his extravagant flights, declared that Mr. Hastings, to screen himself from the vengeance of a native chief, named Nuncomar, had caused his enemy to be murdered by the formality of law, on the frivolous charge of forgery. Now, that Nuncomar had suffered death for such an offence, was certain; but the fact formed no part of the articles of impeachment of Mr. Hastings, and of course the prosecutor was not warranted in bringing forward this as a new subject. The prisoner, in consequence, prayed the house of commons, that he might be heard in his own defence; but instead of granting this reasonable and just request, the conductors of the impeachment opposed even the reception of the petition. A warm debate ensued, but, in spite of all the efforts of the managers to get rid of the petition, it was read, and produced a resolution, that the words complained of ought not to have been spoken.

The attention of the world was now fixed upon the tremendous scenes that were exhibited in the capital of France. On the 5th of May, the meeting of the states-general took place at Versailles, but though the appearance of the assembly was at first very dignified, the elements of discord soon began to explode, and, in a few weeks, the third estate had so completely gained the ascendancy over the other two orders, as to assume to itself the title of the national assembly.

This usurpation of the whole legislative authority, was rendered remarkable by the tame acquiescence of the clergy, from whom a different behaviour ought to have been expected. The nobles, indeed, for the most part, continued firm in asserting their own rights, and in an attachment to the king. Thus supported, Louis at first seemed resolved to make a stand against the democratic party, whose proceedings were declared null, and the assembly was ordered to separate. The royal mandate, however, was disobeyed, violent commotions ensued, and the French soldiers appeared ready to take part with the populace. Alarmed by these revolutionary symptoms, the king desired the nobles to relax from their pretensions, and the consequence was, a junction of the three estates; by which means the popular part obtained the preponderance. The calm that followed was of momentary duration, for the dismissal of Necker, at the beginning of July, from his office as minister of finance, produced fresh convulsions, and the attempt to restore order by means of a foreign regiment, being defeated, the populace of Paris rose in arms. On the 14th, an immense assemblage invested the Bastille, the governor of which fortress at first demanded a parley, but soon after commenced a heavy fire upon the besiegers, numbers of whom were slain. This act, instead of disheartening the crowd, served only to make them desperate. They renewed their attempts with a fury that braved all resistance, and having entered the citadel, dragged the governor to the "Place de Greve," where his head was severed from his body, and carried in triumph through all the public streets.

This was followed by similar scenes of summary vengeance upon persons who had incurred the displeasure of the mob; and thus one of the first capitals in Europe was given up to a state of lawless anarchy. At Versailles, all was consternation; and the king, without regarding the forms of majesty, instantly sought protection from the national assembly. It was but two days before, that the monarch had treated the same body with disdain, and received their remonstrance with anger. But now he appeared before them as a suppliant, invoking their assistance in humiliating terms, disavowed any intention of employing force to subjugate the capital, and implored them to use their influence in restoring peace to the distracted metropolis. The assembly

received the fallen sovereign with apparent loyalty, and gave him assurances of their sincere desire to comply with his wishes.

Very different was the aspect of affairs at Paris, where the populace, intoxicated by licentiousness, demanded the personal attendance of the king, to sanction their outrageous proceedings; accompanying this requisition with a threat, in case of refusal, of setting fire to the palace of Versailles, and of immolating the whole royal family to the national resentment.

The unhappy monarch, terrified at the dangers which surrounded him, yielded obedience to the lawless mandate, and after receiving the sacrament, set out at an early hour for Paris, leaving his family behind, without any expectation of seeing them more. On his entrance into the city, all was gloomy discontent, and as he passed along, no one dared to greet him with an expression of loyal regard. Being conducted to the Hotel of the City, Bailly, the mayor, a man whom science ought to have polished into humanity, treated his sovereign with insult, and compelled him to appear in the balcony, before the assembled populace, who did not, however, at that time, offer him any violence; and the next morning he was suffered to return to Versailles. In the mean time, however, some of the royal household thought it most prudent to seek safety in flight, and escaped to Flanders. Several of the courtiers followed their example; and such was the fear created by the tumultuary state of the metropolis, that even many of those who had been most active in bringing about the revolution, fled from a scene of terror to which they had themselves mainly contributed.

While these outrages were going on, the national assembly continued its deliberations; and, on the 20th of August, framed a declaration of rights, serving as the basis of a new constitution. This system consisted in establishing a limited and hereditary monarchy; but placed the legislative authority above the executive. Such was the degraded condition of the king, that, painful as it was to his feelings, he acceded to this scheme of government, and, on the 20th of the following month, gave it the royal sanction.

After this, it might have been expected that tranquillity and confidence would have taken place of anarchy. But the democratical party were not satisfied with a state which left even only a shadow of royalty. A scarcity of bread, which was the natural effect of the disordered condition of the kingdom, gave occasion to a fresh insurrection, and, on the 6th of October, a mob of the most ferocious character proceeded to Versailles, where they made an attack upon the palace. Among this unprincipled crew were many women, who, armed with destructive weapons, assaulted the guards stationed at the queen's door, burst into the apartments, and penetrated the chamber in which she had slept. The exertions made to retard the efforts of these demons, and the cries of 'save the queen,' which resounded on every side, gave her just time to escape, though nearly undressed. The bed from which she had just risen, was then stabbed in various places by her merciless pursuers, and the fragments were either scattered about, or carried away, as trophies of disappointed vengeance. The king, meanwhile, appeared in the balcony, imploring the enraged populace to spare his attendants, but in vain, for numbers of them were murdered in his presence. Louis, appalled by this horrible spectacle, and justly fearing that his nearest friends would suffer next, entreated the queen to remove to Rambouillet, as a place of temporary shelter. But Maria Antoinette heroically declared her resolution to share the fate of her husband, by accompanying him to Paris, and there die, as she had lived, queen of France. Apprehensive, however, of the probability of falling a victim by the way, to the rage of her infuriated persecutors, she concealed a poniard about her person, as a last resource against brutal outrage. In this spirit she entered the coach, and placing herself by the side of La Fayette, took the young dauphin in her lap. The procession then moved slowly towards the capital, amidst a dense multitude, while the heads of the unfortunate guards, who had fallen in the discharge of their duty, were held up to view on pikes. On the arrival of the royal prisoners at the Thuilleries, they were conducted to the apartments allotted for their reception, cannon being mounted at all the avenues, to prevent the possibility of escape. Such was the spectacle, the report of which shocked every heart of sensibility, through-

out the civilised world, and yet there were persons in England, who rejoiced at hearing of what would have disgraced a horde of African barbarians. A few weeks after this disgusting scene, Dr. Price, in a sermon delivered on the anniversary of the English revolution, at the meeting-house in the Old Jewry, compared the tragedy that had been recently acted at Paris, to the advent of the Saviour of the world, and, in the language of the pious Simeon, the preacher exulted, because he had lived to see "a king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects."

During these awful occurrences in France, the Austrian Netherlands exhibited, but upon very different grounds, symptoms of a change of government. The refusal of the states of Brabant to vote the customary supplies, so provoked the emperor Joseph, that he annulled his late concessions, and even retracted the oath he had taken, to observe the terms of the Joyous Entry. Goaded by military despotism, and enraged at the violation of their constitutional rights, the Flemings took up arms in their own defence, and in some cities expelled the Austrian garrisons. On the 30th of November, the states of Flanders threw off their allegiance to the emperor by a public decree, passed an edict for the raising of an army, and entered into a federal union with the states of Brabant. Ghent and Brussels next renounced the imperial authority; and all the citizens were required to bind themselves by oath to defend the rights and privileges of their country. The affairs of the emperor were embroiled still further, by disputes with his Hungarian subjects, whom he had insulted by a violation of their immunities, and by removing the regalia of the kingdom from Buda to Vienna. Such was the state of the central part of Europe at this period; and the extremities were not in a more tranquil condition. The king of Sweden was not only involved in a war with Russia, but embroiled in a contest with his nobles, many of whom were put under arrest, on a charge of treason. The king then proceeded to abolish the senate, and to reinstate in its room a new court; he also framed an act of confederation, by which all the people were bound to mutual defence, and the conservation of the existing system of government.

A revolutionary spirit also appeared at Constantinople, owing partly to the disastrous results of the war with Russia; but chiefly to the cruelties of Selim, the grand signior, who had lately succeeded his uncle, Abdul Hamet, one of the best sovereigns that ever reigned over the Mussulmans.

While other countries were thus agitated by civil broils, or engaged in sanguinary wars, England exhibited a scene of perfect repose, accompanied by every sign of prosperity and harmony.

On the 21st of January, 1790, parliament was opened with a speech from the throne, in which the contrast between the state of the continent and this kingdom was glanced at very happily, but without any reference to particular circumstances. Soon afterwards, however, Mr. Fox, in a committee of supply, took occasion to mention the French revolution in terms of unqualified approbation. This called up Mr. Burke, who entered into the subject with uncommon ardour, painted the atrocities of the French in glowing colours, and concluded by pronouncing an admirable eulogium on our own constitution, which, as the foundation of all our prosperity, he would defend with his last breath, and the last drop of his blood. Upon this, Mr. Sheridan accused Burke with supporting despotism, and libelling men who were engaged in the virtuous employment of contending for the rights of humanity. Mr. Burke, in reply, defended himself from the charge, and after cautioning the house against the promoters of innovation, renounced all farther connexion with Sheridan, leaving him, as he said, to enjoy his momentary popularity, and the mean applause of his clubs.

On the 2d of March, the attempt to repeal the Test and Corporation acts was renewed by Mr. Fox, in a very elaborate speech, which was replied to at great length by the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Burke, the latter of whom observed, "that he had never before delivered his opinions on the subject. He now avowed himself, as he always had been, a friend to unlimited toleration; but as this was a question of power, he could not, he said, acquiesce in the motion." The decision of the house shewed the powerful effect which had been excited by the late events in France, for the proposed

repeal was rejected by a great majority. Two days after this, Mr. Flood again brought forward his annual proposition, for a reform in the representation of the people; but, at the end of a long debate, he withdrew his motion, on perceiving that the sense of the house was decidedly against any alteration under existing circumstances.

In the course of the same month, the salary of the speaker of the house of commons was raised, by an unanimous vote, to six thousand a year; every member vying in expressions of respect towards Mr. Addington, for his conduct in the chair.

The opening of the budget, on the 19th of April, proved highly honourable to the talents of the minister, and afforded a very cheering prospect to the country; by shewing that the public revenue exceeded the expenditure, and that the national resources were considerably on the increase. Notwithstanding this auspicious aspect of affairs, within less than a fortnight parliament was surprised by a message from the king, containing the alarming intelligence that hostilities were likely to take place between this country and Spain. The cause of this sudden alarm was thus explained. In the year 1785, five ships were fitted out by some enterprising persons, for the purpose of carrying on a fur trade, from the north-west coast of America to Canton. This speculation proved so successful, that similar attempts were made from Bengal; and in 1786, a factory was established at Nootka Sound, a port situated near the fiftieth degree of northern latitude. Besides taking possession of this harbour in the name of his Britannic majesty, an agreement was entered into with the native Indians, for the purchase of a tract of land along the shore, on which it was intended to form a settlement. Storehouses were then erected at Nootka, and there was every prospect that the establishment would prove a profitable concern. But while the persons thus engaged were flattering themselves with the lucrative advantages likely to accrue from their enterprise, the Spanish government to the southward began to be jealous of the rising colony. On the 6th of May, 1789, two ships of war, belonging to that nation, entered the sound, and having seized the English vessels that were there, carried them as lawful prizes to St. Blas. What tended to aggravate this daring outrage, and to render the insult intolerable, was the different treatment manifested towards two American ships, then in the port of Nootka, and which were not only left unmolested, but suffered to proceed to China with their cargoes. As soon as the information of this violent proceeding reached the English government, the particulars were communicated to the two houses of parliament, with a declaration, on the part of the king, of his determined resolve to support the honour of his crown, and the rights of the people. The house of commons voted, unanimously, an address of thanks to his majesty, and instantly passed a vote for one million, to enable government to carry on vigorous preparations. A powerful armament was immediately equipped, and, at the same time, an ambassador extraordinary was despatched to Madrid, to demand satisfaction. However reluctant the court of Spain might be to retrace its steps, the decisive tone of Britain, and the distracted state of France, rendered submission necessary; and after a short discussion, it was agreed that a compensation should be made for the losses sustained by the English settlers at Nootka, as the basis for a more extended and complete adjustment of the existing differences.

While the negotiation was going on, the court of Spain secretly endeavoured to induce the French national assembly to enter into the quarrel. That body affected to do so, and a naval force was even ordered to be fitted out at Brest; but the means were wanting, and, in consequence, the Spanish government, after much delay, signed a convention, in which it was agreed that the settlement at Nootka should be restored, and that British subjects should enjoy a free navigation in the Pacific ocean, except within ten leagues of the coast occupied by Spain.

The trial of Mr. Hastings was resumed in the middle of February, on a charge of bribery, which part of the case was conducted by Mr. Anstruther; but as nothing direct could be proved, the managers endeavoured to supply the defect by circumstantial evidence. On the 10th of June, the sitting of

parliament was closed by a speech from the throne, and on the following day a dissolution took place by proclamation.

The French revolution, at this crisis, excited a very lively interest throughout the British dominions. Many clubs were formed in the metropolis, and other places, all in favour of that event, and avowedly professing to support similar principles with those on which it was founded. The anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille was also very generally celebrated, and books recommending the new lights of political philosophy were widely circulated. Upon this, Mr. Burke published his famous work, entitled "Reflections on the French Revolution;" in which he completely dissected and exposed the radical enormities of that system of boasted perfection. The effect produced by this masterly performance was electrical, and numbers who had been misled, were now convinced of their error, in taking the part of a lawless banditti. There were, however, still many who refused to be persuaded by the voice of truth and eloquence. Bigoted to their prejudices, they justified not only the end, but even the means employed by the revolutionists of France; and some scrupled not to hail the change that had been wrought on that sanguinary field, as the opening era of universal liberty. The treatise of Mr. Burke was replied to by several writers, the most remarkable of whom was Thomas Paine, whose work, entitled "The Rights of Man," had an amazing circulation, being extremely well calculated to make an impression upon vulgar minds. At first, government took no notice of this performance; but when it was followed by a second part, full of scurrility against the British constitution, a prosecution took place, and the verdict of the jury declared the author guilty of a libel. Paine, however, eluded judgment by quitting the kingdom for France, where he became a member of the national convention. —That country continued in a state of complete disorganisation; and in spite of the boasted wisdom which was said to distinguish its counsels, the people only exchanged one species of despotism for another. All regard to property was confounded, and the work of spoliation this year began by a confiscation of the estates of the clergy; to which measure succeeded the abolition of all titles of distinction, and hereditary honours, and this levelling system plainly indicated what followed, in the seizure of the domains of the nobility.

In such a state of anarchy, all obedience to authority was set at defiance, and nothing but disorder and rapine prevailed throughout the provinces. Necker, now finding that his talents were inadequate to the task of directing public affairs, pleaded ill health, as an excuse for retiring from office; and though at one time his resignation would have created a ferment, he was suffered to leave the kingdom without particular notice. Soon after this, the national assembly obliged the beneficed clergy to take an oath of fidelity to the new constitution; and those who refused the test, were deprived of their preferments. In consequence of this arbitrary act, many hundreds of conscientious ecclesiastics, among whom were several of the episcopal order, quitted their livings, and sought an asylum in foreign lands.

On the 20th of February, this year, died the emperor Joseph, little regretted by his own family, and generally despised by his subjects. He was succeeded by his brother Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, whose first object was to make peace with the Turks, in which object he found no difficulty, each power returning to the same state as before the war. The settlement of the disputes with the Belgians was not so easily effected, for the revolutionary spirit had made such a progress among them, that the restoration of the imperial authority was greatly impeded. At length, however, the united influence of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, with a declaration of the emperor, that he would govern his provinces according to the ancient customs, brought the insurgents to a state of submission.

The empress of Russia was at this time engaged, on the one side, in a war with Sweden, and on the other with the Turks. In the former she suffered some signal defeats by land and sea; but in the latter, her forces under Potemkin and Suwaroff gained many splendid victories, particularly in the reduction of the fortress of Ismail, on the Danube, where above twenty thousand Ottomans were put to the sword.

In the East Indies, a war broke out this year between the Company and

Tippoo Saib, the sultan of Mysore; owing to the ravages committed by this chief in the territories of the rajah of Travancore, an ally of the English. All attempts to bring Tippoo to reason by negotiation, having proved fruitless, a formal declaration of war ensued, and two armies, one in the Carnatic, commanded by general Meadows, and the other in Bombay, by general Abercrombie, were sent into the field.

Though some fortresses were taken by the English in the course of the campaign, and the rajah of Travancore was reinstated in his dominions, lord Cornwallis deemed it expedient, considering the enemy with whom he had to contend, to take upon himself the chief command of the forces; with which view he fixed his quarters at Fort St. George, early in December.

While matters stood in this posture in the East, the attention of parliament was called to the subject by a motion of Mr. Hippisley in the house of commons, on the 28th of February, 1791, respecting the conduct of the government of Bengal, in attacking Tippoo. It was observed on this occasion, that the interests of England were not identified with the concerns of the rajah of Travancore, and that the latter was in fact the aggressor, in the dispute between him and the sultan of Mysore. Parliament, however, judged differently; and the justice, as well as the policy of the war, was so strongly made out, that the motions made to censure it, were overruled by great majorities. Early in this session, the benefit of toleration was farther extended towards the Roman catholics, who were released from certain penal laws existing against them, on taking an oath of allegiance, consonant to their religious principles. The bill for this purpose originated in the house of commons, but it was rendered still more liberal to the parties relieved, by amendments in the house of lords.

One of the most important measures, however, which came before parliament, was the bill for regulating the government of Upper and Lower Canada; by appointing for each province a legislative council and assembly, modelled upon the plan of the British constitution. The ecclesiastical establishment was also settled by an allotment of lands for its support; besides which a provision was made for the Catholic clergy. The progress of this act through the lower house, was marked by some warm altercations between Fox and Burke, the former justifying the democratic principles on which the French revolution had been conducted, and the latter as vehemently reprobating them. The contest ran so high in the course of the debate, as to occasion a complete breach of friendship between these two distinguished characters, who never afterwards met, except in public.

On the 28th of March, a message was delivered to the house from the king, stating, that his efforts to bring about a pacific termination of the war between Russia and the Ottomans, having failed, owing to the ambition of the court of St. Petersburgh, his majesty had found it necessary to augment his naval forces. Though the usual address was moved and carried in both houses, it met with a strong opposition; and such was the unpopularity of the proposed war, that Mr. Pitt found it expedient to relinquish his design of taking part with Turkey against Russia.

Towards the close of the session, which ended on the 10th of June, a bill was passed very rapidly, for the settlement of a colony at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa, as an experimental measure, to ascertain whether the culture of coffee, sugar, and other articles, the growth of the West Indies, might not be effected by the labour of free negroes. This scheme was opposed very zealously by the mercantile interest, but in vain, and the establishment took place; though the result has been far from answering public expectation.

On the 30th of May, the managers of the impeachment of Mr. Hastings closed their case, and three days afterwards that gentleman made a powerful defence at the bar, in which he spoke with all the indignant energy of conscious innocence; and, after giving a detailed narrative of his public services, he concluded by saying, "I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment." The lords, after hearing him with deep attention, adjourned farther proceedings till the ensuing session of parliament.

CHAP. LXX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1791 to 1792.

THE progress of the French revolutionary principles excited alarm, jealousy, and animosity, wherever the moral contagion made its appearance. In England, the spirit of party ran extremely high, and the formation of clubs for the dissemination of the new doctrines of liberty and equality gave too much cause to apprehend that the zealots for reform were bent upon overturning the constitution, in an exact imitation of their foreign associates. The language held out by some political philosophers, tended to confirm this suspicion; and the confidence with which they talked of laying grains of gunpowder under the old fabric of superstition, seemed to savour less of metaphor than of an organised plan of operation. The manner also in which the anniversary of the revolution in France was celebrated by certain societies, served to increase the general uneasiness, and to inflame the resentment of those who were not accustomed to calm deliberation. The populace, on great public questions, always act on the impulse of feeling, and, therefore, they are most criminal, who, in defiance of prudence, conduct themselves in a way likely to call the angry passions into disorder and outrage. A melancholy illustration of this truth appeared this summer at Birmingham, where party spirit raged to excess, not only among the superior classes, but among the labourers and mechanics of that great manufacturing district.

Dr. Priestley, who had a large meeting-house in the town, rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the loyal part of the inhabitants, by the vehemence of his invectives, both in print and in preaching, against the established order of things. But there is no reason to believe that any acts of outrage would have been produced at Birmingham, had not a public advertisement appeared, announcing the commemoration of the French revolution at the Hotel, on the 14th of July. Previous to the intended meeting, an inflammatory handbill was circulated, in which the people were urged to imitate the conduct of the French, by the following seditious appeal: "Is it possible to forget that your own parliament is venal, your minister hypocritical; your clergy legal oppressors; the reigning family extravagant; the crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it—too weighty for the people that gave it; your taxes partial and oppressive; your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom!—But on the 14th of this month, prove to the sycophants of the day, that you reverence the olive-branch; that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity, till the majority shall exclaim, 'The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom! Of that day let tyrants beware!'" Who was the author, or who were the circulators, of this incitement to commotion, never could be ascertained; but the effect it produced was different from what was intended. The multitude regarded the address with indignation, and naturally enough associated it with the announced political meeting. In consequence, on the afternoon of Thursday, a considerable number of persons assembled round the Hotel, hissing the gentlemen as they passed. Nothing, however, of a more serious cast occurred till the company broke up, when every window in the front of the house was completely demolished. The two dissenting meeting-houses next became the objects of attack; that of Dr. Priestley was completely demolished, but the other was only stripped of its pulpit and pews, which were made a bonfire of in the neighbouring burying ground. From thence the rioters proceeded to Dr. Priestley's house, which, with all its furniture and library, they entirely destroyed; but here one of the mob met with his death by the falling of a heavy stone.

The work of destruction was renewed the following day, and again on Saturday, nor was even the Sabbath suffered to pass without similar outrages, which, however, were mostly extended to some places at a short distance from the town. On that night, three troops of light dragoons arrived, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the town was immediately illuminated. By the next morning, every thing was tolerably quiet in Birmingham, but the rioters still continued their depredations in the adjacent villages, till Wed-

nesday, when by the united exertions of the magistracy and the military, the disorder was suppressed. At the ensuing assizes, several of the rioters were tried, and two of the principal ones suffered death.

Symptoms of a tumult appeared also in the metropolis on the same occasion; but having another object. On the 14th of July, about one thousand partisans assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the French revolution at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, which drew together a great mob, who paraded the streets, and compelled many persons to illuminate their houses. By the activity of the civil power, and the presence of some soldiers, however, all farther outrage was prevented.

The domestic history of this year was distinguished by the marriage of the duke of York to the princess Frederica, eldest daughter of the king of Prussia. This ceremony took place, first at Berlin, on the 29th of September, and again at the queen's palace, in England, on the 23d of November.

The state of France was now approaching towards the crisis which all discerning men had long anticipated. Some of the elder branches of the royal family, and many of the nobility, withdrew at the beginning of the year; and in the night of the 20th of June, the king and queen, with the king's sister, monsieur and his wife, escaped from the Thuilleries, through a subterraneous passage, and set off for the frontiers. At Varennes, however, Louis, Maria Antoinette, and madam Elizabeth, were stopped by the postmaster, and brought back under a guard. Monsieur and his lady, by taking a different route, reached Brussels without interruption. This event produced some rigorous decrees against the emigrants; but as yet no fresh act of violence was shewn towards the monarch, who, at the beginning of September, signified his acceptance of the new constitution. At the end of the same month, the national assembly dissolved itself, after having sat two years; but the resolution, that none of the old members should be eligible to a re-election, was an act of political suicide, for which it would be in vain to find an excuse. The consequence of this unwise measure was, as might have been foreseen, that the new constituent body was made up of men totally ignorant of public business, and, for the most part, unconnected by any common principle. Most of these unfledged legislators were republicans, and selected from the inferior orders of society, with talents barely sufficient to qualify them for mischief. One of their first measures was the passing of a decree, denouncing death against all emigrants who did not return by the 1st of January in the ensuing year. This sanguinary edict was followed by another, little less cruel, against those ecclesiastics, who, from conscientious scruples, declined taking the civic oaths. To these tyrannical decrees the king refused to give his sanction, and by so doing increased the number of his enemies.

The war between the Turks and Russians, after several desperate conflicts, the result of which was mostly favourable to the latter, terminated in August, by a treaty, in which the fortress of Oczakow, and all the country between the Bog and the Dneiper, were alienated from the Ottoman diadem.

In the East Indies, lord Cornwallis having resolved to push the war into the heart of Tippoo's dominions, marched, at the beginning of the year, against Bangalore, one of the strongest places belonging to the sultan; and, on the 21st of February, it was carried by storm. The capture of this fortress laid Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, open to the conqueror, but being disappointed in the expected supplies, his lordship deemed it most prudent to defer the meditated attack till the ensuing season. Accordingly, on the 5th of February, 1792, the confederated forces, consisting of the English troops, those of the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, encamped about seven miles from Seringapatam. The sultan, in the mean time, had not been inactive, but had taken up a strong position on the north bank of the river, his front and flanks being covered by a bound hedge, and a number of ravines, swamps, and watercourses; with a long chain of redoubts, full of cannon. Notwithstanding the formidable appearance of these works, lord Cornwallis lost no time in making an attack, and, in the night of the 6th, three divisions marched to the assault, the right under the orders of general Meadows, the left led by colonel Maxwell, and the centre directed by the noble commander in person. The enterprise was difficult from the nature of the situation, the strength of the

fortifications, and the determined resolution of the defenders, among whom were some able French engineers. At ten the attack began, the moon shining bright, and every movement conducted in a magnificent style. General Meadows advanced against Tippoo's strongest battery of Europeans, and though thrice repulsed, the besiegers returned again to the charge, and the post was carried, attended with a great slaughter. On the other side, colonel Maxwell rapidly led the left to the storm of a fortified pagoda, on the heights; having, in his progress, to reduce three powerful redoubts, each secured by a ditch; but his soldiers overcame all obstructions, and, on reaching the ultimate object, were encountered by the enemy in great numbers, who made a desperate, but ineffectual resistance.

During these operations, lord Cornwallis rapidly led on the centre, opposite the tent of Tippoo, where stood the flower of the Mysorean army; but here the assailants were impeded for a short space, by the uncommon strength of the works; which at length were forced, and a tremendous slaughter was the price of the acquisition. The enemy fought with an enthusiastic fury, obstinately exerting themselves to the last moment in stemming a torrent that bore down all before it. When the soldiers of Tippoo fell back, their opponents pushed on, broke the line, and all was confusion. Here lord Cornwallis was exposed to imminent danger; for, having sent off a part of his column to support the troops in another quarter, the enemy took advantage of the circumstance, and forming in his rear, again came on, increasing in numbers and fury. They were, however, repulsed, with considerable loss, and his lordship, having succeeded on the camp, crossed the river, to storm a triangular redoubt, which also was taken after an obstinate defence. The possession of this post was contested in several successive attempts, all of which, however, failed, though numbers of fresh troops were brought up for the purpose, among whom were several Europeans.

For a considerable time, the British and their allies had to sustain the fire of one hundred pieces of cannon, notwithstanding which, and the other perilous circumstances that attended the enterprise, the loss of the assailants bore a very insignificant proportion to that of the enemy. In crossing the river, the water was up to the necks of the soldiers, and the bottom was so bad, that they frequently stumbled and fell. Owing in a great measure to this, not a cartridge was fit for use, and the whole business was accomplished by the bayonet.

The sultan now finding his situation hopeless, surrendered to the victor, and signed the preliminary articles of a treaty, in which he agreed to cede one half of his territories to the allied powers, also to pay a large sum by way of indemnity; to release all the prisoners taken from them, either by his father or himself, and to deliver up his two sons as hostages till the terms should be fulfilled.

This last ceremony was performed in the English camp with great solemnity, on the 26th; and soon after, the lands thus wrested from Tippoo, were divided in three equal portions between the confederates.

Such was the glorious and speedy termination of this war; and yet, at the very time when lord Cornwallis had brought the haughty tyrant of Mysore to a state of humiliation, the English opposition at home were predicting nothing but disasters to the Company from this very contest.

At the opening of parliament in January, Mr. Grey moved, as an amendment to the address, "That the house, fully sensible of the evils of a procrastinated war, which must be ruinous to the finances of the Company, cannot help expressing their regret, that the prospects held out in the speech from the throne, at the commencement of the last session, have not been realized." Mr. Fox followed in the same querulous strain; but Mr. Dundas very happily ridiculed the phantoms which had been raised, for the purpose of exciting discontent, by a reference to the fall of Bangalore, and the crippled resources of Tippoo.

One of the principal subjects which came before parliament this session, was the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, for the abolition of the slave-trade. The proposition was argued in the lower house at great length, and with a powerful appeal to the passions; but the more it was discussed, the greater effect

it produced in the cause of suffering humanity. After a warm debate, on the 2d of April, it was decided in favour of an abolition of the traffic, by a considerable majority; and, ultimately, it was proposed that the period of its limitation should be fixed for the 1st of January, 1796. In the house of lords, the question was considered with much less warmth than in the commons; and the result was different; for though, on the principle, both branches of the legislature concurred, the peers left the time of closing the slave-trade altogether indefinite. In the course of the debate, the duke of Clarence distinguished himself by a very able speech, in which he advocated, from personal knowledge, the cause of the West Indian planters, with considerable animation and effect.

The parliamentary history of this year was also rendered remarkable by an alteration of the law of libel. About ten years before this, Mr. Burke endeavoured to settle the subject, by giving to juries a general right of decision, on the question of law, as well as fact, free from the control of the judges; but the attempt at that time failed. In the present session it was renewed more auspiciously by Mr. Fox, and, with the support of Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville, it was carried through both houses. The bill, however, was zealously opposed by the chancellor, and chief-justice Kenyon, on the grounds formerly advanced by earl Mansfield; but to their arguments lord Loughborough and earl Camden replied at great length, and with considerable force.

An extension of toleration was this year manifested towards a class of subjects hitherto so little regarded, that their very existence, as a religious body, was almost unknown to the greater part of the nation. These persons formed the remnant of the ancient Scotch episcopal church; an establishment that was once great, but which had given way at the revolution to the ascendancy of the presbyterian influence. From that period this venerable communion, although so nearly allied to the church of England, had been not only depressed, but grievously persecuted by the enactment of penal statutes of the most galling description. As the present era seemed favourable to the claims of this suffering church, a bill was brought into the house of lords, having two objects, one clause being the repeal of the laws that had been passed in the reign of George the Second, against the pastors of the Scottish episcopal church; and the other clause for regulating the consecration and ordination of the bishops and clergy of that society. The introduction of this bill brought on a discussion of the subject, in which the lord chancellor appeared inclined to oppose it, till he was set right by bishop Horsley, who gave a luminous history of the Scotch episcopal church, and supported its cause in the present instance so powerfully, that the measure was carried without a dissenting voice. Very different was the fate of an application made in the house of commons, on behalf of the Unitarians, by Mr. Fox. The motion of that gentleman for a committee of the whole house, to consider of the repeal and alteration of sundry acts which affected those persons who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, was opposed most strenuously by Mr. Burke and the minister, both of whom, but particularly the former, contended, that the persons on whose behalf this proposition was made, mixed politics with their religious opinions in a way that did not entitle them to indulgence. This was denied by the principal members of the opposition, but the danger of innovation appeared so glaring, that the motion was negatived by a great majority.

The progress of the new doctrines of liberty and equality having excited great uneasiness, it was deemed advisable to issue a royal proclamation against the circulation of seditious tracts, and the institution of societies founded on those principles. This measure being communicated to both houses of parliament, occasioned some animated debates, and the address to the king, upon the subject, was met in each assembly by an amendment, denying the existence of any danger, and condemning the conduct of ministers for raising unnecessary alarm. The judgment of parliament, however, was adverse to that of the opposition, and, in their joint address to the throne, the lords and commons said, "We cannot see without indignation, the attempts which have been made to weaken, in the minds of your majesty's subjects, the sentiments of obedience to the laws, and of attachment to the

form of government, civil and religious, so happily established within this realm."

In the upper house, the prince of Wales personally appeared to support the address, in doing which, he made an excellent and very impressive speech. "The constitution," he observed, "was a subject which, at a very early period of his life, he had contemplated with pleasure, and which, to the end of it, he hoped would continue unimpaired. It was a constitution which had afforded protection to all ranks and classes, and he trusted it would continue that advantage. He therefore thought it the duty of every well-wisher to this country, and true lover of real freedom, to support this constitution by every effort in his power, as a sacred gift delivered to our ancestors, and considered by them as the best practical model of civil government, to secure the liberty, the prosperity, and happiness of the subject."

During this session of parliament, an act was passed for the better regulation of the police of the metropolis, by the establishment of stipendiary magistrates, at the head of different offices, with a number of persons to act under their orders. Though the necessity of this reform was sufficiently obvious, it was not suffered to take place without meeting with a strenuous opposition; and an institution calculated solely for the benefit of the public, was reprobated as an engine of oppression, and an additional restriction of the liberty of the subject. To such a pitch will the spirit of party carry men of superior intellect, when, instead of legislating with a single eye to national advantage, they view every thing through the medium of prejudice. This was one of the last acts of the session, which ended on the 15th of June.

We must now take a review of the state of Europe at this eventful crisis.

At the beginning of the year, the hostile designs of Austria and Prussia against France, were too plainly indicated in the activity of military preparations, to be misunderstood, though the emperor Leopold endeavoured, as far as he could, to disguise his intentions. At this time, there was a club in France, eagerly disposed for war, as the surest means of accomplishing the absolute downfall of the monarchy. This desperate party, which obtained the name of the Jacobins, from the monastery at Paris where the members held their meetings, in a short time increased to such a degree as to overawe the legislative assembly, and give the law to the nation. While the capital was thus agitated by internal factions, the emigrants congregated in military array, and fixed their head-quarters at Coblentz, whither many of the nobles repaired, to assist in the great enterprise which they had in view, of delivering their country. Just at this critical moment, an unexpected event occurred, which retarded the design, and threw a momentary cloud over the hopes of the French royalists. This was the sudden death, by poison, as was supposed, of the Austrian monarch, on the 1st of March. Leopold was succeeded by his son, Francis the Second, who quickly evinced his resolution to pursue the course which had been begun by his father; and to adhere to the treaty that had been entered into, the preceding year, between the late emperor and the king of Prussia, at Pilnitz, in which it was agreed to unite their means, for the re-establishment of Louis the Sixteenth in the possession of his legitimate rights as king of France.

The national assembly, however, being full as eager for hostilities as the two potentates could be, resolved to anticipate them, and, on the 24th of April, the king was compelled to sign a formal declaration of war against Austria. This measure was not received with more fanatical triumph by the revolutionary zealots in France, than by the expatriated royalists on its borders; but the former looked for spoliation, and the latter for revenge.

At this time, Dumourier, an officer who had acquired distinction by his services, was at the head of the war department; and, to do him justice, he managed his trust with energy and talent. The first operations of the French, however, were marked by disaster, and augured inauspiciously to the revolutionary cause. La Fayette entered the Austrian Netherlands with an army of fifty thousand men; and it was intended that he should be supported by another under Rochambeau; while a third was to attack Mons, and Dillon was to make a diversion on Tournay. This plan underwent some alteration, and the consequences were fatal; the besiegers of Mons were defeated, and the

corps of Dillon, after retreating from before the enemy, avenged themselves by murdering their commander. La Fayette also made an attempt upon Namur without success, for want, as it was said, of proper supplies. The whole military arrangements being thus disorganized, Dumourier took the command upon himself, as lieutenant-general of all the armies. Two manifestoes were now issued by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, stating their respective reasons for taking up arms; and both concluding in nearly the same profession, that their object was the establishment of a legal power, to prevent the incalculable evils resulting from insubordination, the subversion of authority, and the licentiousness of anarchy.

The Prussian monarch supported his declaration, by marching at the head of fifty thousand men to Coblentz, where the emigrant princes joined him with their associates in arms. The duke of Brunswick was now appointed commander-in-chief of all the combined forces, and this general soon after published a manifesto to the inhabitants of France, the language of which was more calculated to inflame than to moderate the passions of those to whom it was addressed. After denouncing as rebels, all the national guards who should presume to fight against the allied troops, the duke threatened, "in case any violence should be offered to the persons of the king, queen, and royal family of France, to give the city of Paris up to military execution, and expose it to total destruction."

This imprudent publication, instead of terrifying the French, or proving beneficial to the unhappy personages who were at the mercy of a lawless banditti, had quite an opposite effect; for the people were exasperated to the height of fury against the invaders, and the prevalent faction seized the opportunity of bringing the work of revolution to a climax. All respect for order was now at an end in Paris; the mob, incited by the Jacobins, reigned predominant, and groups of desperate characters were seen every where, haranguing the populace, and stirring them up to acts of outrage. Ruffians of broken fortunes poured continually into the capital from different provinces, and of these desperadoes, those from the southern departments were by far the most ferocious. What followed, was the natural consequence of such a frightful accumulation of mischief and crime. In the middle of the summer, a conspiracy was formed against the constitution, by Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Collot d'Herbois, Barbaroux, Eglantine, and Chabot, a band of miscreants, who attained a bad pre-eminence, by the total absence of every virtue. These wretches having mustered their partisans, the chief of whom were about eight hundred Marseillois, began their murderous career on the night of the 10th of August, 1792, by first suspending the municipal authorities, sounding the tocsin, and attacking the Thuilleries. So unexpected was this assault, that the national guards were taken by surprise, but the Swiss troops were soon under arms. This was the moment when Louis XVI. might either have secured his crown, or, by a brave resistance, have gained the name of a hero. But, too timid to struggle with danger, or too tender to shed blood, this amiable monarch sought refuge in the national assembly, and left his defenders to perish.

This pusillanimous step alone was wanting to complete his ruin. The conspirators, who had been repulsed in their first attempt upon the palace, returned to the assault with increasing numbers, and the guards, being without a commander, though they fought desperately, were overpowered and massacred. Every part of the building flowed with blood, and the heads of the faithful adherents to the king were carried about the city on pikes. In this tragedy near a thousand lives were lost, and many persons were afterwards shot as they passed along the streets.

The triumphant faction having thus succeeded in dissolving the government, caused the unhappy monarch and his family to be shut up in the gloomy dungeons of the Temple, there to wait the decision of a convention, which was ordered to be convoked in the room of the national assembly.

While these disorders prevailed at Paris, the allied armies entered the French territories, and made themselves masters of Longwy and Verdun. This intelligence only made matters worse in the capital, where the prisons were crowded with the victims of popular fury; and, on the 2d of September,

the tocsin was again sounded, as the signal of another massacre. This carnage lasted four days in the metropolis; which bloody example was followed at Orleans and some other places. Amidst these horrors, the convention commenced its sittings, and the first of its acts was the abolition of royalty; a decree that too plainly indicated the catastrophe which shortly afterwards took place.

In the mean time, the Prussian army, that had penetrated into Champagne, began to experience considerable embarrassments, the chief of which arose from the want of provisions in a barren country. This distress was aggravated by a contagious disorder, which did even more execution than the sword.

The French, on the other hand, having recovered from their first panic, now presented a formidable barrier against the invaders; and numerous volunteers hastened from all the provinces to the national standard. Thus situated, the duke of Brunswick, instead of marching, as he had proposed, to the rescue of the royal family, abandoned them to their fate, gave up the places which he had captured, and made a sudden retreat to the frontiers. Such was the termination of an expedition which had excited the attention of all Europe, and from which the friends of order and humanity had augured the happiest effects.

While these transactions were occurring in the heart of Europe, the north exhibited scenes of a melancholy description. Gustavus III., king of Sweden, having given umbrage to the aristocratic body by certain measures, which tended to limit their authority, some of the most desperate of that party entered into a conspiracy for his destruction. After a variety of contrivances had been suggested, it was resolved to assassinate the king at a masquerade. Accordingly, a discontented officer, named Ankarstroem, was pitched upon for this purpose, which he accomplished in the evening of the 16th of March. The murderer escaped after perpetrating the deed, but was apprehended the next day, and made an ample confession of the whole plot, in consequence of which, baron Bielke, who was at the head of it, poisoned himself, but the rest were tried and convicted. Notwithstanding this, Ankarstroem alone suffered death; the sentence upon his employers, whose guilt was fully proved, being commuted either to banishment or imprisonment.

The fate of Poland came this year to a crisis; but owing to the tremendous tragedy acting in France, it excited not that deep interest throughout Europe, to which it was entitled. In May, 1791, the National Diet agreed in the settlement of a free constitution, the basis of which consisted of an hereditary monarchy, and a representative system of legislation. This plan of government was submitted to the judgment of the king of Prussia, as the protector of the Polish liberties, and received his entire approbation; after which, king Stanislaus solemnly swore to the maintenance of it at the altar. The whole proceeding, however, proved hateful to the arbitrary court of St. Petersburgh, and when Catherine had finished the war with the Porte, she scrupled not to turn her arms against Poland. In this exigency, Stanislaus naturally looked to the king of Prussia for support or mediation; but though that monarch had guaranteed the independence of Poland, he now receded from his engagement, and openly joined the empress in her ambitious views. Stanislaus then called a meeting of the deputies of the provinces, on the 22d of July, to deliberate upon the best measures to be adopted for the welfare of the nation. Of two evils, they were obliged to choose the least, either to have their country entirely destroyed by the immense armies which threatened to overrun it; or to comply with the terms imposed upon them by their two powerful neighbours. The latter step was preferred for the sake of humanity, and the king was not only obliged to annul the new constitution, and to re-establish the wretched system which had existed before the revolution, but even to deliver up his army to the Russian general Brinski.

CHAP. LXXI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1792 to 1793.

THE invasion of France by the Austrian and Prussian armies, had an effect the very reverse of what was expected; and instead of disheartening the people, or making them hoist the royal standard, the proclamation of the duke of Brunswick caused a prodigious increase of the republican forces. At the beginning of the campaign, Dumourier had no more than seventeen thousand men under his command, but in a few months he had more than five times that number. The other generals in the French service were equally successful; so that from acting on the defensive, they were now able to carry on active operations in the territories of the enemy. The consequences were in the natural order of things; for though the national convention had, by a decree, formally renounced all intentions of making conquests, the French armies were now employed in schemes of aggrandizement. In the month of September, general Montesquiou entered Savoy, which he reduced without resistance, and the convention immediately caused the country to be enrolled among the departments of the republic.

At the same time, general Custine was making similar conquests on the side of Germany. After capturing Spires, he attacked Worms, which soon surrendered, as also did Mentz and Frankfort; but the city of Coblentz, being defended by the emigrants and a strong body of Austrians and Prussians, baffled his efforts.

Dumourier was equally fortunate in several engagements, the most decisive of which was that fought on the 6th of November, at Jemappe. The Austrians were strongly entrenched; but all their lines were forced, and carried at the point of the bayonet. This battle gave to the republicans, on that side, Mons, Tournay, and Brussels; to which succeeded in rapid succession, Ghent, Antwerp, Malines, Namur, Charleroi, Louvain, and Ostend. Intoxicated by these conquests, the national convention denounced, in effect, war against every existing government, by promising assistance to all those people who were desirous of freedom. The folly which prompted this decree, was, however, nothing, compared to the act of wickedness that came immediately after it. To fill up the measure of public crime, the same infamous body resolved upon making a sacrifice of their helpless monarch, whose existence they affected to consider as dangerous to liberty. A mock trial took place, which, though it began on the 11th of December, did not end till the 17th of January, when the convention decreed, that this unfortunate sovereign, whose only crime, if possible, was an excess of humanity, had conspired against the nation, for which he merited death. Sentence to that effect was accordingly pronounced, and, on the 21st, it was put in execution, with circumstances of barbarity that would have disgraced a horde of cannibals.

This dreadful tragedy, which, in circumstantial cruelty, exceeded the atrocious murder of Charles the First, struck all Europe with astonishment, and kindled a general spirit of indignation against the perpetrators. So much horror, in fact, had been already excited by the French republic, that its friendship was considered as pestilential, and the surrounding states trembled for their security, when they saw with what ardour the example of regicides was recommended for general imitation. The greeting given by the convention to foreigners, whose only claim to that distinction consisted in being traitors to their own governments, was enough to create alarm throughout the civilized world. In England, the danger at this time was certainly very great, for though the body of the nation was loyal and religious, there were many desperate characters, who laboured intensely to bring about a revolution, similar in every respect to that which called forth the execration of all virtuous minds. Numerous clubs were also formed in various parts of the kingdom, having for their object the propagation of those levelling doctrines which had produced the downfall of the French monarchy, and the extinction of religion in that country.

Under these circumstances, and knowing that the republicans meditated a war with England, ministers deemed it necessary to call out the militia, and, as a

matter of course, to convene parliament at an earlier period than usual. The session was opened, on the 13th of December, with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty, after mentioning the increased activity of the seditious societies, and the spirit of riot which had been manifested in different parts of the kingdom, alluded to the state of the continent, and the too plain indications given by France, of a disposition to excite disturbances in other countries, and to violate the positive stipulations of existing treaties. The debates that ensued in both houses, were of the most animated description, but particularly so in the commons, where Mr. Fox treated the royal speech with more than ordinary freedom. The chief part of it, he said, was composed of assertions of dangers which he knew were false, and which, those who made them, knew were not true. It was a compound of causes and pretexts, artfully blended for public delusion. With the riots or insurrections he was unacquainted, and he challenged ministers to prove their existence. They were, however, merely imaginary, or created only for the purpose of drawing forth the subsidies of loyalty from the nation, in order that those who were near the sovereign, might catch some portion of the popularity which they had so artfully extorted.

Mr. Fox was equally incredulous in regard to any danger from the successes of the French on the continent, and took occasion to remind the house, that, by his exertions, a war with Russia had been prevented. But this great statesman did not acknowledge the fact, that he had been the agent of Russia, whither he actually sent as his ambassador on the occasion, Mr. Robert Adair, who received more distinguished honours from the empress Catherine, than the accredited British minister himself. There was yet another circumstance connected with this point of history, to which public attention ought to have been drawn. By the impediment thrown in the way of the English government, Russia was enabled, not only to carry all her objects against Turkey, but to accomplish the nefarious design of reducing Poland to an imperial province. Such was the consequence of that activity in preventing a war, for which Mr. Fox and his party took unbounded credit to themselves. In the present instance, the great leader of opposition was foiled, because the perils by which the country was surrounded, appeared too glaring to be misunderstood. Every man, not wilfully blinded by political prejudices, saw, in the conduct of the French republicans, the same ambitious spirit and intriguing aim at aggrandizement, that had characterized the nation when under a monarchical despotism. The name only was changed, the tyrannical and unprincipled disposition remained, without even the formalities of diplomatic chicanery to give a colour to its rapaciousness. Mr. Fox concluded his severe censure of the speech and proposed address, by offering an amendment, purporting, that the house would inquire into the new and extraordinary causes of their assembling. This was opposed by Mr. Windham, who had been hitherto one of the warmest admirers of Mr. Fox, but who now, with several others, felt the necessity of sacrificing party considerations for the public welfare. In reply to what had fallen from Mr. Fox, on the non-existence of danger and insurrection, he observed, that facts were called for, but he saw not the necessity of them, when every man's observation convinced him of the danger. A system first originated in this country, with what was called a Constitutional Society, which had been transplanted to France, where it soon so improved under the genius of that republic, as to be competent to all the blessed works which the world subsequently witnessed, and it was now brought back again to England, so perfectly organized in all its parts, as to be thought capable of effecting similar achievements here.

Burke, as usual, was vehement in his philippic, both against his old associates, and the objects of their admiration. At length, the original address was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty. Notwithstanding this schism in the ranks of opposition, Mr. Fox persevered in combating the measures of government, and the next day, when the address was brought up, he moved another amendment, expressive of the great concern the house felt at the probable interruption of tranquillity, and strongly recommending, if it were yet possible, that negotiation should precede a rupture with France.

In the course of his speech on this occasion, he declared his intention

of speedily making a specific motion for the purpose of acknowledging the republic of France, and of entering into a negotiation with her on the subject of the Scheldt. Mr. Fox even went so far as to declare his opinion that, had such a measure been adopted some time before, many evils would have been averted, and perhaps the royal blood been saved, which possibly was now streaming from the axe of injustice and impolicy.

The eloquence of the great orator, however, made so little impression upon the house, that the proposition was negatived without a division. Still firm to his purpose, and unmoved by the desertions from his standard which at every debate took place, Mr. Fox, on the following day, brought forward another motion for an address to his majesty, "praying him to send an ambassador to the provisional executive council of France, to negotiate with them concerning any subject that might be a cause of hostility."

It should here be observed, that when the French king was dethroned by the convention, and thrown into prison, orders were sent to earl Gower, the British ambassador, to quit Paris, as his diplomatic character was now at an end. This measure, though attended with a formal correspondence between his lordship and Le Brun, the republican minister, produced no remonstrance on the part of the latter, nor was it taken as an act in any degree indicative of an hostile intention. Chauvelin, the French minister at the court of London, continued still to reside here after the return of lord Gower, though his public functions had necessarily ceased, ever since the dethronement of the sovereign whom he represented. The motion of Mr. Fox, therefore, if adopted, would have given to this man full powers, and he who had just before been the ambassador of Louis XVI., would have appeared at the English court as the delegate of his master's murderers. Such was the state of self-degradation to which this proposed measure would have subjected Great Britain. But parliament indignantly refused to countenance regicide; and this motion of Mr. Fox was also rejected without a division.

On the 15th of the same month, lord Grenville introduced into the upper house, a bill to establish regulations concerning aliens coming into the kingdom, or actually residing here, under peculiar circumstances.

This measure was strenuously opposed by the marquis of Lansdowne and lord Lauderdale, the former of whom attacked it in two motions, one for negotiating with the French convention, by sending over an ambassador to intercede in behalf of Louis XVI., and the other, to solicit relief from the same body, for the unfortunate emigrants who had sought refuge in this kingdom. These propositions were deservedly treated as preposterous in themselves, and calculated to lower, rather than exalt, the dignity of Great Britain. That the furious demagogues who had gained the supremacy in France, would be induced to relax in their course, and listen to the voice of reason and humanity, no man who contemplated their character and proceedings, could possibly believe. Besides, the same convention, at this very time, were receiving deputations from the seditious clubs in this country, who had for their avowed aim, the establishment of a republic in imitation of the model which was so much the object of their admiration. The motions of the marquis were therefore negatived without a division; and the language of lord Lauderdale, the zealous champion of the revolution, drew a severe castigation from lord Loughborough, who soon afterwards became chancellor.

That there was a party in the kingdom, aiming at an innovation similar to what had taken place on the continent, might be denied, his lordship observed, but facts were of more authority than words, and from them the case was made evident to demonstration. "When," said he, "the French first altered their system of government, and imprisoned their monarch, there was a gleam of joy, which could not be hid, very visible on the countenances of a particular description of people, and they went some extraordinary lengths in celebrating the event. This was in some measure checked by the vast armaments formed against the usurping power of France; and when the Austrian and Prussian armies approached the capital, all was dismay with a certain party. They hung their heads in silent despair, and considered the levelling system as for ever destroyed; but when the fate of war had changed the tide of

affairs against the combined armies, the joy of the same party knew no bounds, and the societies again opened their communications, in a manner publicly hostile to our constitution. Embassies were sent to France, to congratulate the atheistical national assembly of that country on their success, and even so far as to promise the assistance of certain members here, in case of an insurrection, who would endeavour to plant their tree of infamous liberty in this happy country." Having taken this retrospect, and reprobated the conduct of persons in high station, who countenanced a cause tending to demoralise the world, the learned lord urged the necessity of passing the alien bill, in order to secure the kingdom from foreign and internal enemies. When the bill came to the lower house, it was encountered by Mr. Fox, who, in the discussion, observed, that "much had been contended on the danger created by the progress of French principles, but that, for his part, he did not believe those principles could make their way into a country like this, or any other, enjoying rational liberty."

Mr. Pitt, on the contrary, said that, in his opinion, there were not more than ten, or at most fifteen, gentlemen in that house, who could stand up with grave faces, and profess their disbelief of existing dangers.

It was in this memorable debate that Mr. Burke ended a long speech with declaring, that there were assassins in this country, armed with daggers, for the extirpation of kings; then suddenly snatching from his bosom a weapon of that kind, manufactured at Birmingham, he threw it upon the floor, exclaiming, "Behold the boasted fraternization of Frenchmen!"

The proposed bill being supported by overflowing majorities, among whom were many members of the old opposition, went rapidly through parliament, and, on the 8th of January, 1793, received the royal assent by commission.

Another precautionary measure resorted to by government, at this awful period, evinced the danger arising from French influence and connexions.

Sir John Scott, the attorney-general, and now lord-chancellor, soon after the meeting of parliament, called its attention to a very serious subject, for which there existed no legal remedy. A practice had lately obtained, of paying artificers, manufacturers, and labourers, in many parts of the kingdom, with assignats, and other securities, from bodies of men in France. On the danger of such a practice, he observed, it was unnecessary to dwell, for it was evident to every man; he therefore contented himself with moving for leave to bring in a bill, to prohibit the circulation of promissory or other notes, orders, undertakings, or obligations, of whatever kind, issued by any public authority in France. The motion for leave to bring in a bill to check this evil, being assented to, a legislative enactment on the subject was soon afterwards provided.

While the British parliament was thus employed in measures called for by urgent necessity, to repel the dangers that threatened the country, the republican agent, Chauvelin, on the part of his masters, remonstrated with government on the subject, and demanded a satisfactory explanation, whether the alien bill, and the augmentation of the forces, were to be considered as having an hostile intention towards the French republic. Lord Grenville, in his reply, declined giving any explanation, and concluded with saying, "I think it my duty to inform you in the most positive terms, in answer to what you tell me on the subject of our preparations, that under the present circumstances, all those measures will be continued which may be judged necessary to place us in a state of protecting the safety, tranquillity, and the rights of this country, as well as to guarantee those of our allies; and to set up a barrier to those views of ambition and aggrandizement, dangerous at all times to the rest of Europe, but which become still more so, when supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all social order."

The republican delegate next insisted upon knowing whether his person and papers would be secured from the operation of the alien act, but was informed, that being in a private character, he would be treated as other foreigners; and, on the 24th, he received an order to quit the kingdom within a week. Thus the sword was unsheathed, and, on the 28th, a communication from the king announced the same to each house of parliament; where the subject was taken into consideration on the 1st of February following.

and addresses voted, thanking his majesty for the information he was graciously pleased to afford them, offering their condolence for the recent unhappy occurrence in a neighbouring kingdom, and promising the support required, for the augmentation of the naval and military forces.

The address, however, was not suffered to pass in either house without opposition. In the lords, an amendment was proposed by earl Stanhope, and seconded by lord Lauderdale, deprecating a war, but it was negatived without a division; after which, the two peers, in conjunction with the earl of Derby, entered on the journal a long protest, declaratory of their sentiments. In the house of commons, Mr. Pitt went very minutely into the history of the French revolution, particularly the latter stage of it, in order to shew, that though the professions of the new republic had been amicable, her conduct had militated directly against her pacific declarations. She had, indeed, disavowed all views of aggrandizement, and every intention of interference with the government of neutral nations. But so far from acting conformably with these promises, she had pursued an opposite course. In the first instance, she had annexed Savoy to her own departments, and the convention, in the decree which had been passed for that purpose, announced to the world that they would do the same by every country in which their arms should be successful. The decree which the assembly passed in December, stated expressly, that where temporary success gave them possession, it should be accompanied by (what was contrary to the laws of war, as practised among all civilized nations) a total subversion and extinction of the ancient government. By the same decree, their victorious generals were ordered to treat as enemies, all who would not accept of what they called liberty. French fraternity was offered freely to all, at the points of French bayonets; and the mild and moderate principles of what was termed free government, were promulgated from the mouths of cannon.

"An alliance with such a country," Mr. Pitt observed, "however much it might be desired by some men, appeared to him to be nothing short of submitting to be a province of France; and a negotiation with their Jacobin clubs and petty municipalities, in his opinion, led to more dangerous consequences, than would have followed a neglect of the most ambitious projects and exertions of the most ambitious period of the old monarchy." The minister then proceeded to particular proofs of the interference of the republican convention with the governments of neutral nations, and he dwelt very strongly on their conduct towards the people of the Netherlands. But his principal argument for resistance to the French, was grounded upon the violation of the right of the Dutch to the navigation of the Scheldt. Now, it was an indisputable fact, that France herself was bound as a guarantee to maintain that very right, which, by an open breach of faith, she was the first to violate. It was true, that the Dutch had as yet only made a formal protest on the subject; but their fear was no reason why this country should, with apathy, suffer one unprincipled aggression to precede a tide of encroachment, which, if not timely opposed, might end in the ruin of England and all Europe.

Mr. Pitt then adduced a curious instance of the hostile intentions of the French towards this country. At the very time when Chauvelin was pressing for his reception in a diplomatic character, and complained of the offensive construction put upon the decree of the convention, which offered liberty and assistance to all people, the minister of marine in that country sent a circular letter to the sea-ports, intimating that "England and Spain were preparing to attack them; that these two despots, after persecuting the patriots and republicans in their own countries, were endeavouring to deter them from punishing the traitor Louis, and that the king and parliament of England meant to make war on them. But would the English republicans permit it? No; they are firm to our cause, and ready to receive us with open arms—we will fly to their succour—we will make a descent on England, and carry with us fifty thousand caps of liberty, and transplant into that country the sacred tree!" Notwithstanding these provocations, Mr. Pitt said, that he should continue to exert himself for the maintenance of peace; but that it would be imposing upon the house, and contrary to his own opinion, to declare a probability of it.

The motion which followed it, pledging the house to afford the means to enable his majesty to maintain the rights of his people, and those of his allies, was combated at considerable length by Mr. Fox, whose arguments went to shew, that the interest of this kingdom lay in the maintenance of a strict neutrality, that the French had no hostile views against England, and that the navigation of the Scheldt was not an object worthy of contention. The ingenuity of the orator, however, failed in producing conviction, and the address, as originally moved, was carried without a division. On the very same day when the British parliament came to this resolution, the French convention denounced a formal declaration of war against "the king of England, and the stadtholder of the United Provinces." The preamble to this decree contained a recital of various articles which were considered as acts of aggression against the French nation, on the part of England; but the republican assembly had nothing more to charge the stadtholder with than his supposed subservience to the British cabinet. All that had been advanced by the opponents of ministers, was, therefore, refuted by the conduct and language of the convention; and it was now demonstrated, that even had not our government taken the stand it did, hostilities would inevitably have taken place in a very short period.

The declaration of war being communicated in due form to parliament, produced the usual addresses, which were opposed in both houses, by the same train of reasoning as had been pursued in the former debates. The result, however, was the same, and from this time the ranks of opposition became thinner from desertion every day. This did not deter Mr. Fox from bringing forward, on the 18th, five resolutions for the adoption of the house; first, That it was not for the honour of Great Britain to make war on France for any interference in her internal affairs, or for the establishment of any particular form of government in that country. Secondly, That the aggressions of France were not of such a nature as to justify a war, in the first instance, prior to a negotiation to obtain explanation and redress. Thirdly, That in the late negotiation, his majesty's ministers had not pursued measures likely to obtain redress, nor to avert a war, not having stated the grounds upon which peace might have been maintained. Fourthly, That the rights of neutral nations had not been attended to by his majesty's ministers, in their neglect of interfering against the late unjustifiable and abominable invasion of Poland, by Russia and Prussia. And fifthly, That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers to advise his majesty against entering into any treaty which might retard or prevent his making a separate peace with France."

The most singular of these propositions, was the one complaining of the conduct of the British government, in neglecting to interfere against the unprincipled invasion of Poland. Thus Mr. Fox refuted himself, for while he affected to think that the treatment of France towards our ally was not of sufficient importance to warrant our resentment, he seemed ready to justify a war on behalf of a country with which we were very remotely connected. Burke, in reply, observed, that Poland had never before been considered of such great consequence, and that, in all the revolutions which, for more than a century, had occurred there, this country had never been called upon to interfere, not even by Mr. Fox himself, till now, when England was involved in a war for defence and preservation.

The resolutions having been moved and seconded, were got rid of by the previous question, the majority being two hundred and twenty-six. On the 21st, Mr. Grey moved an address to his majesty, embodying all the matter contained in the five resolutions of Mr. Fox, concluding with a censure upon ministers, and "praying his majesty to listen no longer to counsels which had forced the country into an unhappy war, but to embrace the earliest occasion of restoring the blessings of peace." As this new attempt was unsupported by any fresh arguments, it received very little notice, and the question upon the proposition was negatived without a division. The next effort of opposition, was in a motion brought forward by Mr. Sheridan, for a committee to inquire into the existence of seditious practices in this country. This subject came under discussion on the 4th of March, but, after a warm debate, the motion was lost. On the 11th of the same month, the minister opened the

budget, and after stating that he should steadily adhere to the system of continuing the reduction of the national debt, he observed, that four millions and a half would be wanted to make good the necessary supplies for the current year. This sum he proposed to raise by loan, and to provide for the interest by continuing the taxes that had been laid on to defray the expense of the Spanish armament. This financial plan met with general approbation, though partially opposed by Fox and Sheridan, the latter of whom compared the speech of the minister to that of an officer haranguing his troops, when about to storm a French redoubt. On the 15th, the attorney-general moved for leave to bring in a bill, to prevent traitorous correspondence with the enemies of the country. The heads of the proposed measure went to prohibit, under penalty of high-treason, all persons from supplying France with arms, provisions, bullion, and woollen cloths; also interdicting British subjects, under different penalties, from purchasing lands in France, or vesting property in the funds of that country; restraining them from going thither without a passport; and from insuring vessels either going to or sailing from French ports. Mr. Fox censured this motion in the strongest terms, as repugnant to every idea of justice and liberty. But he was replied to with equal force by the solicitor-general, who observed, that the measure was rendered imperative by the peculiar circumstances of the present war, and the necessity of crippling the resources of France. The bill was brought in, and experienced a most vigorous opposition in its progress through both houses; but after receiving some amendments in the lords, to which the commons acceded, it ultimately passed, and obtained the royal assent.

Another important proceeding which came under the consideration of parliament at this time, was one for the relief of commercial credit. In consequence of the great extent to which mercantile speculation had been carried for some years, trade and manufactures had greatly increased; but by unforeseen events, a stagnation was now experienced, owing principally to the deficiency of specie, and the overflow of paper that had been brought into circulation. To meet the existing difficulty, and prevent farther mischief, the minister, on the 25th of April, moved for a select committee, to inquire into the facts, and make a report of the causes. This was complied with; and upon the statement made to the house, Mr. Pitt moved, to place at the disposal of commissioners, five millions in exchequer bills, to be advanced under certain restrictions and regulations, to such persons as might be desirous of accommodation for a limited period, and on finding proper securities. A bill to this purpose was brought in and passed; by which means the temporary evil was remedied, and commerce again became flourishing.

On an application from the East India Company, for a renewal of their charter, Mr. Dundas supported the petition, by stating, at great length, the advantages which the revenue derived from that trade as it stood; and, on his motion, an act passed for the further continuance of the monopoly. Soon after this, Mr. Sheridan brought under review the conduct of lord Auckland, who, as the British minister at the Hague, had, in conjunction with the imperial ambassador, after the murder of the king of France, presented a memorial on the subject to the states-general, calling upon them to forbid the entrance into their territories, of all the members of the national convention, or the pretended executive council, who had taken part in that crime; and desiring also, that if any of those persons should be discovered and arrested, they might be delivered into the hands of justice, to serve as a lesson and example to the human race. This memorial was stigmatized as inhuman, and tending to encourage assassination; but though a motion to reprobate it by an address was urgently insisted on, the house of commons refused to accede to it; and, at the close of the session, lord Auckland so completely answered the charge brought against him, that the peers expressed their public approbation of his conduct.

The hackneyed topic of parliamentary reform was brought up this session, by Mr. Grey, on a motion to refer certain petitions, having that object, to a select committee. This produced a long debate, in the course of which, Mr. Pitt took the opportunity of accounting for the change that had taken place in his mind on this great question. He was once, he said, a

friend to moderate reform; but the measure now proposed, he considered unsuitable to the times, dangerous to the constitution, and likely to produce the greatest mischiefs without any possible good. In support of this judgment, he said, there were societies in the kingdom, affiliated with the Jacobin clubs of France, and actively employed for the purpose of spreading revolutionary principles, one medium of which was the pretext of parliamentary reform. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, in his argument for the motion, charged the American and other wars to the corruption of that house, and the too great subserviency of its members to the views of the court. In the end, the motion was lost by a majority of two hundred and forty-one.

On the 17th of June, Mr. Fox drew the attention of the house of commons to the state of the war. After asserting that neither the tranquillity of Europe, nor the safety of our allies, could be considered as endangered by the French revolution, he observed, that the continuance of hostilities would be unproductive of any good effects, even if attended with success; but that to this country the consequences would be most destructive. Impressed with these sentiments, he recommended a speedy and general pacification, and concluded by moving a long address to his majesty, recapitulating the various events of the war, the present state of the kingdom, and recommending an immediate negotiation with France. This motion was resisted by Mr. Pitt, who termed it one of the most impolitic and preposterous ever brought forward in a deliberative assembly. He contended that the principles on which the war had been undertaken, remained unchanged, and that the character of the enemy called for a vigorous prosecution of the contest, as well to secure the tranquillity of other nations, as that of our own.

On a division, there were for the motion forty-seven, and against it one hundred and eighty-seven. This was the last question of any moment in the present session, which ended by a speech from the throne, on the 21st of the same month.

CHAP. LXXII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1793 to 1794.

WHATEVER pretences to moderation, in regard to other powers, the French convention might set up, their conduct plainly indicated the ambitious designs which they entertained. At the time when they endeavoured to make it appear that they wished to live on peaceable terms with their neighbours, the republican armies were assembling on the frontiers of neutral states.

Thus Dumourier, after the battle of Jemappe, instead of watching the movements of the Austrians and Prussians, drew a strong force close to the Dutch territories. His object was evident; and the moment he received the decree, by which war was declared against England and Holland, he marched into the country, where he circulated an insolent manifesto, calling upon the friends of freedom to join his standard. After reducing Breda and Gertruydenberg, which cost him little labour, he laid siege to Williamstadt, and blockaded Bergen-op-Zoom; but the effectual resistance opposed to him, and the report of the disasters sustained by the French at Aix-la-Chapelle, and before Maestricht, obliged him to make a precipitate retreat towards Antwerp, leaving several of his cannon behind him. Being now closely pressed by the Austrians, under the prince of Saxe-Cobourg and general Clairfait, the French commander resolved to risk another battle, which accordingly took place on the 18th of March, at Neerwinden, but though obstinately contested from morning till night, it ended in the discomfiture of the republicans. Soon after this, Dumourier took up a position near Louvain, where he succeeded in repulsing the Austrians, till the fall of Namur into their hands compelled him to make a hasty retreat out of the Netherlands, and retire into France. In all revolutions of a military character, success constitutes the criterion of merit; and he who chances to be unfortunate, whatever may have been his former popularity, is almost sure of disgrace. This was the fate of Dumourier; and he who was recently the idol of the republic, became now an object of jealousy.

To avert the popular indignation from themselves, the convention resolved to sacrifice their general; and it is also probable that Dumourier, from the knowledge which he had of these machinations, might entertain similar designs against his masters. But the time was not yet come, nor were the people sufficiently prepared for a return to monarchy, even if such had been the object of this extraordinary character. Suspicions, however, were formed, that he meditated some views of the kind, and, therefore, four commissioners were despatched, to arrest him, and send him to Paris. Apprized of this visit, Dumourier took the necessary measures for his security. He put the messengers under guard on their arrival, and sent them to the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, as prisoners. After this bold step, he thought that his influence over the army would enable him to crush the faction which then oppressed his country. But he was mistaken; the soldiers were too strongly infatuated with revolutionary principles to be perverted, and he escaped with difficulty to the Austrian lines. From this period, the star of Dumourier declined, and, in 1813, he ended his days in an obscure part of England.

We must now trace the operations of the allied powers against the new republic. At the end of February, three battalions of the guards, destined for Holland, under the command of the duke of York, embarked at Greenwich, in the presence of the king and royal family. These were followed by other chosen troops, who, on their arrival, were joined by the Hanoverians. The campaign opened with a brilliant prospect, and, on the 8th of May, the combined forces gained a decisive victory over the French, near St. Amand, in which the latter lost four thousand men, among whom was their general Dampierre, who was shot in the head. On the 10th of July, Conde, after having been blockaded for some time by the imperial troops under the prince of Wirtemburgh, surrendered; and, on the 23d of the same month, Mentz was delivered up to the king of Prussia in person.

In the mean time, the duke of York laid siege to Valenciennes, which, after a prolonged resistance of six weeks, surrendered on the 27th of July, the garrison amounting to about seven thousand men, being allowed to march to the next advanced posts of their countrymen without molestation. This acquisition cost the conquerors a number of valuable lives, owing, in a great measure, to the slow manner in which the siege was conducted, which was upon the old principles, instead of being vigorously assaulted at the beginning. The fall of Valenciennes, and the retreat of the French, inspired the prince of Cobourg with the idea that a march to Paris was practicable; but the duke of York thought differently, and, indeed, considering the ill success which had so lately attended the expedition of the duke of Brunswick, a similar attempt would at this time have been very hazardous. On the other hand, the course that was adopted proved more disastrous than a combined movement of the allied forces upon the heart of France could well have been, had the bold proposal taken place without delay. The separation of the troops under the command of the duke of York, from the main body of the Imperialists and Prussians, had a bad effect upon the common cause, and gave time to the enemy to concentrate and augment their strength. The plan of operations being now confined to a reduction of the principal frontier towns, his royal highness marched towards Dunkirk, and, on the 18th of August, the English guards, commanded by general Lake, defeated the French at Lincelles. The siege of Dunkirk commenced immediately after this advantage, but though the outposts were driven in, the contest was extremely severe, and general Dalton, of the Austrian service, fell in the attack.

On the 25th, the works were completed, but the place was so vigorously defended, and the ground occupied by the assailants was so exposed on every side, that there soon appeared very little chance of success. At the beginning of September, the garrison made several sallies, in some of which they were repulsed, but in others they proved victorious, and, by the superiority of numbers, gained possession of stations from whence they were enabled to annoy the besiegers. In the mean time, numbers of volunteers were raised in the interior of the country, who, with a large force commanded by the republican general Houchard, formed a camp at Mont Cassel, waiting for an opportunity to attack the covering army under marshal Freytag, posted

at Hondschoote. On the 7th, a partial action took place, in which the French were repulsed, but the next day, by bringing their entire force to bear upon every point, they succeeded, notwithstanding the resistance opposed to them, in forcing the centre, commanded by general Walmoden. In consequence of this defeat, the duke of York found it necessary instantly to abandon his position, and to leave most of his cannon and stores before Dunkirk. The retreat was orderly, though the inhabitants were compelled to rise for the purpose of cutting off the invaders. The duke of York was frequently in danger of falling into their hands, and his brother, prince Adolphus, now duke of Cambridge, after being severely wounded, was actually a prisoner for some time, together with the field-marshal Freytag, in the village of Rexpoede. Luckily their quality was unknown, and general Walmoden having obtained intelligence of their situation, put himself at the head of a body of troops, attacked the enemy, and released his illustrious friends. The duke of York, in the mean time, pushed on to join the Austrian general Beaulieu, near Courtray, but that officer had already recaptured Menin, so that this part of Flanders was now almost wholly recovered. In consequence of this sudden reverse, the convention caused Houchard to be impeached at the bar of the revolutionary tribunal, and his decapitation followed with the usual celerity. The French now attacked Nieuport, but were defeated in their attempts by the garrison, and the seasonable arrival of a British force under sir Charles Grey. On the other hand, the prince of Cobourg was unsuccessful in his endeavour to take Maubeuge; though, after several engagements, he made himself master of Quesnoy, where he secured winter-quarters for his army.

On the Rhine, the Austrians and Prussians, commanded by general Wurmser, gained a complete victory over the French, at Weissenburgh, where the republicans were driven from their works, with the loss, in slain, of fifteen thousand men. This brilliant achievement accelerated the capture of Haguenau and Fort Louis; but while the allied troops anticipated the fall of Strasburgh, the arrival of reinforcements from the interior of France compelled the Austrians to retreat to Haguenau, and the Prussians to Lautern. At the latter place, another action occurred soon after, in which the republicans were repulsed with a considerable slaughter. Wurmser was not so fortunate; for though strongly posted, he had to sustain several furious assaults made by the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, under the generals Pichegru and Hoche. The superiority of the republican forces, and the rapidity with which they renewed their attacks, had the effect of driving the Austrians from all their works. Two sanguinary battles ensued, in which the French were again the conquerors, and the Austrians retreated across the Rhine. Weissenburgh was soon after retaken, and the prince Hohenlohe, who had been for some time besieging Landau, broke up suddenly from before that place, and hastened to Mentz.

While the war raged with various success in Flanders and along the Rhine, the southern provinces of France exhibited a spirit of re-action, which inspired the friends of order with hope, and fired the zealots of anarchy with fury. The inhabitants of the great cities of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, indignant at the ruin brought upon their country by the miscreants who had usurped the government, entered into a social compact for the restoration of a monarchical constitution. The revolutionary despots, alarmed at this proceeding, lost no time in preparing the means of extinguishing this union, and of punishing those who dared to oppose the arbitrary rule of the convention. Hordes of military executioners, under Collot d'Herbois, were despatched to reduce Lyons; which city made a noble but unsuccessful resistance, for the space of two months, when it fell a prey to the barbarians, who caused the blood of its inhabitants to flow in torrents through the streets, while the finest buildings in the place were demolished. The fate of this elegant city struck such a terror into the people of Marseilles, that they opened their gates at once to the ferocious republicans, and made a humble submission to the convention. The inhabitants of Toulon, however, being resolved to hold out, entered into a negotiation with admiral lord Hood, and surrendered to him the arsenal and shipping, in the name of Louis XVII. but with an express stipulation in favour of the constitution of the year 1791. His lord-

ship acceded to this condition, and accordingly landed, on the 27th of August, fourteen thousand men, consisting of English, Spaniards, Neapolitans, Germans, and Piedmontese, for the defence of the place. But neither this force nor the fleet could withstand the republicans, who, on their arrival, took possession of the heights which commanded the town and harbour. The garrison made a sortie, and destroyed the first batteries that were erected; but instead of returning immediately to the city, they ventured to pursue the fugitives, and in consequence became exposed to the attack of a far more formidable force than that which they had defeated. To complete the misfortune, general O'Hara, who commanded the allied force at Toulon, quitted the town to recall his troops, but having received a shot in the arm, he was made prisoner. On the 19th of December, the republicans stormed the place with such vigour, that all hope of retaining it was abandoned; and immediate orders were given to destroy the arsenal and dockyard. A few vessels were brought off, but fifteen French sail of the line and several frigates were set on fire and consumed. The condition of the inhabitants was pitiable in the extreme, for though many escaped, they bore an insignificant proportion to the numbers who fell victims to republican barbarity.

France, throughout the whole of this year, exhibited the deplorable spectacle of a nation given up to madness. On the abolition of monarchy, two factions arose in the convention, one named the Girondists, and the other the Mountain. Though both republicans, they were of different characters; the former being comparatively men of moderation, while the latter were bold, unprincipled, and sanguinary. The Girondists had numerous partisans in the provinces, but their rivals had on their side, the Jacobin clubs and all the rabble of Paris. Thus supported, the party of the Mountain gained an ascendancy in the convention, and from that moment the capital and all France became subject to a system of terror, the like of which never stained the page of history. A revolutionary government was now established, consisting of two councils, one termed the "Committee of Public Safety," and the other, "the Committee of General Safety," the members of which were changed every month. To enforce submission to their will, and keep the nation in awe, these tyrants instituted a revolutionary tribunal, before which whoever appeared, was certain of his fate. Science, virtue, and wealth, were now considered crimes dangerous to the public liberty; and no person, unless protected by his poverty or his vices, had any chance of escaping the vengeance of this engine of despotism. To give the finishing touch to the other features of this complex mass of iniquity, religion was abolished by a public decree, and the rites of paganism were ordered to be celebrated in the desecrated temples. A new calendar was also framed, in which the names of the months were changed for capricious appellatives, that in many parts of the world could neither be understood nor adopted without absurdity; and to complete the climax, these legislators of nature decreed that death is an eternal sleep!

Amidst this folly and impiety, the revolutionary government, at the head of which was Robespierre, displayed considerable energy in conducting the operations of war; but then it had neither the check of an opposition to fear, nor the sense of honourable feeling to control and regulate its measures. Devoid of all principle, these tyrants considered the entire population of France as a mere machine to be directed at pleasure. After confiscating the revenues of the church and the estates of the nobles, they seized the property of private persons of all descriptions, and next issued a quantity of paper money, called assignats, which the people were obliged to take at the value set upon them, under penalty of losing the whole of their substance, and even their lives. Consistently with the same arbitrary system, all the male inhabitants of a certain age were compelled to enroll themselves as soldiers. By this means, near a million of men appeared in arms, ready to march against foreign enemies, and to put down insurrections at home. All France, therefore, was one vast theatre of military operations; the labours of the peasantry being put in requisition for the use of the army, and the towns filled with forges, founderies, and magazines. The bells of the churches were broken in pieces and cast into cannon; leaden coffins were melted into

bullets; and the art of war seemed now to be the sole business of human life. Amidst these gigantic projects, the work of destruction went on with fearful acceleration, unremitted in violence, and increasing in cruelty. The prisons were crowded with persons of all ages, and of both sexes; and as fast as the revolutionary tribunal despatched them to the scaffold, new objects of suspicion and accusation were sought out, and consigned to the same gloomy dungeons, there to wait the decision of the tyrants. Equally vindictive and ungrateful, cruel and cowardly, the ruling faction condemned to the axe, those who had served, and those who had opposed them. General Custine, who, by his exertions, had repelled the combined armies of the Austrians and Prussians from the heart of France, was now dragged to the bar, and hurried to the guillotine, for corresponding with the enemy, and neglecting the defence of Valenciennes.

Maria Antoinette, the amiable widow of Louis XVI., after suffering unparalleled indignities, was charged with unheard-of crimes, and doomed to death, which she endured with the spirit of a heroine and the meekness of a martyr. She was followed to the block by that monster of perfidy and vice, Philip duke of Orleans, commonly called by his republican name of Egalité, who had contributed more than any man to the destruction of the monarchy, and the murder of his illustrious relatives. The Girondists, at the head of whom was Brissot, next expiated by their blood for the errors they had committed in overthrowing the ancient government, without substituting any thing better than anarchy in its stead.

Such was the frightful picture which France exhibited at this critical period, when human policy was confounded by changes that seemed to threaten the utter extinction of all the bonds of civil society. The nations around stood appalled by the portentous phenomenon, and while they felt the necessity of resisting the danger that menaced them, their counsels were distracted, and their jealousy of each other prevented them from acting with effect, in opposition to the common enemy.

Britain alone presented a dauntless front against the disturbers of the world; and though her exertions, in this stage of the contest, were neither remarkably brilliant nor successful, they gave sufficient proofs of a determined resolution, on the part of the government, to maintain the conflict, without being intimidated by the progress of the republican arms.

As yet, the only naval action of moment was the capture, after an obstinate contest, of the Cleopatra, a French frigate of the largest class, and carrying a broad pendant, by the Nymph, of the same force, under the command of captain Pellew, now lord Exmouth. In the West Indies, soon after the announcement of hostilities, general Cuyler, with a small force, reduced Tobago; and about the same time, the two small fishing isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken possession of without resistance.

CHAP. LXXIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1794 to 1795.

ON the 21st of January, 1794, the parliament was opened with a speech from the throne, in which the state of France was represented as furnishing sufficient cause for a continuance of the war.

The addresses which followed, were responsive of the same sentiments; but the opposition, though still few in numbers, remained firm and vigorous in their attacks upon the measures of government, which were characterized as fruitless and hopeless, while the new republic was represented as increasing in strength, and becoming invulnerable. The confidence of ministers, however, was not shaken by these gloomy predictions; and the majorities in both houses enabled them to pursue the war with renewed energy.

Eighty-five thousand men were voted for the navy, and sixty thousand for the army. But this apparent disproportion in the two branches of the service, was accounted for by the employment of German auxiliaries; the temporary landing of a body of whom in the Isle of Wight, gave occasion to some violent debates; and attempts were made, but in vain, to ground upon it a vote of censure against ministers.

The treaties that had been entered into with different continental powers, furnished also ample subject for discussion and animadversion. Of these, the principal was that concluded with Prussia, which power stipulated to bring sixty-two thousand men into the field, on condition of receiving fifty thousand pounds a month. The subsidy was reprobated in strong terms by Mr. Fox, who endeavoured to reduce the grant, but his motion for that purpose was overruled; although there were few persons either in or out of the house, that placed any reliance upon the honour of the monarch whose assistance was so dearly purchased. The prince of Hesse was another potentate whose assistance Britain procured in a similar way, though at a less charge; while in the south, a grant of two hundred thousand pounds a year was bestowed upon the king of Sardinia, to enable him to secure his dominions from the inroads of the republicans. At this period, when such great exertions were made to strengthen a confederacy against France, symptoms of a rupture between Great Britain and America were indicated. In order to distress the enemy, several vessels laden with corn, bound from the United States to the French ports, were detained, and the cargoes purchased by our government. A remonstrance followed on the part of the Americans, notwithstanding which, fresh orders were issued to seize all ships belonging to that power, found in the act of conveying provisions to France or her colonies. In addition to these causes of complaint, offence was taken at the conduct of the English in extending their boundaries on the Canadian frontier, beyond the supposed limits fixed at the peace. Under these provocations, the American congress laid an embargo on all British vessels; but the dispute was soon after amicably adjusted, and a liberal treaty of commercial intercourse was concluded between the two countries.

While government was thus involved in actual war with one republic, and nearly embroiled in contention with another; the progress of revolutionary principles threatened imminent danger to the internal peace of the kingdom. The institution of political societies, in professed imitation of the clubs which had done so much mischief abroad, created great alarm; but when these associated bands began to adopt the character of a national convention, it was deemed expedient to put a stop to the portentous evil. The first legal proceeding that took place, was against an organized body of reformers in Scotland, the leading members of which, Muir and Palmer, the one a lawyer, and the other a clergyman, were sentenced to transportation for sedition. This judgment excited so much indignation, that several attempts were made in both houses of parliament to set it aside, and procure a new trial. The motions to this effect were, however, unavailing, and the culprits, notwithstanding the interest exerted in their favour, and the rank they held in life, were sent to Botany Bay.

In England, the principal of the reforming associations was denominated the Corresponding Society, because it consisted of an indefinite number of ramifications, spreading from the central body in London all over the nation, and holding a communication with each other by delegates. Though the ostensible object of this union was a correction of alleged abuses in the representative system, little doubt could be entertained that its real aim was the establishment of a republican form of government upon a similar plan to that of France. The proceedings of these reformers at their meetings, and the uniform language of the members, too clearly marked their intentions; though as yet no open act of direct hostility to the state had occurred, that could be strictly denominated treason. The privy-council, however, thinking that the evidence already obtained was sufficient to warrant a charge of that high nature against some of the leaders of the society, caused them to be apprehended, and committed to the Tower. A message was then transmitted to both houses, from his majesty, informing them that seditious practices had been carried on by certain societies in London, connected with others in the country, for the purpose of assembling a convention to represent the people of England. This royal message was accompanied by the papers of the accused parties, which had been seized, and were now made the subject of an examination in a secret committee of the house of commons.

The next proceeding of government in this exigency, was the suspension

of the habeas-corpus act, which measure, though it met with a strenuous opposition in both houses, was justified on the broad principle, that, under certain circumstances, it is necessary the people should part with their liberty during a short space, that they may secure it more permanently for ever. This was the last measure of importance in the present session, which ended on the 11th of July.

The first achievement in the military history of this year, particularly deserving of notice, was the capture of the island of Martinico by the forces under sir Charles Grey, and the fleet of admiral Jervis. This important conquest was accomplished with little loss, on the 23d of March, and soon after, St. Lucia and Guadaloupe surrendered to the British arms; but the French inhabitants of the latter island, taking advantage of the sickness which prevailed in the garrison, rose and recovered the possession of it.

The campaign in Europe opened with a victory gained by the duke of York over the French near Cateau, on the 16th of April, but this was only a prelude to one still more brilliant, which crowned the allied army, under the command of his royal highness, on the 22d of the same month, the consequence of which was the surrender of Landrecies, near which place the battle was fought. This conquest so exasperated the desperate faction which then held the iron rein of government in France, that a decree was passed, ordering the republican armies to give no quarter to the British and Hanoverians. This sanguinary mandate, however, was never executed, and the duke of York exhibited in his orders a striking contrast to the republican ferocity, by directing that all prisoners should be treated with kindness. After the battle of Landrecies, the enemy made such great exertions in recruiting their armies, that Pichegru soon found himself at the head of one hundred thousand men, with whom he marched from Lisle against the British commander; while Jourdan, with at least an equal force, opposed the Imperialists in the duchy of Luxembourg. Pichegru made a vigorous attack upon the duke of York, near Tournay, but was repulsed with considerable loss. By bringing up fresh forces, however, he was soon enabled to bring on another action, in which the republicans proved successful, and his royal highness escaped with difficulty from falling into their hands.

On the 22d of May, a general attack was made upon the combined army in the same direction, by the whole force of the enemy. The contest lasted from five in the morning, without intermission, till nine at night, when the French retreated, and fell back upon Lisle, leaving twelve thousand dead upon the field, and several cannon in the possession of the victors. This advantage was followed two days afterwards by a splendid affair on the Sambre, where the Austrian general Kaunitz defeated the republicans, who lost above five thousand men, and about fifty pieces of cannon. About the same time, the Prussian general, Mollendorf, surprised the French camp at Kayserslautern, where he slew above one thousand men, and took two thousand prisoners, with all the stores and artillery.

We must now quit the field of military operations, to give a brief narrative of naval proceedings. To protect trade and annoy the enemy, a large fleet, consisting of thirty-four line-of-battle ships, and fifteen frigates, was fitted out early in the spring, and placed under the command of lord Howe. It was known that the French had been equally active in putting their marine in order at Brest, chiefly with a view to secure the arrival of a valuable fleet of ships laden with corn from America. The British admiral, therefore, had three distinct objects to engage his attention; one, the care of different convoys, the other, to attack the enemy; and the last, to keep a good look-out for the supply of provisions, which, under existing circumstances, was of the utmost importance to France. On the 2d of May lord Howe sailed from Spithead, and when clear of the channel, he despatched admiral Montague with the different merchantmen, according to their destination, while, with twenty-six sail of the line, he remained to scour the bay of Biscay. On the 16th, the French fleet, amounting to twenty-five sail of the line, and sixteen frigates, quitted Brest harbour, under admiral Villaret, and Jean Bon Saint Andre, a member of the convention. Three days afterwards, this force was farther increased by the addition of another ship of the line; and, at the same time,

eighteen or twenty vessels, making part of the Lisbon convoy, were captured by the French fleet. In the morning of the 21st, however, lord Howe fell in with ten of these vessels, and, on being informed that the enemy were not far to the westward, immediately crowded all sail in that direction.

It was not till early in the morning of the 28th, that the two fleets came in sight of each other, when the French hauled their wind and formed a line, but without any intention to engage. The pursuit, therefore, continued, and the Audacious, captain Parker, when night fell, came up with the Revolutionnaire, of one hundred and ten guns, being in the rear. An action commenced, which lasted near two hours, within half a cable's length, and then the French ship bore away in a crippled state; though she was supposed to have previously struck her colours. At this time, the rear division of the republican fleet was attacked by admiral Pasley, but the Audacious being much damaged, and left by the pursuing ships of the squadron, was obliged to proceed to port.

In the mean time, lord Howe kept near the enemy, but no general engagement took place till the morning of the 1st of June, when it was discovered that the French ships were completely repaired, and increased in number. The two fleets were now four miles asunder, but not in regular order, many of the British being far astern, notwithstanding which the signal was thrown out for a close action, which began a little after nine, and lasted till past one, when the French admiral bore away, leaving to the victors the Sans Pareil, Le Juste, L'Amerique, Impetueux, Northumberland, and Achille, in addition to which, another ship, called the Vengeur, went down in the fight with about half her crew, the rest being saved by the boats of the Alfred. Thus ended this hard-fought contest, and, on the 13th of June, lord Howe, with his prizes, arrived at Spithead.

But while the British flag triumphed on the main, the current of affairs ran against the allies on the continent. The French having increased their armies by forced levies, were enabled to bear down in overwhelming numbers upon the duke of York, who was obliged, after a determined resistance, to retreat first to Oudenarde, and then to the neighbourhood of Antwerp, where he was seasonably relieved by the arrival of lord Moira with ten thousand British troops. Though this accession saved the army from extinction, it could not stop the progress of the republicans, who made themselves masters of Charleroi, defeated Clairfait, and took Ypres.

On the 24th of June, Bruges was captured, in consequence of which, Ostend was evacuated, and taken possession of by the French, who defeated the prince of Saxe-Cobourg in the battle of Fleurus, which opened to them the gates of Ghent and Brussels. Flushed with these rapid conquests, the republicans advanced against Clairfait, who was covering Louvain; but resistance was fruitless, the Imperialists gave way, and, on the 16th of July, that city also yielded to the torrent. Antwerp next surrendered without a shot, and thus the whole of the Belgic provinces became an appanage of France. The armies of the republic were equally successful in other quarters. Namur received them without opposition, Liege and its whole territory submitted to their yoke, and in Dutch Flanders, Cadsand and Sluys were reduced by general Moreau. On the side of Germany, Kaiserslautern, Spire, and other fortresses, fell almost as fast as the French approached, and, on the 12th of July, a battle was fought between them and the Prussians, which, after an obstinate contest of near two days, ended in the total defeat of the latter. Other engagements of a most sanguinary nature followed, in all of which the French proved victorious; and not only regained the places that had been taken from them at the beginning of the war, but many strong fortresses besides, by which means vast stores of ammunition and provisions fell into their hands.

The fate of Austrian Flanders too plainly augured that of the United Provinces. The duke of York, however, being unwilling to abandon either that country or Brabant, pressed the prince of Saxe-Cobourg to make with him another stand against the enemy. That commander deemed the measure useless, and thus Belgium was left to the mercy of the French, who instantly compelled all the young men to take up arms, called in the coin,

and substituted for it assignats, bearing the same nominal value. Such were the first blessings produced by a union with the new republic.

In the mean time, the duke of York, whose army was reduced to less than forty thousand men, began to put Breda and Bois-le-duc into a state of defence; but while thus engaged, he was attacked by a force of more than double his number, under Pichegru. Finding that this situation could not be maintained, his royal highness retired to a position near Nimeguen, which, from its strength, was considered as likely to hold out for a long time. This expectation, however, proved fallacious, for that fortress, on the appearance of the enemy, surrendered almost immediately, and the British army was, in consequence, under the necessity of crossing the Waal. The fall of Maestricht followed soon after, and, to increase the misfortunes of the allies, the frost set in at an early period, and with such uncommon severity, that the rivers became passable by immense armies, with heavy trains of artillery; an advantage of which the French took instant advantage, by crossing the Maes, and attacking the allied army, who retreated for the space of thirty miles, fighting all the way.

In the south of Europe, the republican arms were no less successful. The Spaniards, at the beginning of the year, displayed more energy than could have been well expected; but after taking Bellegarde and some other places on the side of the Eastern Pyrenees, they were suddenly checked and defeated in their turn, with the loss of their principal towns on the northern frontier.

The French were also victorious in Italy, where, at the beginning of April, they made themselves masters of Oneglia, a sea-port in the gulf of Genoa; after which they advanced into Piedmont, carried a fortified camp, and secured one of the most difficult of the western of the Alpine passes; while, on the northern side, the republican general Dumas cleared all the redoubts and batteries along Mount Cenis, and, in the south, another force gained a complete victory over the Austrians and Sardinians, who were pursued to the walls of Alessandria.

On the other hand, Corsica surrendered to lord Hood, and became incorporated with the British empire by a formal resolution of the general assembly of the island, in which Pascal Paoli presided. But this empty honour did not long attach to the crown of England, for the Corsicans were as little inclined to obey the orders of their new, as of their old masters, and, in consequence, the island was abandoned, after being governed by sir Gilbert Elliot, as viceroy, not quite two years.

In the West Indies, the French part of the island of Hispaniola came under the British dominion this year, when an immense booty fell into the hands of the captors at Port-au-Prince. But in other respects the acquisition was attended with melancholy consequences, chiefly through the unhealthiness of the climate, and the savage ferocity of the emancipated negroes. After, therefore, retaining possession of St. Domingo four years, with more charge than profit, and, what was worse, at the expense of a number of valuable lives, the place was left to be contended for by the blacks and their former masters.

While the French arms were victorious on every side of the republic, the interior of the country exhibited the frightful picture of a people groaning under the evils of anarchy and despotism. In spite of the exertions made by Robespierre and his adherents to uphold their authority, the spirit of disaffection spread widely throughout the provinces, and conspiracies were formed in the capital to overthrow the tyrant, who seemed to delight in nothing so much as human blood. Even to the last, when he knew that his conduct had raised numerous enemies, he pursued the same sanguinary course, and commonly sent to the scaffold sixty or seventy persons a day.

One of the last of his victims was the pious and accomplished princess Elizabeth, sister of Louis the Sixteenth; and, as a refinement in cruelty, she was dragged to the block already reeking with the blood of twenty-six sufferers, whose bodies lay stretched around, while their heads were exhibited aloft, to render the scene more appalling. But the day of vengeance was at hand: Tallien, and the rest of the confederates, aware that their lives de-

pended upon prompt and vigorous measures, denounced Robespierre, in the convention, as an enemy to the republic; and the signal being thus given, an instant arrest took place. A tremendous uproar arose; but while the two parties struggled for the ascendancy, Barras succeeded in getting the command of Paris, by which means the convention prevailed over the Jacobin faction, and, on the 27th of July, Robespierre, after an ineffectual attempt to destroy himself, was conducted to the scaffold amidst the acclamations of the populace.

Thus ended the reign of terror, as it was emphatically called, but with it the disorders of the country did not terminate. The department of La Vendee, in the old province of Poitou, was in a complete state of insurrection, occasioned by the attachment of the inhabitants to the monarchical form of government, and the Catholic religion. Exasperated at the indignities offered to objects which they regarded with reverence, and shocked at the decree which abolished public worship, the Vendeans rose in a mass, and, had they been properly trained or armed, they might have proved the happy deliverers of their afflicted country. At first they had no other weapons than pikes and the instruments of agriculture, to defend themselves with against muskets and sabres; yet, confiding in the goodness of their cause, and provoked by the injuries they had sustained, these people, to the amount of above one hundred thousand men, opposed and defeated the republicans in several pitched battles. The convention, alarmed at these disasters, at length sent against the insurgents several veteran regiments, and at the same time issued a decree, that all the efficient male population of the neighbouring departments should repair to the national standard.

By these means the revolt was put down, but not till the royalists had sustained several hard-fought conflicts, in which they were mowed down like grass in the field. When all farther resistance was hopeless, above fifty thousand of the wretched inhabitants, most of whom were women and children, crossed the Loire into Britany; while great numbers sought shelter in the woods and fortresses of the country, where they were hunted down by their persecutors, and destroyed as beasts of prey. The towns and villages were burnt, the helpless inhabitants that had been left behind were murdered without regard to age or sex, and above eleven hundred thousand head of cattle were driven away.

While the revolutionary war raged with such violence in this part of Europe, Poland was doomed to experience the same dreadful scourge. The independence of that kingdom had already been annihilated by the unappeasable malignity of the empress of Russia, and the base treachery of the court of Berlin. The Poles, however, were little inclined to endure a foreign yoke, and thinking that the state of things in France offered a fair opportunity for the recovery of their rights, they broke out into an open revolt, under Kosciusko, against their oppressors. After gaining some advantages over the Prussians, the Polish general was totally defeated by the Russians, on the 10th of October, in consequence of which Stanislaus soon after resigned his crown, and that kingdom fell a prey to the three great powers, who had combined for the purpose, and evidently only wanted a pretext to make the partition that now took place.

From the state of the continent, and the operations of the war, our attention must next be directed to certain domestic events, which at once exhibited the progress of revolutionary principles, and the excellence of the British constitution.

At the beginning of September, two persons, Robert Watt, a wine-merchant, and David Downie, a goldsmith, of Edinburgh, were tried, on separate indictments, for high-treason, in forming a plan to overturn the government. It appeared in evidence, that these persons were members of a political association, called the British convention; and that Watt, who was a leading man in the society, digested the following project. A fire was to be raised near the excise office, and, while the soldiers were busily employed in endeavouring to extinguish it, the associates were to attempt the castle and secure the banks. Having made themselves masters of the city, the reformers proposed to address his majesty, commanding him to dismiss his

ministers, or take the consequences. To carry this scheme into effect, the prisoner had four thousand pikes made, and persons were nominated to communicate with the friends of the people in the country. After a trial of twenty-two hours, Watt was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; which judgment was carried into execution, at Edinburgh, on the 16th of October. Downie was also convicted, but though he also received a similar sentence, yet, as there were some circumstances in his favour, he obtained a reprieve.

At the end of the same month, came on, at the Old Bailey, before sir James Eyre, lord-chief-justice of the common pleas, the trials of the persons who had been confined some months in the Tower. Thomas Hardy was the first arraigned, and his case occupied the court eight days, when the jury, after a long deliberation, returned a verdict of acquittal.

The same result followed the trials of John Horne Tooke and John Thelwall; but the other prisoners were only arraigned and discharged. Such was the issue of these solemn proceedings, upon which public expectation had been intensely fixed. Great rejoicings took place among some parties on this occasion; and yet the event of the trials rather proved the purity of the laws, and the equity of their administration, than the innocence of the accused, who, had they been tried for sedition instead of treason, would most assuredly have been all found guilty, since, in the last case of all, the jury deliberated nearly two hours before they could agree upon their verdict.

CHAP. LXXIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1795.

THE opening of the new year presented a melancholy appearance, particularly on the side of Holland, where the people seemed rather to court the arrival of the French as benefactors, than to dread them as enemies.

After being repulsed by general Dundas, in several attempts to cross the Waal, the troops of Pichegru ultimately succeeded in that object at three different points, and, on the 14th of January, 1795, made a general attack upon the position occupied by the allied forces, who, in consequence, were obliged to retreat to Amersfort. One division of the British army, under lord Cathcart, crossed the Ems at Meppen; and another, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie, after defeating a body of French near Bentheim, passed that river at Rheine. Having thus evacuated the United Provinces, where they had suffered dreadful hardships, the troops proceeded to the Hanoverian territory, and in the spring returned to England.

In the mean time, the French pursued their course with scarcely any opposition, and, on the 20th of January, entered Amsterdam in triumph. A national convention was immediately assembled, in imitation of that of France; and the constitution of the republic underwent a complete change after the same model. The stadtholder and his family with difficulty effected their escape to England, where they met with a hospitable reception and a princely asylum at Hampton court. Thus the whole of the Netherlands passed under the French domination, and the people of those countries soon found to their cost, that the change was of a nature to make them remember their former condition with regret. Immense contributions were exacted of the reduced provinces, and not the smallest regard was paid to the partiality which they had evinced for their new friends and rulers. As the Dutch and their neighbours had, in a great measure, brought the yoke upon themselves by their avarice and want of patriotism, no one pitied them under the sufferings they were now doomed to experience in consequence of the fraternization which they had courted. What they now felt might easily have been foreseen; and the emperor of Austria, when he last quitted Brussels, did laconically predict the event: "Gentlemen," said the monarch, "you wish to admit the French; well, you shall have them." That city shortly after received their republican friends with joy, which, in a little time, was turned to sorrow. The ingratitude of the Dutch was punished in a similar way.

One of the first measures adopted by the British government, when the

United Provinces became an appendage of France, was to lay an embargo on all Dutch vessels. Among those detained, were seventeen East India ships, to demand which, two persons were sent over from the new government. When these deputies presented themselves before lord Grenville, his lordship asked them in what capacity they wished to be received? Their answer was, "As representatives of the sovereign people of Batavia." "Then," said his lordship, "I know of no such power; and therefore must decline any farther conference with you."

The coalition that had been formed against the revolutionary government, being thus broken, afforded a plea to the king of Prussia, and the prince of Hesse Cassel, to recede from their engagements. They accordingly purchased a peace by ceding all their possessions on the left side of the Rhine, and binding themselves not to furnish any contingent troops or other succours to the emperor, as members of the Germanic body. England and Austria were, therefore, left to maintain the contest alone; for Spain, after suffering the most distressing calamities, was also obliged not only to sue for peace, but to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France.

There was reason to suppose, under the circumstances which had occurred, that the strength of ministers would suffer diminution in parliament; and this actually happened, though not in so great a degree as might have been expected. The session opened on the 30th of December, 1794, with a royal speech, in which, though the reverses and disappointments experienced in the late campaign were stated, the necessity of prosecuting the war with vigour was enforced. The motions for the usual addresses followed, but in the house of commons, Mr. Wilberforce surprised both sides, by proposing an amendment, deprecating the farther continuance of the war, unless just and reasonable terms of peace could not be obtained. This recommendation was resisted by Mr. Pitt, who contended, that by disbanding our forces, we should enable the French to increase their strength, and overwhelm us at no distant period. Mr. Fox combated the argument of the minister with considerable effect, but in the end the amendment was lost by a majority of one hundred and seventy-four.

A motion brought forward by Mr. Sheridan, for a repeal of the act for the suspension of the habeas corpus, gave occasion to some severe animadversions on the conduct of government, and the law officers of the crown, who were engaged in the late trials. The prosecution, however, was no less ably defended by Mr. Sergeant Adair, the master of the rolls, and Mr. Windham, who appealed to the evidence as sufficient proofs that a conspiracy against the constitution of the country had actually existed. The motion was negatived; and soon after, the attorney-general succeeded in obtaining a renewal of the act. On the 4th of February, the minister brought down a message from his majesty, stating the necessity of advancing a loan of four millions to the emperor of Austria, to enable him to continue his exertions for the common cause in the ensuing campaign. In the debate to which the message gave rise, the subsidy to Prussia came under discussion, and though Mr. Pitt admitted that the conduct of that monarch had not been honourable, he endeavoured to support the character of his imperial majesty, in whom, as yet, appeared nothing to warrant a suspicion of his good faith. The motion which followed, for a compliance with the terms proposed, was ultimately carried. Another subject which came before parliament this session, was of a domestic nature. A marriage having been negotiated between the prince of Wales and his cousin the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick, her highness was conveyed to England, and landed at Greenwich on the 7th of April. The next day the ceremony took place in the chapel royal; and on the 27th, a message was sent to the commons, from the king, recommending to their consideration the provision of a settlement suitable to the rank of the royal pair. An act accordingly passed, though not without some opposition, fixing the annual revenue of the prince at the sum of £125,000, exclusive of the rental of the duchy of Cornwall. Out of this aggregate income, however, £73,000 a year was to be reserved for the purpose of liquidating the debts of his royal highness, which amounted to the sum of £620,000.

In this session, parliament was relieved from the heavy burden it had so long endured by the impeachment of Warren Hastings, who, on the 23d of April, was honourably acquitted on all the charges, of which, with such a blaze of eloquence, he had been accused. In proportion as the trial advanced, its interest lessened, and, when it terminated, the result caused no surprise; for such was the defectiveness of the evidence, that all men wondered how a prosecution, upon such grounds, could have been instituted. The only benefit which resulted from the proceedings, was the information thereby imparted in regard to the manners of the eastern nations, and the light thus thrown on the history of British India.

Public attention was at this time much excited by the political state of Ireland, in consequence of the recall of earl Fitzwilliam from the government of that kingdom. From the known sentiments of that nobleman, in favour of a general repeal of the penal laws, the Roman Catholics were encouraged to bring their cause before parliament. Accordingly, on the 12th of February, their strenuous advocate, Henry Grattan, moved, in the Irish house of commons, for leave to bring in a bill to relieve persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, from certain statutes, by which they were disabled from holding public offices. No opposition was anticipated to the proposed measure, and a committee was actually nominated to prepare the bill. At this stage of the business, however, ministers interfered; and as lord Fitzwilliam refused to exert his influence against the required concession, his removal followed without delay. Earl Camden was appointed to that high station, but the reception which the new viceroy experienced on his arrival in Dublin, as contrasted with the respect shewn to his predecessor, sufficiently marked the popular feeling towards the British government. The subject was brought forward soon afterwards, in the upper house, by the duke of Norfolk, and in the lower by Mr. Jekyll; but ministers prevented the proposed inquiry, on the ground that the crown had an undisputable right of control over the servants of its own appointment. As in the Irish parliament, a motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation, and into the reasons of the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, met with a similar fate, the report that his lordship had exceeded the line of his instructions, appeared to be well supported. In truth, at this very time, there existed societies in Ireland, organized upon republican principles, and holding a direct correspondence with the revolutionary leaders in France. The proceedings of these associated bodies were directed by men of superior rank, who stimulated the lower orders to disaffection, by holding out to them the prospect of a reduction of rents, with the entire abolition of tithes and taxes. Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform were only set up as colourable pretexts for the attainment of these objects; but large sums were levied upon the members of the Romish persuasion, to further views, of which the contributors, perhaps, were not aware.

Government was not altogether ignorant of these machinations, but the state of the country did not warrant measures of restraint, which might only have inflamed the public mind; neither, on the other hand, was it deemed safe to make concessions of such a nature as those now demanded, since experience had fully shewn, that every grant only led to greater encroachments. For these and other reasons, therefore, ministers disapproved of the conduct of earl Fitzwilliam: and how completely they were justified in the stand which they took against innovation, appeared soon after, in the trial of the reverend William Jackson, at Dublin, on the charge of compassing the death of the king, and conspiring with his enemies to bring about a revolution in Ireland. The evidence was so clear, that though the jury recommended the prisoner to mercy, none of them professed to have any doubt of his guilt. When brought up for judgment, on the 30th of April, the unfortunate man was seized with convulsions, and expired at the bar before sentence was pronounced; having, previously to his departure from Newgate, taken a strong dose of poison.

The British parliament was closed, on the 27th of June, with a speech from the throne, which expressed some hopes, that, under the change of circumstances that had taken place in France, the accustomed relations of peace and amity might be restored and preserved.

Having taken a review of the domestic affairs of Great Britain in the former part of this year, we must now trace the operations of the war on the continent of Europe.

After reducing Luxembourg, the French made a division of that territory into thirteen departments, agreeable to the new order of political geography; while in the United Provinces, Pichegru publicly proclaimed liberty and independence to the Dutch, but accompanied these blessings by a requisition of clothes and other articles, to the value of about a million and a half of English money.

Jourdan, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, crossed that river near Dusseldorf, and forced the Austrian posts on the Mayne, carried Frankfort, and laid siege to Mentz. In the mean time, the armies of Clairfait and Wurmser having formed a junction, defeated Pichegru, who had advanced to the assistance of Jourdan; and the latter also suffered so considerably, that the French were driven from their works before Mentz, and obliged to evacuate Manheim. The Austrians followed up these advantages by getting possession of the palatinate, and establishing themselves in an extensive tract of country between the Moselle and the Rhine, where they remained during the winter, in the course of which an armistice was concluded, first with the French generals, and next with the government, for three months.

In the summer, great expectations were formed in England, from an expedition fitted out for the coast of Britany, having two objects; one, the making a diversion in favour of the Austrians, and the other, to co-operate with the Chouans, as the royalists were called, who had hoisted the white flag again in La Vendee, under general Charette. At the earnest request of that chief, a large body of emigrants was collected, and conveyed with some English troops to Quiberon bay, where, after taking a fort garrisoned by six hundred republicans, entrenchments were formed, and other preparations made for carrying on a vigorous warfare. The Chouans, inspirited by this supply, enrolled themselves under the royal standard in great numbers; and had their zeal been properly supported, the cause in which they embarked might have prospered. Unfortunately, however, the first embarkation was not followed up in such a manner as to insure success. The revolutionary government, on the other hand, was not idle; but sent general Hoche with a formidable force to the coast, where he threw up redoubts on the heights, which, by commanding the lines of the emigrants, effectually cut off their communication with the interior. An attempt to carry the republican lines failed, and the emigrants were driven back to their own works with considerable loss; which would have been greater, had it not been for the fire of the British ships of war in the bay. The naval force, however, could not keep the fortifications that had been erected, from falling into the hands of the enemy, who took summary vengeance upon their unfortunate captives with characteristic inhumanity, putting to death count de Sombreuil, the bishop of Dol, and a number of ecclesiastics. Thus terminated an enterprise, which, with proper management, might have proved essentially serviceable to the cause for which it was undertaken. It was, however, productive of a partial advantage, in checking the progress of the French on the borders of the Rhine, by obliging them to draw off many of their troops from that direction to the sea-coast.

The Dutch suffered this year more than they had ever done in any former war, being not only deprived of their settlements in the West Indies, but also of the Cape of Good Hope, the island of Ceylon, and their possessions in the straits of Malacca.

On the other hand, the French took from the English the island of St. Lucia, and some parts of St. Vincent and Grenada. But neither these advantages, nor the victories which the republicans obtained on the European continent, were productive of any national benefit. The fall of Robespierre and his principal adherents, instead of allaying the popular discontents, or of restoring the capital to a state of tranquillity, occasioned new disorders. The Jacobins still continued strong in numbers, and their influence over the common people was such, that disturbances arose in various places, as well as at Paris. A scarcity of bread furnished the pretext for the most violent insurrections; and the imprisonment of some of the terrorists, as the Moun-

tain party were called, very nearly produced another revolution not less sanguinary than any that had hitherto occurred. The convention, after being dispersed by the rioters, succeeded at last in regaining its authority, and order was restored, though not without bloodshed.

On the 9th of June this year, died in the Temple, at the age of little more than eleven years, the unfortunate son of Louis the Sixteenth. Suspicions of foul practices were naturally formed on the occasion, but it does not appear that they were well founded; though the fate of this innocent youth was certainly accelerated by confinement and want of proper care. Public pity, however, was so strongly excited by the melancholy event, that the convention thought it necessary to make some atonement for the cruelty that had been committed, by giving up to the emperor of Austria the daughter of the late monarch, in exchange for some republican officers.

A new constitution, of a moderate character, was now framed, and, for the government of the nation, five persons were nominated, called, "The Directory;" but the alteration was not suffered to take place without opposition and commotions. Early in October, the rabble of Paris rose in arms, and a furious conflict ensued between the citizens and the soldiers, who were stationed round the hall of the convention; nor did the affair end without the loss of many lives on both sides. In this affray, Napoleon Buonaparte displayed his prowess, and by his exertions contributed very materially to the restoration of tranquillity.

At the end of the same month, the supreme authority was transferred from the convention to the five directors, namely, Rewbel, Latournear, Barras, Sieyes, and Lepaux, who were installed into their office with an imposing parade of magnificence, approximating in some degree to the forms of regality.

But while the French nation was thus in effect getting rid of the levelling system, Great Britain appeared to be threatened with all the horrors of Jacobinical delusion and imposture. The societies which had been but partially suppressed, now began to take upon them a formidable character, and to convene meetings of the people in public places. The high price of grain this year contributed to aggravate the popular discontents occasioned by the reverses which the allies had experienced in the prosecution of the war. To these causes of excitement was added, the natural impatience produced by an increase of taxation and the stagnation of trade. Under such circumstances, it was not to be wondered that there should be a general clamour for peace, or that designing men should succeed in persuading the multitude that an alteration of the government was the most effectual remedy of every political evil. Numerous meetings were called, to petition the legislature for a termination of the war, a reform of parliament, and the removal of ministers. At length, the Corresponding Society proceeded so far as to collect the people by thousands in the fields of St. Pancras, close to the metropolis, where tribunes were erected in the French fashion, and harangues delivered from them to the assembled populace. The consequence was what might have been expected; for when the king went, on the 29th of October, to open the parliament, the state carriage was surrounded by an immense crowd of persons, demanding peace and the dismissal of Pitt. This tumult increased as the procession advanced, and in the narrow part leading from Palace-yard to the house of lords, a bullet passed through one of the glasses of the coach, very near the king, whose life was evidently the object of this infamous outrage. In his return to the queen's palace, his majesty was assailed by the most abominable language, and, in the park, an attempt was actually made to stop the carriage and drag the sovereign out; which would have been effected, had not the guards come up in time to rescue him from his perilous situation. Some persons were apprehended for their concern in this daring attack; but only one man, a printer, was convicted of having been active in the riot, for which he was sentenced to the pillory, and an imprisonment of five years.

In the speech from the throne, the king noticed the disappointments the French had met with in Germany, and the embarrassments under which they laboured at home; circumstances leading, it was hoped, to the acceptance of equitable and permanent terms of pacification. Notwithstanding these

favourable representations, the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the contest was strongly urged, as the most likely means of attaining an honourable peace.

After the usual address to the king, in which the lords and commons concurred, two bills were brought into parliament, in consequence of the late dangerous riot. The first originated with lord Grenville, and had for its object, the more effectual security and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices. The other was produced by Mr. Pitt, and was intended, as the preamble declared, to prevent seditious meetings. Both bills were warmly opposed in every stage of their progress through the two houses; and were characterized as flagrant violations of the liberties of the people, and particularly as an illegal restriction of the right of petitioning the legislature for the redress of grievances. These objections, however, proved unavailing, and the two bills were carried by powerful majorities.

Another subject which occupied the early attention of parliament this session, was the high price of corn, which affected all the necessaries of life. A committee being appointed to inquire into the causes of the present scarcity, reported, that except in the article of wheat, the crops had been abundant; so that by the proper mixture of different grains, a considerable alleviation of the existing evils might be obtained. Ultimately, it was deemed proper to open the ports, and to encourage the importation of corn, by offering different bounties, till a certain quantity should be received. These measures were adopted, and at the suggestion of the committee, an engagement was entered into by the nobility and gentry to reduce the consumption of wheat in their own families by every possible expedient. This last mode of proceeding, however, was severely ridiculed by some members of the upper house of parliament, who, not aware of the effect of example, treated it as silly, futile, and ridiculous.

As early as the 7th of December, the minister brought forward his budget, which he introduced with a declaration that the resources of the country were still sufficient to carry on the war for several years, without any material increase of the public burdens, or injury to trade. As this observation was accompanied by the proposition for a loan of eighteen millions, warm debates ensued, but without shaking the confidence of parliament in the executive government. While these proceedings were going on, both houses, and the nation at large, felt much surprise at a message from the king, signifying his inclination to meet any negotiation on the part of the enemy, which had for its object the restoration of peace. The motion for an address in reply was met by an amendment for an express acknowledgment of the French republic. Warm debates ensued, but the amendment was rejected without a division.

The nautical history of this year was not distinguished by any extraordinary achievements, because the French, after the defeat of their fleet by lord Howe, confined themselves chiefly to military operations. On the 14th of March, admiral Hotham, with fourteen sail of the line, engaged fifteen of the enemy in the Mediterranean, and after a smart contest, succeeded in capturing the Ca Ira of eighty, and the Censeur of seventy-four guns. At the beginning of June, admiral Cornwallis, with a small squadron of five line-of-battle ships, after taking several transports laden with stores, effected his retreat in a masterly style, and without loss, from a fleet of thirteen ships of the line and six frigates, in the bay of Biscay.

CHAP. LXXV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1796.

THE declaration given by his majesty, expressive of his readiness to treat for a general peace, induced Mr. Grey, soon after the recess, to bring on the subject in a motion for an address, recommending a direct communication with the executive directory of the French republic, for the speedy accomplishment of that desirable object. Mr. Pitt resisted the motion, as incon-

sistent in itself, and degrading to the country. An honourable peace, he concluded, could only be obtained by elevated dignity and vigorous preparations. Mr. Fox, on the other hand, pressed for an explicit acknowledgment of the French republic, and moved the immediate commencement of a negotiation. His arguments, though eloquently enforced, failed in making an impression upon the house, and the motion was rejected.

Different attempts after this were made to bring down upon ministers votes of censure, but they were all unavailing; and towards the close of the session, Mr. Pitt produced a new budget and loan, which, with the proposed taxes, received the sanction of the legislature, and, on the 20th of May, parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

While the British government was employed in providing the means for renewing the war with vigour, or terminating it with honour, the belligerents on the continent were not less active in their exertions to prosecute the contest on a scale of tremendous magnitude. In Germany, the states of the empire were required to furnish their respective contingents; and in France, all the young men were rigorously compelled to enter the military service.

The campaign opened in Italy, on the 9th of April, the republican army being commanded by Napoleon Buonaparte. This extraordinary character was a native of Corsica, where his father was a notary in mean circumstances. Napoleon, while a boy, was, through the interest of M. Marbœuf, placed in the military academy at Brienne, and next in that of Paris. In his 19th year, he became a cadet in the artillery, and distinguished himself so much at the siege of Toulon, that Barras, who superintended the operations, took him under his protection. Afterwards, he added to his reputation at Nice, where he was a general in the same branch of service. When Barras became a member of the directory, one of his first acts was to appoint Buonaparte to the chief command in Italy, and here began that career which had a wonderful effect, not only upon the affairs of Europe, but upon the whole civilized world. The first action of moment in this quarter, occurred at Montenotte, near Savona, where general Beaulieu, at the head of a combined army of Austrians and Sardinians, attacked the French, but after a sanguinary conflict was defeated with considerable loss. This victory was followed up by a second at Monte Lexino, where the allies left above three thousand dead on the field, and eight thousand prisoners. On these occasions, Buonaparte was well supported by the generals Augereau, Massena, La Harpe, and Joubert; but many French officers as well as men were slain in both conflicts. A rapid succession of victories ensued at Millesimo, Dego, Mondovi, and Cossaria, which, opening the road without interruption to Turin, compelled the king of Sardinia to sue for peace, at the expense of ceding to the republic the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice.

Buonaparte having now only one enemy of consequence to contend with, advanced into Lombardy, and, on the 10th of May, again defeated marshal Beaulieu at Lodi, on the river Adda. The Austrian general had here concentrated all his force in a very strong position, and planted thirty heavy pieces of ordnance to defend the bridge. Buonaparte, on his advance, ordered up all his artillery to force a passage; but the tremendous fire which was kept up by the Austrians checked their progress, and a dreadful slaughter was the consequence. This murderous contest lasted some hours, and at length the republicans began to give way, when Massena, Berthier, Dallemagne, and Cervoni, placed themselves at the head of the column, and decided the fortune of the day. The French soldiers, infuriated by the example of their chiefs, pushed on with such rapidity, that the Imperialists fell back, the cannon was taken, and all was confusion. All this was accomplished by the infantry, for the cavalry crossed the river at a fordable pass. The Austrians, besides all their artillery, lost in this battle about three thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. General Beaulieu, with part of his troops, retreated towards Mantua; while the rest fled to Milan, whither they were pursued by the victors, who entered the latter city on the 18th, without resistance.

In the mean time, the people of Pavia arose with enthusiastic ardour, and, headed by their ecclesiastics, assaulted the castle which was garrisoned by

about three hundred French soldiers. Buonaparte, on being apprised of this commotion, hastened to Pavia, which he soon subdued, but inflicted a terrible punishment upon the inhabitants, by ordering all the members of the municipality to be shot, for not curbing the licentiousness of the populace. Soon after this, the republicans gained another victory over Beaulieu, by passing the Mincio up to the middle, the infantry holding their muskets over their heads; and, having made two thousand prisoners, proceeded to Verona.

Having thus nearly subdued the whole of Lombardy, the French entered the papal territory; and in the middle of June took possession of Bologna, the capture of which city was followed by that of Urbino and Ferrara, where a great quantity of artillery and military stores fell into their hands. Alarmed at these disasters, and knowing the character of the enemy he had to contend with, the pope despatched commissioners to negotiate for a peace; which was granted, on condition of his paying, within three months, the sum of twenty-one millions of livres, and giving up to the republic a quantity of the choicest pictures, statues, vases, and manuscripts. This new species of robbery, the French now invariably carried on wherever they came, despoiling churches, palaces, monasteries, and private houses, of every article of curiosity which could be carried away, to aggrandize Paris.

The example of the pope was quickly followed by the king of Naples, who was also permitted to make peace with France, on terms of the most humiliating description. The triumphant republicans now marched into Tuscany, and took possession of Leghorn, where they seized much private property, under the pretence that it belonged to the subjects of states at war with France. The British factory, however, had previously taken care to remove with most of their effects to Corsica; so that, though the French gained a large stock of plunder in this great commercial city, they were extremely provoked at not finding those immense treasures which constituted their principal object in violating the neutrality of an independent state, then at peace with the republic. Out of revenge at their disappointment, they prohibited, by a decree, the residence or entrance of any of the subjects of Great Britain, into the ports of Italy, in consequence of which a military force commanded by major Duncan, and a naval squadron under commodore Nelson, captured Porto Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba. The emperor, notwithstanding the reverses which his forces had experienced, made new and great efforts to preserve his hereditary dominions, and to check the farther progress of the enemy. General Beaulieu was now superseded in the command by marshal Wurmser, a man advanced in years, but one of the ablest tacticians of the age, and still possessed of great mental as well as bodily energy. One of the first objects of this military veteran, was to draw lines along the defiles of the Tyrolese mountains, for the purpose of preventing the French from penetrating those passages; but though the works were constructed with the utmost skill, and with incredible labour, the republicans soon succeeded in getting possession of them. The Austrian general, however, instead of being discouraged, pushed through the Tyrol against the French, whom he dislodged from some of their positions, and defeated in several engagements, in consequence of which the siege of Mantua was raised, and Buonaparte was forced to abandon Verona, for the purpose of concentrating his forces. Being now in a condition to resume offensive operations, he attacked the Austrians, and defeated them in a series of engagements, one of the most splendid of which was fought at Roveredo, where six thousand prisoners were taken, with twenty-five pieces of cannon. These disasters obliged Wurmser to quit Trent suddenly at the beginning of September, and take up a position on the opposite side of Bassano, whither he was pursued by the republicans, who took from him seventy pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. Finding his situation untenable, the Austrian general, after obtaining some reinforcements, made his way good, in spite of the obstacles which surrounded him, to Mantua, the siege of which important place recommenced soon after.

General Alvinzy was now despatched with a powerful army to the relief of Wurmser; but Buonaparte, aware of the advance of this force, marched to intercept it, and a battle came on near the Brenta. The action was obstinately contested, and as the French retreated to another position early on the fol-

lowing morning, there is reason to believe that the honour of the victory, such as it was, remained with those who were able to maintain their ground. On the 15th of November, however, another engagement took place at Arcole, which continued for three days successively, when the Austrians abandoned all their positions, and retreated to Vicenza, having lost ten thousand men in killed and wounded, exclusive of prisoners. But this trophy was not cheaply earned, for five of the republican generals were severely wounded, and two were killed, besides a prodigious number of inferior officers and privates. Yet the victory proved so decisive, as to accelerate the surrender of Mantua, and the entire subjugation of the north of Italy, which was then, with the addition of some of the papal territory, formed into a new state, under the name of the Cisalpine republic.

Our attention must now be directed to the operations of the war in Germany, where, the armistice having ended on the 31st of May, the French army of the Sambre and Meuse, under general Jourdan, advanced the same day against the Austrians, and gained a partial advantage. On the following morning the action was renewed, when the Austrians retreated, with the loss of above two thousand men. Another engagement took place with equal success, at Altenkirchen; and about the same time, general Moreau defeated the archduke Charles, in three successive actions on the Rhine. The prince in consequence retired, with the intention of marching to co-operate with marshal Wurmser; on which the French general, to prevent it, crossed the Rhine, and continued to harass the Austrians by several movements, till at length the archduke seized an advantageous opportunity of becoming the assailant in his turn, with such vigour, that after sustaining a considerable loss, the republicans repassed the river, and fell back to Coblentz.

Upon this, general Moreau brought up his whole army, and, on the 29th of June, a desperate battle was fought near Renchen, between the French and Imperialists, when the latter retreated with great loss. Another conflict, still more sanguinary, followed near Rastadt, which put that place in possession of the republicans, while their antagonists took up a strong position in the front of Ettlingen. Moreau, finding that the archduke had obtained considerable reinforcements, thought proper to call in all the detached divisions of the French army in that direction; with which united force he attacked the Austrians again, and, by the superiority of numbers, compelled them to retire towards the Neckar.

During these operations, the French under Jourdan were equally active on the Lower Rhine, where they captured Frankfort, Wurtsburg, and Konigstein, by which means a passage was effected into the interior of Germany, where they soon made themselves masters of Moseaburg. Alarmed at their progress, the archduke, whose army had been greatly weakened by various engagements, formed a junction with Wartensleben, and marched against Jourdan. A battle ensued, in which the Austrians were the conquerors: the republican general, in consequence, abandoned Nuremburg, and began his retreat towards the Rhine, followed by the Imperialists, who, on the 3d of September, gained another battle, which produced the capitulation of Wurtsburg, and the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war. Though Jourdan succeeded in bringing off the remainder of his forces, and recrossed the Rhine at the end of the month, his conduct gave so much dissatisfaction to the directory, that they took the command from him, and conferred it upon Bernadotte.

While Jourdan was retreating before the Austrians, Moreau was pursuing a brilliant course, and gaining several splendid victories; but now he also was doomed to suffer a reverse. The expulsion of the republican army from the Lower Rhine, gave the Austrians such a decided superiority, that the archduke lost no time in proceeding to clear the upper circle. Having possessed himself of the mountainous passes into the Brisgaw, his highness thereby reduced Moreau to the necessity of fighting a general battle, or retreating. The French general adopted the latter course, though, for the better effecting it, he ventured to attack an Imperial division, commanded by general La Tour. The action took place at Steinhausen, on the 30th of September, but the result was unfavourable to the French, who continued their retrograde

course till the beginning of the following month, when Moreau having crossed the Danube at Reidlingen, made another attempt upon the Austrian general, who was compelled to retire in his turn, leaving about five thousand prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon in the hands of the republicans. Moreau now renewed his march, and, on the 16th of October, reached Strasburgh. This retreat was considered as one of the greatest achievements of that brilliant era of military exploits. The campaign in Germany ended, on Christmas-day, with the capture of Kehl by the Austrians, after an obstinate resistance, in which the conquerors lost more men than the besieged, who surrendered not till reduced to the last extremity.

On the part of Great Britain, no enterprise of much importance, either by sea or land, distinguished her arms during this year. In the West Indies, the English, besides regaining the islands of St. Lucia, Grenada, and St. Vincent, made themselves masters of the Dutch colonies of Demerara and Berbice, where a great number of vessels, richly laden, fell into the hands of the captors.

At the same time, the war in St. Domingo was carried on with various success, but the extension of the posts along a chain of three hundred miles, obliged general Williamson to form an establishment of negro battalions, and bodies of colonial cavalry. To this force, his successor, general Forbes, made a farther addition, in taking a number of natives into the British pay; by which means he was enabled to attack the republican fortress of Bombarde, which surrendered on the 8th of June.

At the beginning of the year, the Dutch made a great exertion for the recovery of the Cape of Good Hope. A squadron of three ships of the line, four frigates, and other vessels, under admiral Lucas, was destined for this service; and it was expected that a French fleet would have joined the expedition, but for some reason or other, no such junction took place. The Dutch armament left the Texel in March, and as it was dangerous to pass through the Channel, it shaped a circuitous course, by the north of Scotland and Ireland; so that it did not reach Saldanha bay till the beginning of August. Intelligence of this event being brought to the governor-general Craig, his excellency immediately marched in person, with his advanced guard, to encounter the enemy. At the same time, admiral Elphinstone, with his fleet, appeared off the bay, and came to anchor outside of the Dutch fleet; the commander of which, perceiving his danger, and the utter impracticability of landing or escaping, surrendered without a shot. Previous to this, admiral Elphinstone had taken, in the East Indies, the Dutch fort of Negombo, the capture of which was followed by that of Columbo in the island of Ceylon; while admiral Rainier enriched himself and his companions, by getting possession of the valuable islands of Amboyna and Banda.

On the other hand, the French admiral Richery eluded the vigilance of the English cruisers, by slipping out of port in the course of the summer, with six sail of the line. Having captured several merchantmen in the straits, he proceeded to Newfoundland, where he carried on a predatory warfare, by destroying the storehouses and fishing vessels, after which he returned to France, without meeting a single ship of war, or sustaining the smallest damage. England also experienced another check this year, in the landing of a French force on the island of Corsica, where the inhabitants now hailed the republicans as their friends, and joined them in such numbers, that the viceroy, sir Gilbert Elliot, deemed it advisable to abandon a place, which, under such circumstances, could not be retained without more sacrifices than it was worth.

But though the French gained this object, they failed disgracefully in another, upon which they bestowed greater exertions, and of the success of which they had formed the most confident expectations. Encouraged by the assurances that the malcontents of Ireland only waited for the arrival of a republican flotilla on their shores, to hoist the standard of revolt, the directory resolved to fit out an armament upon an extensive scale, in order to strike a deadly blow at a vital part of the British empire. Accordingly, eighteen sail of the line, thirteen frigates, and a considerable number of transports, were equipped at Brest, on board of which fifteen thousand cho-

men troops were embarked, under the command of general Hoche. This fleet sailed on the 15th of December, but just after clearing the harbour, the weather became so tempestuous, that the ships were separated, and many of them were entirely dismasted. One or two vessels foundered, and that which carried the general, after being driven about for a month, returned to port with difficulty. In the mean time, admiral Bouvet, who commanded the second division, reached the coast of Ireland, and appeared off Bantry bay. After remaining there three days without making any attempt to land, he was forced to sea by the violence of the wind; but some of the squadron returned again in a short time, while others appeared off the Shannon. As nothing of a hostile nature took place, it was evident that the dispersion had broken the design of the enterprise: upon which, the scattered ships not being joined by the rest of their consorts, quitted the coast, and returned to France. Thus ended this formidable expedition, which created great alarm in Ireland, but the yeomanry and volunteers displayed uncommon spirit, and seemed to vie with each other in their display of patriotism; though, if a judgment is to be formed from what occurred not long after, it may well be doubted whether Britain was not more indebted for its preservation to the action of the elements, than to the sincerity of Irish loyalty.

The object of the French directory, in this bold measure, was the destruction of a nation which had opposed an effectual barrier to that spirit of universal dominion, which formed the characteristic feature of the republicans, throughout all their changes. Of the hatred of France to this country, a striking proof appeared in the decree prohibiting the entrance of all articles of English manufacture or produce into any part of the republic, or its dependencies. Yet, in the face of this malevolent and haughty assumption of authority over the European continent, the British government condescended to court the goodwill and friendship of the very power that was seeking its destruction in every possible way. On the 22d of October, when lord Malmesbury entered Paris, for the purpose of negotiating the terms of a pacification, the dockyards and arsenals of France were in full employment for the intended expedition against Ireland. The principle of reciprocal compensation on which the British minister was empowered to treat, proved so repugnant to the ambitious views of the directors of the republican government, who would relinquish nothing, that, on the 21st of December, his lordship received orders to quit the capital within eight-and-forty hours. The result could surprise no one who saw, in the French despots, an inclination to make war upon the United States, for having recently concluded an amicable treaty with England. Hostilities, however, were prevented from taking place between the two republics, owing principally to the ascendancy of a party in America, more favourable to the interests of France than to the honour of their own country.

Thus ended a year replete with great events, among which may be reckoned the demise of two sovereigns; Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, and the Empress Catherine, of Russia. The first of these monarchs died at Turin, on the 16th of October, in the 71st year of his age, and the 23d of his reign, much beloved and sincerely lamented by his subjects. The latter expired in a fit of apoplexy, on the 10th of November, in the 68th year of her age, and the 35th of her reign, leaving a character more to be admired than esteemed.

CHAP. LXXVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1796 to 1797.

THE first session of the new parliament began on the 27th of September, for the choice of a speaker, and other formal business, after which an adjournment took place, till the 6th of October, when his majesty went in state to the house of lords, and delivered a speech from the throne.

The chief points to which the attention of the august assembly was called, were the intended negotiation for peace, the manifest design of the enemy to attempt an invasion, and the hostile designs of Spain. The address was moved in the upper house by lord Bathurst; but an amendment was proposed by earl

Fitzwilliam, who recommended that no steps should be taken by this country, inconsistent with the original objects of the war, and that a strict regard should be paid to the preservation of the balance of power, by adhering to the faith of existing treaties. As this motion went indirectly to militate against acknowledging any other than a monarchical form of government in France, it was resisted by lord Grenville, and negatived without a division. Earl Fitzwilliam then entered upon the journals a very elaborate and explicit protest against negotiating with the persons exercising the government of France, and deprecating, in very strong language, reiterated solicitations for peace, to a power with whose very existence all fair and equitable accommodation was incompatible. These were the sentiments of Mr. Burke, and there can be little doubt that the paper thus placed upon the journal of the house of lords, emanated from the pen of that celebrated statesman. It was oracular, and the event quickly confirmed the justness of the principles on which the argumentation was founded. But while this nobleman passed a censure upon ministers for virtually recognizing the revolutionary government of France, Mr. Fox, on the contrary, blamed them in equally severe terms, for not once naming the republic or directory in the royal speech.

On the 18th of October, Mr. Pitt, in a committee of the house of commons, brought under consideration that part of the royal speech which respected the meditated invasion of this country. To repel the attempts of the enemy, he proposed the raising of fifteen thousand men by parochial assessment, which number should be equally divided between the sea and land services. In addition to this force, he proposed a supplemental militia of sixty thousand men, to be called out and disciplined in divisions, according to circumstances. The other parts of this defensive plan consisted in forming a body of irregular cavalry, amounting to twenty thousand men, to be furnished by those persons who kept horses for pleasure; and a corps of 7000 gamekeepers. Distinct bills for carrying into effect these propositions were brought forward and passed, though not without experiencing a strenuous opposition from Mr. Fox and his friends, who ridiculed the idea of an invasion, and treated the whole as a ministerial fabrication, to create false alarms, and produce an absolute monarchy.

On the 7th of December, Mr. Pitt introduced his financial scheme, from which it appeared that two millions one hundred and ten thousand pounds were required, to cover the current expenditure. In the course of his statement, the minister mentioned an advance that had been made to the emperor of one million two hundred thousand pounds; to justify which, Mr. Pitt said he should not merely look for indemnity, but approbation. Mr. Fox, however, was so far from acceding to this claim, that he animadverted on the conduct of his great rival, in terms of the most acrimonious and personal severity. He even brought forward a motion to impede the measures of government, by preventing the supplies, and menaced the minister with the vengeance of a public prosecution. Throughout this storm of eloquent denunciation, Mr. Pitt retained his self-possession with uncommon firmness, and when threatened with an impeachment, replied in these dignified terms, "I am ready to meet the right honourable gentleman now, or at any time, confident of the rectitude of my conduct, and of the ultimate result of his inquiry. If I could doubt it, arrogant as it may appear to put my opinion in hostility to the collective judgment of this house, I solemnly declare that I would rather feel the consciousness of having produced the benefit I have by this measure, though I should thereby incur the imputation of guilt, than owe my acquittal to that injurious remissness, which would have occasioned the worst of evils to the country I am bound to protect at any risk, and whose welfare is the earnest and unremitting study of my life."

In this parliamentary conflict, the violence of the assailant had an effect the very reverse of what was intended: for the measure on which it was contended a charge ought to be raised, met with the sanction of the legislature, and the effort to stop the ways and means was defeated by a great majority.

The return of lord Malmesbury from his fruitless mission, spread a gloom over the country, and produced an alarming depression of the public funds. The rupture of the negotiation was officially announced to parliament, on the

26th of December, in a message from the king; but though the opposition, as usual, endeavoured to throw all the blame of the failure upon this country, the voice of parliament decided against them, and the addresses were carried in both houses.

The new year, 1797, opened with a very dismal aspect, and the embarrassment of the bank of England, in consequence of the exorbitant calls upon it for cash payments, occasioned a general stagnation of trade, and increased the popular discontent. Much of this distress arose from the timorous apprehensions of the people, who, alarmed by the dread of invasion, thought their property insecure except in their own possession; in consequence of which there was a general run upon the provincial banks all over the kingdom. At this crisis, a suspension of payment in specie took place, by an order of the privy-council to the directors of the bank of England, till the decision of parliament should be known. The subject was accordingly communicated in due form to both houses, in a royal message, and, on the 28th of February, it came under consideration. As might have been expected, violent debates ensued, but in the end, a bill was passed, empowering the bank to issue small notes, descending to the value of one pound. In the house of commons, a secret committee was also appointed to investigate the state of the bank, when it was clearly ascertained, that the surplusage of property belonging to the establishment amounted to three millions eight hundred and twenty-six thousand pounds, over and above its debts; and exclusive of eleven millions and a half due thereto from government. The report went on to state, that considering the pressure that had already occurred, and which was likely to remain, it would be advisable to continue the present measures some time longer, for the protection of public credit. Accordingly, a bill was passed to that effect, restricting the issue of cash by the bank, and making the tender of its notes equivalent to the offer of money.

While Great Britain laboured under these difficulties at home, her flag waved triumphantly on the ocean. There was nothing which the French envied more than the great naval superiority of a power whose resources seemed inexhaustible, and whose vigour appeared to increase amidst the accumulation of perils. The defection of two maritime allies, and their their junction with the new republic, against whom they were lately in arms, now presented a favourable opportunity for weakening, if not subduing, the tyrant of the sea. The court of Spain, ever subservient to the ambitious views and intrigues of France, readily consented to place its marine at the disposal of the directory. Such great exertions were made in this department at Cadiz, that, at the beginning of the year, twenty-seven sail of the line, of which some ships were of a very large size, were ready for sea. This fleet was destined to co-operate with a French squadron at Brest, and with that object put to sea early in February. At this time, admiral sir John Jervis commanded, in the bay of Biscay, a fleet of fifteen ships of the line and some frigates; a disparity of force, however, which was fully compensated by the excellent condition of the vessels, the appointment of the crews, and the valour of the officers.

On the 14th, the British admiral being off Cape St. Vincent, discovered the Spanish fleet bearing up under a press of sail. No time was lost in manœuvring, but before the enemy could form in a line, the action commenced with such promptitude and skill, that a considerable number of Spanish ships were separated from the rest. The attempt to reunite threw the whole into greater confusion, and after a furious contest, in which commodore Nelson bore a distinguished part, the Spanish admiral thought proper to retreat to Cadiz, leaving four of his ships, two carrying one hundred and twelve guns each, one eighty-four, and the other seventy-four, in the possession of the victors. For this brilliant achievement, admiral Jervis was raised to the peerage, by the title of earl St. Vincent; commodore Nelson received the order of the Bath, and captain Calder the honour of knighthood.

In the same month, the English, under the command of general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and admiral Harvey, took from the Spaniards the valuable island of Trinidad; but of the four ships of war which were in the harbour, three were set on fire and destroyed.

Soon after this, the French government made itself ridiculous by an enterprise, which only served to create a momentary alarm. At the end of February, three frigates and a store-ship appeared in Cardigan bay, and landed there about fourteen hundred men, under the command of a chief of brigade; but the country people rose instantly in arms, and lord Cawdor putting himself at their head, marched against the invaders, who surrendered without having committed any acts of hostility. The prisoners were afterwards ascertained to be galley slaves, who had been liberated on condition of serving in Italy; but as the regular soldiers refused to admit them into their ranks, the directory transported the poor wretches to the shores of Britain, either to be maintained or slaughtered.

But a circumstance now occurred of a nature truly portentous, and which threatened to accomplish the humiliation of England, in a manner far more effectually than could be done by a combination of all the powers of Europe. For some time, discontents had prevailed, and been artfully fomented among the seamen in the navy, respecting the inadequacy of their pay and pensions; but so secretly did the agitators act, that no suspicion of the existing conspiracy was entertained even by the most vigilant officers, till the 15th of April, when the signal for sailing, made on board the queen Charlotte, lord Bridport's flag-ship, became, according to the preconcerted plan, the announcement of a mutiny; and instead of obeying the order, three cheers were given, which passed throughout the whole fleet. Two days afterwards, an oath was administered to every seaman, obliging him to stand firm in the cause; and some officers who were disliked by the respective crews, were sent on shore. Each ship sent two delegates on board the Qeeen Charlotte, where the consultations were held in the great cabin; and from the manner in which the business was conducted, it appeared evident that the whole scheme was organized and digested by persons very superior in talent to the class of men who were the instruments of the confederation. The proceedings, however, were conducted with a moderation and strictness of discipline that did honour to the character of British seamen; and it could not be denied, that there were grievances under which the navy had too long laboured, and which obviously called for redress. Two petitions were drawn up by the delegates, one to the board of admiralty, and the other to the house of commons, both expressed in decent language, and stating their complaints in a very satisfactory manner. The lords of the admiralty, upon this, proceeded to Portsmouth, and the mutineers were informed that their demands should be complied with; but the seamen, doubtful that nothing short of a parliamentary decision, or the royal proclamation, could give validity to the promise, refused to submit, till lord Bridport went on board his ship, and by his influence prevailed upon them to return to their duty. Matters seemed now to be settled, but the suspicions of the men were not yet allayed. The delay of a fortnight made them apprehensive that the pledge which had been given them was not sincere; and indications of a fresh and more violent commotion began to be exhibited, when lord Howe, who possessed more of the confidence of the sailors than any other person, went down, and, by his bare word, brought them to order. A bill for the augmentation of pay in the navy, with a clause continuing the allowance to wounded seamen till they were cured, passed through both houses, and received the royal sanction the same month.

There was now reason to expect, from the concessions which had been made, that harmony was perfectly restored. But such was not the case, for, on the 22d, another mutiny broke out, in the ships of war lying at the Nore, the crews of which elected delegates, and drew up a new set of demands upon government. These revolters were joined, on the 4th of June, by the seamen of four of admiral Duncan's fleet in the North sea. The leader of the mutiny was one Richard Parker, a native of the west of England, who had but lately entered the naval service as a volunteer, pursuant to the act for augmenting the number of seamen. This man had the advantage of a good education, and was well fitted, by the daring boldness of his spirit, to conduct a desperate combination like that in which he was now engaged. The lords of the admiralty, upon the disagreeable intelligence of this fresh

commotion, repaired to Sheerness, where an interview took place between them and a deputation of delegates; but without producing any good effect. The new claims were too indefinite and extravagant to be taken into consideration; and as it became evident that some secret agency was at work, of which the misguided seamen were themselves ignorant, it became the duty of government to make a determined stand. In the mean time, the delegates declared their intention of blocking up the Thames; and they were as good as their word, for four of the ships were moored at equal distances, across the mouth of the river, so that no vessels could pass up or down without permission of Parker, who was on board the Sandwich, and assumed the title of president.

In this awful state, the admiralty caused the buoys to be taken up at the Nore, and batteries to be erected on the banks of the river. A proclamation was also issued by the king in council, declaring the ships in a state of rebellion, and interdicting all communication with them from the shore. The mutineers, instead of being intimidated by these vigorous preparations, appeared more resolute; and stationed four of the ships at the mouth of the river, in such a manner, as completely to obstruct the navigation. But the bond of union which held these refractory spirits together, soon began to relax. Discussions arose among them, when they found that they had nothing to hope by persevering in disobedience. Some of the more moderate endeavoured to persuade the rest of their comrades to throw themselves on the mercy of government and the generosity of the nation. The advice, though ill taken by the violent, made some impression on others, especially when it was known that their conduct met with the disapprobation of the crews in the western ports. The schism increased, and, on the 15th of June, the Repulse, one of the rebellious ships, escaped into Sheerness, while the Leopard ran up the Thames. Similar attempts were made by other vessels, in consequence of which some blood was shed; but it being now evident that the power of the delegates was at an end, those unhappy men began to take measures for their own safety. The navigation of the river was re-opened, and all the ships surrendered. Parker was brought to trial, and suffered at the yard-arm, acknowledging the justness of his fate. Some others of the most desperate ringleaders were also executed, after which a general pardon was issued.

While the fleet was in this state of disorder, a bill passed through parliament, but limited in duration till one month after the commencement of the next session, for the punishment of attempts to excite mutiny and sedition in the navy, or to seduce individuals in the sea or land service from their allegiance. This measure originated in the persuasion that the disturbances which had thrown the nation into such imminent danger, were occasioned by emissaries.

It has been gravely said, that there was no foundation for such a supposition, and that the idea was chimerical, yet no doubt could be entertained of the fact, that the augmentation of the naval department by parochial levies, and the raising of substitutes, proved the means of introducing a number of designing and disloyal characters into the ships of war, so that there is too much reason for believing that neither of the mutinies, especially the last, was the spontaneous act of the seamen themselves. At the time when the marine bulwark of the state appeared to be shaken, the heart of the empire exhibited alarming symptoms of disaffection. The livery of London having framed an address to the king, praying him to dismiss his ministers for ever, preparatory and necessary to the conclusion of a speedy peace, insisted upon their right to present it at a levee; which was refused, as being the privilege of the corporation alone. Other meetings were convened for the same purpose, and some of them being held in the fields, contrary to law, were dispersed by the magistrates, who caused the riot act to be read, and took a few of the most forward of the orators into custody.

In this gloomy state of things, the public mind was much depressed by the rapid progress of the French arms on the continent.

The campaign opened on the side of Italy, at the beginning of the year, when the Imperialists, notwithstanding their late disasters, made great efforts to retrieve their affairs, and drive the republicans beyond the Alps. With

this view, Alvinzi, at the head of a considerable army, descended the Tyrol, and suddenly passing the Brenta, stormed Corona, which had been strongly fortified, and was well garrisoned. The French general Joubert, in consequence of this, fell back upon Rivoli, while Buonaparte, who was at Verona, found his centre furiously attacked by the Austrians under Davidovich. Perceiving that the object of these movements was the relief of Mantua, Napoleon made a forced march to the heights of San Marco, where he formed a junction with Joubert, and, on the 14th of January, defeated general Alvinzi at Rivoli. The fall of Mantua immediately followed, after a siege which had cost the French twenty-two, and the Austrians twenty-four thousand men. At the time of the capture, the hospitals were crowded with sick, and to such a state was the place reduced by famine, that the horses of the troopers had been wholly devoured by the garrison. Buonaparte was so elated by this conquest, that he published an address to his soldiers, in which he stated that they had been victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and seventy engagements; that they had taken from the enemy more than one hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred field pieces, and two thousand cannon of large dimensions. He added, that the contributions raised in the conquered countries had supported the army during the whole campaign; while thirty millions of livres had been sent to the national treasury. Having thus flattered the vanity of his army, Buonaparte declared his intention of carrying the war into the hereditary states of Austria, and of presenting liberty to the enslaved people of Hungary.

Previous to the execution of this threat, however, the French general made a new war upon the pope, and having subdued all the ecclesiastical provinces, between the Adriatic sea and the Apennines, approached within a short distance of Rome. This produced another treaty, by which the pontiff purchased peace again at the expense of fifteen millions of livres, the cession of Avignon and the Venaissin, and a fresh supply of statues, pictures, and literary treasures. Buonaparte now directed his sole attention against the Austrians, who were commanded by the archduke Charles. Several actions were fought, and some of them amidst the snows of the Alpine regions, but the republicans were every where the victors; notwithstanding which, their situation became very critical, for the natives of the mountainous districts felt so little disposed to welcome the invaders, that they harassed them much in the defiles, and did them still more injury by cutting off their supplies. Under these circumstances, Napoleon had recourse to artifice, and affected the language of moderation. He addressed a letter to the archduke, in which, after lamenting the miseries of war, he asked whether his highness wished to merit the title of the benefactor of mankind, and the saviour of Germany? The archduke, aware that to necessity alone he was indebted for this adulation, did not suffer himself to be deceived, but answered, "That he was not entrusted with any power to treat, and that he could not enter into any negotiation whatever."

Hostilities therefore, recommenced, and Buonaparte advanced within thirty-five German leagues of Vienna, on the walls of which city he threatened to plant the tri-coloured flag. Fortunately for him, this menace struck a panic into the people, and appalled the emperor, who immediately sued for that peace, of which the republicans stood in more need than himself. Buonaparte welcomed the overture with the greatest joy, a suspension of arms took place instantly, and, within nine days, a formal treaty of pacification was signed at Eckenwald, by which his imperial majesty renounced all right to the Austrian Netherlands, acknowledged the Cisalpine republic, and agreed that the Rhine should be the boundary between the two nations, the navigation of the river being conceded to the French.

While the army of Italy was pursuing its course amidst the mountains of Stiria, the republicans under Moreau crossed the Rhine at Mulheim, and after pursuing the Austrians eight days successively, entered the Brisgaw; where the intelligence of peace put a stop to their farther progress, and terminated the war in that quarter.

Buonaparte, having settled the preliminaries of peace with the emperor, turned his arms against Venice, which city was entered by Augereau, at the

head of twenty-five thousand men, on the 12th of May; and the government was instantly changed to a democratic municipality, by the authority of the conqueror. Ultimately, in the definitive treaty of Campo Formio, this once celebrated state, with its territories of Istria, Dalmatia, and the Adriatic Isles, was assigned over without ceremony to the house of Austria.

Great Britain being now left without an ally, made another overture to the French government for a pacific negotiation. The proposal was accepted, and the city of Lisle being appointed for the place of conference, lord Malmesbury repaired thither early in June. While the important business was transacting with some prospect of an amicable termination, another convulsion occurred at Paris, where the military power, having gained the ascendancy, dissolved the legislative assembly, and established in its room a committee of public safety. The effect of this revolution on the pending negotiation soon appeared, for new plenipotentiaries were appointed, who insisted upon a cession of all that England had taken from France and her allies during the war: and as lord Malmesbury could not give an answer to the demand without fresh instructions, he received orders to quit Lisle in twenty-four hours.

Thus ended the second attempt to procure an inglorious peace, for that such a treaty as the one which lord Malmesbury was authorized to negotiate, would have deserved the appellative, is evident, when it is considered that in case his proposals had been accepted, Savoy, the Netherlands, and the islands of the Grecian archipelago, would have formed an appendage of France; while all the powers over whom her arms had prevailed, would have been no more than the vassals and tributaries of the republic. Inebriated by success, the rulers of that country determined to apply all their natural and acquired strength, to the subjugation of the only state that had endured the shock of the revolutionary war without humiliation.

As Ireland appeared to be the most vulnerable point where an effectual blow could be given, it was resolved to fit out another expedition, having a landing on that island for its object. With this view, a large army was collected in Holland in the course of the summer, and a squadron was prepared for its reception, under the command of admiral De Winter. These proceedings could not be concealed from the British government, and though the destination of the enterprise was kept a secret, a respectable squadron was placed under the orders of admiral Duncan, to cruise in the North sea, and watch the Texel. That gallant officer performed his trust so well, that the Dutch did not dare to venture out, while he continued on the station: and in consequence of this procrastination, the French troops were disembarked. At length, the British admiral being obliged to repair to Yarmouth roads to refit, the opportunity was seized for the departure of the republican fleet, consisting of twenty-six ships, of which fifteen were of the line.

On receiving the intelligence of this event, admiral Duncan returned towards the coast of Holland with such despatch, that, on the 10th of October, the two fleets came in contact about nine miles from the land, between Camperdown and Egmont. The force on each side was about equal, that of the English amounting to fourteen sail of the line, and a ship of fifty guns. The signal being given to break the line, vice-admiral Onslow led his division against the rear of the enemy, and commenced the battle; while the commander-in-chief having passed through with his division, closed upon the van. The two admirals, Duncan and De Winter, now sought each other, the former in the Venerable of seventy-four guns, and the latter in the Vryheid of the same force. After an engagement of above two hours, the Dutch ship having lost all her masts, and a vast number of men, struck her colours. The vice-admiral Reyntier, in the Jupiter, surrendered soon after to admiral Onslow; but rear-admiral Story, who commanded in the centre, instead of supporting his chief, bore away for the Texel with his division, and subsequently claimed praise for his conduct in saving this part of the fleet. Eleven ships of the Dutch fell into the hands of the victors, of which the greater number were of the line, and the rest frigates. This achievement equalled any of the naval exploits of former times; and though the two fleets were upon an equality in number and appointment, yet the English ran great

hazard in fighting upon a lee and very dangerous shore, where the water, at the end of the engagement, was in depth no more than nine fathoms. Among the slain on the part of the victors, was captain Burgess, of the Ardent.

Admiral Duncan, for this important service, was raised to the rank of a viscount, his second admiral, Onslow, was created a baronet, and captains Trollope and Fairfax were honoured with the title of knights-bannerets, an old order of chivalry, which was now for the first time revived, after the lapse of some centuries. One English officer, however, met with a different mark of distinction. This was Williamson, captain of the Agincourt, who, for not coming into the action in obedience to the signals, was brought to a court-martial, and dismissed the service.

The great importance of this naval victory, added to those of Howe and Jervis, induced government to appoint a day of thanksgiving for the success of the British arms, and, on the 19th of December, his majesty, with the two houses of parliament, went in solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral, the flags taken from the enemy being carried by sailors of the different fleets.

Two expeditions, however, undertaken this year by the English against the Spaniards, proved disastrous to the assailants. On the reduction of Trinidad in February, general Abercrombie and admiral Harvey formed the design of capturing the valuable island of Porto Rico. The squadron accordingly sailed from Martinico for that object, and arrived at the place of destination on the 17th of April; but finding that the fortifications were too strong to be forced, the troops were reimbarked, and the fleet returned without loss. The other expedition, which was wholly conducted by the maritime service, proved more unfortunate. Lord St. Vincent, thinking that the island of Teneriffe might be conquered without much difficulty, detached rear-admiral Nelson in the Theseus, with seven other ships, and one thousand marines, on that enterprise. The squadron arrived off the island on the 22d of July, and having gained possession of Santa Cruz, made an attack on the adjacent fort; but met with a resistance which had not been anticipated. Every attempt to carry the batteries failed; and when the assailants retreated to the beach, they found most of their boats destroyed by the violence of the surf. In the mean time, the governor having assembled all the force of the island, marched against the invaders, whom he summoned to surrender. Nelson, however, though wounded, refused to capitulate; and the Spaniards, with unparalleled generosity, not only suffered the whole to depart to their ships, but supplied them with necessaries. In this disastrous business, Nelson lost an arm, and captain Richard Bowen, with six lieutenants, their lives.

CHAP. LXXVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1797 to 1798.

ON the 2d of November, parliament was opened with a speech from the throne, in which the king signified much concern that his earnest endeavours to restore peace on secure and honourable terms, had proved ineffectual. He expressed his confidence that the papers which he had ordered to be laid before both houses, would abundantly prove to them and the world, that the long delay and final rupture of the late negotiation were to be solely ascribed to the evasive conduct and inordinate ambition of France. He observed, that during the period of hostilities, the revenue had been highly productive, and that commerce had surpassed its former limits. He noticed the important victory gained by the fleet under admiral Duncan; and concluded with alluding to the blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments, that had so long distinguished us among all the nations of Europe.

The accustomed address was opposed in each house; particularly in the commons, where Dr. Laurence and lord Temple censured ministers for offering too much to France, as the price of peace. Sir John Sinclair, on the contrary, thought that the French had been treated with an unbecoming harshness of language in parliament; and that too little had been conceded on our part in the late negotiation at Lisle. Mr. Pitt, in reply, said that nobody but a driveller in poli-

ties would propose to give up every thing to the French, in the hope of receiving something back, upon no other assurance than their generosity. The minister professed, that though he could not assent to the opinions of some gentlemen who had asserted, that with such an usurpation as the one which subsisted in France, no peace could be concluded; yet, that in the present state of the enemy, there was little hope that they would be disposed to listen to any terms compatible with the honour, dignity, and welfare, of this country. Mr. Pitt then went into a history of the late negotiation, the rupture of which he shewed to have originated solely in the perfidiousness of the French rulers. Nothing now remained for this country, but a vigorous prosecution of the contest, to support which a new measure of finance was brought forward on the 24th, in a committee of ways and means. This gigantic plan consisted in raising seven millions for the ensuing year, not by way of loan, but by an addition to the assessed taxes, according to the rate of income, from sixty pounds a year to two hundred. When this plan of taxation was announced, the people took the alarm, especially in the metropolis, where the members of the cities of London and Westminster, and the borough of Southwark, were instructed to oppose it with all their force. Mr. Fox had for some time seceded from his parliamentary duties, but, thus called upon by his constituents, he attended in his place, and made a long speech against the new scheme, which he said ought, if at all, to have been adopted at the commencement of the war. The bill, however, with some modifications, passed through both houses, and at the beginning of January, 1798, received the royal assent. In the mean time, a message was brought down to the house of commons, from his majesty, purporting, that as he had received advices of preparation making in France for an invasion of these kingdoms, he felt it incumbent upon him to omit no precaution which might contribute to their defence. His majesty, therefore, recommended the drawing out and embodying of the militia, pursuant to the late act, that they might march as occasion should require. The measure was carried into execution; and a bill was also passed for the enumeration of all males between fifteen and sixty years of age, capable of assisting in the defence of the nation. The bill suspending the act of habeas corpus was renewed; and another legislative measure, called for by the urgency of the case, was had recourse to, of superseding the protections granted to seamen in the mercantile service.

These measures, instead of depressing the spirits of the people, had a contrary effect, and at no period did the natives of Britain ever display greater energy and constancy than while labouring under unusual privations.

Many battalions of militia tendered their services to go out of the kingdom, and accordingly twelve regiments were actually sent to Ireland; while all ranks and classes of men pressed forward in the several counties of England, to enroll themselves as volunteers for the national defence. By way of checking or diverting the preparations of the enemy, government, in the spring, sent an expedition against maritime Flanders, the flotilla being commanded by captain Popham, and the troops by general Coote. On the arrival of the armament before Ostend, the bombardment of the town took place, and, in the mean time, the soldiers were landed, who proceeded instantly to blow up the basin, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, as well as to destroy the transport schuyts, by which an intercourse was kept up between Holland, France, and the coast of Flanders. After accomplishing this work, the general retreated to the shore; but on his arrival it appeared that a reimbarkation had become impracticable, by the violence of the wind and surf. In consequence of this misfortune, it was deemed necessary to take up a position on the sand-hills, where, in the morning, the British troops were attacked by the governor of Ostend, with such a superiority of force, that, after a gallant resistance, they all surrendered prisoners of war, general Coote himself being wounded, and colonel Campbell killed.

Thus ended an enterprise, the object of which was to prevent the enemy from conveying military and naval stores to the coast, by the medium of the canal of Bruges; and yet within a few months all the damage was repaired, and that line of communication was completely restored to its former state.

The news of this disaster was immediately followed by the more alarming

news of a rebellion in Ireland. It has been said that this insurrection was the consequence of the recall of earl Fitzwilliam; but the assertion is untrue, for the organization of the society called the United Irishmen took place long before the appointment of that nobleman to the viceregal dignity. The object of the confederation was a revolution exactly similar to that of France, conformably to which, a republican system of representation was framed, with an executive directory of five persons, who were, lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster, Arthur O'Connor, nephew of lord Longueville, Oliver Bond, a tradesman of Dublin, Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister, and Dr. M'Nevin, a physician. The plan itself was the work of Theobald Wolfe Tone, an Irish barrister of considerable talents. The directory had an accredited agent at Paris, whose influence operated very powerfully in thwarting the late negotiations at Lisle; and having so far succeeded, it was now resolved to put all that force in motion, which the leaders of the conspiracy considered as being fully adequate, with some assistance from France, to carry their design into effect. A simultaneous rising was accordingly determined on, in which the castle of Dublin was to have been seized, with the artillery, while other places in different parts of the kingdom were to be surprised at the same time. In connexion with the same scheme, O'Connor, and Coigley, a priest, with an Englishman of the name of Binns, proceeded by the way of London towards the coast, in order to pass over into France. But government having intelligence of their mission, caused the parties to be arrested at Maidstone, and, at the ensuing assizes for the county of Kent, they were put upon their trial for treason. Although the three were equally guilty, Coigley only was convicted, and he underwent the sentence of the law soon afterwards. The disclosure of the plot by one of the conspirators, led also to the seizure of fourteen of the delegates, and three members of the directory, at Dublin. Two officers were sent to arrest lord Edward Fitzgerald, who made a desperate resistance, and stabbed one of the men with a dagger of a peculiar construction, upon which the other fired at the assassin, who shortly afterwards died of his wounds.

But though many of the chiefs were secured, and others were struck with dismay, a partial insurrection took place, of which the stoppage of the mails was the appointed signal. The first attempt of the rebels was upon the town and gaol of Naas; but the design being discovered, they were quickly repulsed by the military, and three of their leaders were executed. Another party was defeated about the same time by general Dundas, near Kilcullen, and a third body, at Rathfarnham, was dispersed by a very small force under lord Roden. These were mere trifling disturbances compared to what followed in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, where the disaffected Catholics, relying upon the promised assistance from France, took up arms in great numbers, under an ecclesiastic named Father John Murphy, the parish priest of Kilcormick. This zealot, who had received the degree of doctor of divinity in Spain, collected his followers by lighting a fire upon an eminence, to which a similar answer was given from another hill near Boolavogue. After disarming the protestants, and burning their houses, the desperadoes repaired to the village of Oulart, near Kilmeckridge; and as their numbers were now increased to about fourteen thousand, armed chiefly with pikes, they proceeded with great confidence and violence. On hearing of these outrages, a detachment of the North Cork regiment, consisting of one hundred and nine chosen men, under lieutenant-colonel Foote, with some of colonel Lehunte's yeoman cavalry, marched against the insurgents, who were then posted on Oulart hill. The attack at first was successful, and the apparent confusion of the enemy stimulated the regular troops to climb the heights in pursuit of the fugitives; but on their advance, they found the hedges lined with musketry, and their own flanks turned; so that out of the whole party, only the commanding officer, with four others, escaped. This was on the 27th of May, and the day following father Murphy issued circular notices, commanding all persons capable of bearing arms to join him immediately, for the purpose of attacking Enniscorthy; and such was the reputation he had acquired by his late success, that prodigious numbers rushed to his victorious standard. After saying mass on the hill, and setting fire to some houses in the vicinity, the reverend

commander marched, at the head of about six thousand of his adherents, along the main road to Newtown Barry, while another body, posted on a neighbouring eminence, advanced on the opposite side, for the purpose of throwing the king's troops into disorder. A sharp conflict ensued, but in the end the insurgents gained their object, and their opponents evacuated the place. Having so far succeeded, the rebels formed a camp on Vinegar-hill early the next morning, threw up entrenchments, erected batteries, and managed all their affairs in a military style, by means of a committee of twelve leaders, four of whom were priests, there being generally twenty of that order distributed among the infatuated malcontents, whom they alternately led to prayers and to murder. Thus stimulated, the peasants flocked together in such numbers, that the main body soon amounted to ten thousand men. Sentinels, videttes, and picquet guards, were posted around, and all the appearance of military order was observed, though it was easy to see that the major part were utterly ignorant of the use of arms, while the strange shew of tents, consisting of quilts, blankets, &c. gave to the whole scene a grotesque appearance. Neither did they omit the more stern and terrible points of civil war; for having turned an old windmill into a prison, they collected their unfortunate captives, and having tried them in a summary way, sentenced them to be shot, or put to death by the pike, in the front of the line. To habituate the misguided people to hardy enterprises, excursions were made in different directions, for the sake of depredation and plunder. One party of them, under the direction of father Kearns, seized the town of Borris, and burnt all the houses belonging to the loyal yeomanry; but the assailants were repulsed in an attack upon the mansion-house, though they were possessed of a field-piece.

About this time they formed another camp on the hill of Forth, commonly called Three Rock Mountain, upon which the detachment marched in procession from Enniscorthy, led by father Murphy, holding a large crucifix in his arms. Here they experienced another instance of success, in surprising a detachment of the royal artillery, who were defeated with the loss of two howitzers. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, being informed of these events, advanced against the rebels, with two hundred of the Donegal regiment, and one hundred and fifty yeomen cavalry. But the latter met with such a reception, that they wheeled about and fled; on which the enemy rushed down the mountain with the greatest impetuosity, to cut them off, and would have effected it, had it not been for the resolute stand made by the Donegal regiment, which repulsed them by a heavy fire of musketry, and then retreated to Wexford. That town next became the object of the insurgents, and having now some pieces of artillery, with a large quantity of stores and ammunition, they felt quite confident of success, especially as they were inflamed to fury by the exhortations of the ecclesiastics, who assured them that the balls of the heretics would make no impression upon a true believer. Colonel Maxwell perceiving that the place was not tenable by his small force, against the increasing numbers of the enemy, and the disaffected populace of the town, determined to quit Wexford, which he did on the 30th, and soon after the rebels entered it in triumph. Elated with this success, they now resolved upon greater exploits. Accordingly, they divided their army into three divisions; one, under the command of Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, who had for his coadjutor, father Philip Roche, of the parish of Killan, was destined to attack the town of New Ross; a second was to seize Newtown Barry, situated in a defile surrounded by steep mountains, the possession of which would open a communication with the rebels of Carlow and Kildare; while the third, led by a person called general Perry, with whom were associated the fathers John and Michael Murphy, was intended to make an attempt upon Gorey. After gaining these points, it was resolved to march to the capital, where the rebels calculated upon being joined by a numerous body of partisans. But in this confidence they were fated to be disappointed. Though they succeeded in their attempt upon Newtown Barry, they were driven out again with great slaughter by the yeomen cavalry; and they were not more fortunate at Gorey; but another body of them, posted at Ballymore-hill, defeated colonel Walpole, who had advanced against them too rashly, and fell in the onset. The

loss of the commander threw his troops, who were for the most part newly raised and inexperienced, into such disorder, that they made a hasty retreat, leaving two six-pounders and a howitzer in the hands of the enemy. These pieces were now turned against the fugitives, who would have been wholly destroyed, but for the interposition of colonel Cope, of the Antrim militia. That officer rallied his men on the road, and thereby impeded the progress of the rebels for some time; but he could not prevent them from entering Gorey, and general Loftus, in consequence, found it necessary to abandon Arklow.

The enemy, flushed with this success, resolved to attack New Ross, where general Johnson was stationed with a considerable military force. Accordingly, at five in the morning of the 5th of June, thirty thousand insurgents advanced against the town, about one fourth armed with muskets, and the rest with pikes; but they had also with them four field-pieces, and some swivels. Having marched up to the place with daring resolution, they drove in the guard, took possession of the alarm posts, and made use of their artillery with some dexterity. The onset was furious, and though repulsed at the main gate by a detachment of the fifth dragoons, they rallied with such promptitude, as to seize on a field-piece, which was instantly turned against the troops. They now entered the town, and, notwithstanding the fire kept up by the cannon placed at the cross lanes, they swept all before them with an irresistible impetuosity. The military, unable to stand the shock, gave way, and fled over the bridge with precipitation. At this critical moment, general Johnson rode up, and placing himself at the head of the fugitives, returned, and entered the town, where the rebels were dispersed, and a great part of them in a state of intoxication. Thus surprised, they retreated in disorder, leaving two thousand six hundred dead on the spot. This reverse put an end to the authority of Harvey, who was immediately deposed from the command, and appointed president of the council at Wexford. Father Roche, who now became the leader of the rebel army on Lacken-hill, issued requisitions to the Catholics to repair to his standard; while father Michael Murphy, who acted as general at Gorey, meditated an attempt upon Dublin. It was necessary, however, in the first place to get possession of Arklow, which had been reoccupied by the king's troops. Accordingly, about twenty thousand insurgents, horse and foot, with two six-pounders, advanced against the place, which was strongly barricadoed. The attack continued with great fury about two hours; and though one division was defeated by colonel Wynne, at the head of the Welsh fusileers, the other, led by father Michael Murphy, made several ineffectual assaults on a barricade, from whence they were driven by showers of musketry and grape-shot. At length, the priest, grown desperate, advanced with the cross to urge his followers to another attempt, but in the midst of his harangue, he received a cannon-ball, which killed him instantly. Upon seeing their leader fall, the insurgents dispersed and fled.

Notwithstanding these miscarriages, however, a strong body still remained entrenched on Vinegar-hill, against whom general Lake proceeded with a considerable force; but it was not without difficulty and some loss, that the king's troops succeeded in driving the enemy from their lines. One division of the fugitives escaped to Wexford, where they committed a horrible massacre on the bridge; while another party, who retreated into Kilkenny, burnt villages, and defeated a detachment of dragoons. The latter body of rebels was headed by father John Murphy, who was soon after defeated, taken prisoner, and executed on the spot, his head being placed on the market-place of Tullow. Thus ended the rebellion in the south, but Antrim still held out, and it was not till attacked with cannon, that the insurgents evacuated the place. In this assault, lord O'Neil, who commanded a regiment of Irish militia, was slain. The rebels were also repulsed in an attempt upon Carrickfergus; and at Ballynahinch, where they made a resolute stand, they received a total overthrow. In the mean time, courts-martial were held for the trials of the leaders, among whom was Harvey, who was surprised in a cave at the entrance of the harbour of Wexford. His execution speedily followed, and his large property was seized by the crown. The number of culprits who suffered death for their agency in the rebellion, was compara-

tively small, and several of the chiefs received a pardon, on making an ample confession of their guilt, and expatriating themselves for life. Lord Cornwallis, the new viceroy, distinguished himself on this occasion by his able conduct and moderate spirit; the consequence of which was, that the deluded peasantry returned to their cottages, and many of their leaders who had escaped detection, became, or affected to be, peaceable subjects.

Throughout this terrible commotion, the French directory appeared passive, and took no steps to assist the revolters. But when the insurrection ended, they evinced an eagerness to revive it, by sending over a force that would, had it arrived earlier, have produced serious effects. On the 22d of August, a body of French, amounting to about nine hundred men, landed at the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, under general Humbert, who immediately took up his residence at the bishop's palace. But though the green flag was displayed, and every allurement was held out to draw the natives to their favourite standard, only a small number at first, and those of the lowest description, could be tempted to join the invaders. After leaving a small garrison at Killala, to keep up the communication and receive supplies, Humbert marched in the direction of Castlebar, previously establishing a provisional government, and giving orders for the raising of twelve native regiments. He also issued a proclamation, enjoining every Irishman, from sixteen to forty, to repair to the French camp; for the purpose of marching against the common enemy. Government, in the mean time, was not idle, and general Hutchinson, by a rapid march, anticipated the enemy, and gained possession of the chief town of Connaught. The French, however, advanced with a determination to attack the king's troops encamped near Castlebar, and, on the 27th of August, a battle was fought, which ended in the discomfiture of general Lake, who lost six hundred men and eight pieces of cannon. Castlebar now became the head-quarters of the French, who were now joined by a number of deserters from the Irish regiments of militia. Emboldened by this success, Humbert proceeded with his whole force towards Tuam, with the manifest design of seizing the capital; but his career was soon stopped by lord Cornwallis, who, having collected a body of troops, advanced in person against the invaders. The French general, apprized of this movement, and not daring to rely upon his auxiliaries, made a retrograde but circuitous march, with the hope of receiving more effectual reinforcements. Aware of this, the lord-lieutenant, with his usual celerity, pushed on, to cut off the retreat of the enemy; and, on the 8th of September, colonel Crawford, having come up with their rear at Ballinamuck, attacked them so vigorously, that the whole body of French surrendered prisoners of war.

The insurgents fled in all directions, but many of them were taken, among whom were three of their chiefs, Teeling, Blake, and Roche, who were soon after brought to trial and executed.

The tardiness of the French directory in supporting this expedition, was little accordant with the activity which commonly characterized the operations of the military republic. At the time when Humbert was in the heart of the country, anxiously waiting for supplies, an armament was preparing with a reinforcement of troops in the harbour of Brest, from whence the squadron did not depart till the 15th of September. This force, which consisted of one ship of the line, and eight frigates, was encountered, on the 12th of October, off Lough Swilly, by sir John Borlase Warren, who commanded five sail on that coast. Notwithstanding the disparity of strength, the French bore down in order of battle, and an action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, at the end of which the flag-ship and five of the frigates were taken. Among the prisoners was the noted Theobald Wolfe Tone, who, after plunging his country into the horrors of civil war by his republican schemes, was now returning thither with a commission as a lieutenant-general in the service of France. Knowing that an ignominious death would be the reward of his exertions, this incendiary soon after put a period to his turbulent existence. After this, a party of the rebels still lurked amidst the fastnesses of the mountains in Ireland, occasionally skirmishing with the troops, and frequently committing outrages upon the peaceable inhabitants. Their leader was one Holt, who for some time baffled all the attempts that were made to

take him; and at length he became so formidable, that government deemed it expedient to grant him a pardon on condition of his leaving the kingdom.

Our attention must now be directed to the state of the continent, where new and extensive scenes, the result of French ambition, were taking place.

At the beginning of this eventful year, a congress was held at Rastadt, for the ostensible purpose of settling the disputes between the French republic and the emperor, in regard to his claims as king of Hungary and Bohemia. That monarch, as hath already been observed, had consented to make the Rhine the boundary of the two powers, and he agreed also to give up Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz, so that, as it should seem, there remained but few articles of any moment to settle. But the encroachments of the French knew no limits; and the present consultations too plainly evinced the little dependence that was to be placed on the faith of men elated by success. Buonaparte was one of the plenipotentiaries at this diplomatic assembly, but his eager temper was ill suited to the province in which he was placed; he therefore retired, in order to enter upon an employment more suited to his genius.

During the sitting of the congress, the flame of war was rekindling in the heart of Italy. Though the directory had already humbled the sovereign pontiff, the prospect of riches incited them to a fresh attack upon his defenceless states. A riot which occurred at Rome in the Christmas week, furnished a pretext for this violation of the treaty; and general Berthier, on the 10th of February, entered the city, where he planted the tree of liberty, established a republican form of government, and sent the pope to France. Having thus set at defiance all respect to neutrality, the directory made war upon the Swiss, for refusing three demands, which those people could not grant without embroiling themselves with other nations. These requisitions were, first, the free navigation of the lake of Lugano for the Cisalpine republic; secondly, a passage for twenty-five thousand troops through their territories; and thirdly, the dismission of the English minister.

General Brune now entered the Helvetic territory, at the head of a considerable army, and, on the 2d of March, seized the castle of Dornoch. A few days afterwards, Berne surrendered without making any resistance; and the object of the invaders was immediately manifested in the change of the government from a federal and independent republic, into a state of dependency upon France. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, Soleure, and Friburg, submitted to this revolution, but the smaller states of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, held out bravely against the usurpation of their rights. In their memorial to the French general, they said, "A nation, which amidst its native mountains possesses no other property than its flocks, religion, and liberty, solemnly promises every mark of attachment not incompatible with its independence. We are ready to enter into an engagement never to take up arms against France; but we demand in return, the maintenance of a constitution which recognizes for its basis the sovereignty of the people, and has conferred upon us ages of happiness."

Though this remonstrance had neither the effect of moderating the views of the French directory, nor of stimulating the greater cantons to make head against the common enemy; the confederated ones of the Grisons resolved to defend their liberties or to perish. Surrounded by hosts of foes, these hardy mountaineers quitted their homes, and took place near the lake of Zug, followed by the French general Schawenburg, who immediately on his advance began an attack. The Swiss, aware that valour alone would be of no avail against such a superiority of force, feigned a retreat, and having drawn the invaders into a defile, defeated them with a great slaughter. In consequence of this achievement, a treaty was entered into, by which the free states were not only permitted to retain their internal government, but were released from all contributions. The Swiss, however, soon saw that a rapacious power, bent upon universal dominion, is not to be bound by the formality of contracts. Within a few weeks after this pacification, the French entered the canton of Underwalden, and after a terrible battle, which lasted two days, gained possession of the town of Standtz, where they massacred the inhabitants, and set the houses on fire. This horrible act of treachery and barbarity, which would have disgraced the savages of any age or country, completed the subjugation of

Switzerland, and stamped the seal of indelible infamy upon the history of France.

But the continent of Europe was too limited for the rapacity of the French directory. At the time that their armies were ravaging the ecclesiastical states in Italy, and binding the inoffensive cantons of Switzerland to the iron yoke of republican despotism; a vast armament was preparing at Marseilles and Toulon, for an enterprise more romantic in appearance than even the crusades. The magnitude of the preparations could not fail to excite general attention, but so secretly was the object kept, that even those who were about to be employed in the expedition, were left in doubt respecting the place of their destination. At length, when all the preparations were completed, Buonaparte set sail with an army consisting of forty thousand veteran soldiers, and an immense quantity of artillery and military stores. After passing Sicily, he was joined by a squadron from Venice, under admiral Brueys, who now hoisted his flag on board the Orient, of one hundred and twenty guns, as commander of the whole fleet. On the 9th of June, the armament appeared off Malta, and Buonaparte, who only wanted an opportunity to seize that valuable island, demanded leave to enter the port. This being refused as contrary to the laws of the order, the French proceeded at once to debark, and, on the 12th, entered the city. Thus in the course of a few days, Malta, which for above two centuries and a half had possessed a lofty character as a sovereign and military state, sunk into the abject condition of vassalage, and became an outpost of the French republic. Having appointed a provisional government, and garrisoned the place, Buonaparte departed for the great object of his expedition, and, on the last day of the month, anchored on the coast of Egypt. A landing having taken place, the French troops soon obtained possession of Alexandria and Rosetta, from whence they proceeded to Cairo, which they entered on the 23d of July. While the army was thus securing the conquest of the country, the fleet took up a position in the bay of Aboukir, the ships being moored at the distance of near a cable's length from each other; the flanks strengthened by gunboats, and the admiral in the centre, while a little isle on the left, provided with a battery of cannon and mortars, enfiladed the whole.

Such was the situation of this formidable squadron, in search of which rear-admiral Nelson had been detached by lord St. Vincent, early in the summer. The English fleet, consisting of fourteen sail of the line, hastened first to the coast of Naples, to obtain information, after which it steered towards Sicily, and there the commander received intelligence of the capture of Malta; which leaving no doubt of the ultimate destination of the French force, he proceeded directly to Alexandria, where he arrived three days before the French. Thus disappointed, the indefatigable Nelson put again to sea, and repaired to Rhodes, and from thence to Sicily, where he obtained refreshments. While at Syracuse, he obtained such information respecting the French squadron, as induced him to return once more to the African coast, and, on the 1st of August, to his great joy he discovered the object of which he had been so long in quest. On reconnoitring the position of the enemy, the English admiral determined to adopt a new evolution, for the success of which, though extremely hazardous, he relied upon the skill of his officers, and the tried bravery of his sailors. Though the French had moored their ships in a close line along the margin of deep water, and very near the shoals, it occurred to the fertile mind of Nelson, that there must be a channel, sufficiently capacious withinside, for the passage of his own vessels, since, where one could swing, another could float.

This idea no sooner struck him, than he resolved upon his plan, which he immediately communicated to his officers, and prepared to carry it promptly into execution. The sun was now going down upon multitudes, who were never more to see its face again; but the English admiral, disregarding the inconvenience arising from darkness and an inhospitable shore, threw out the signal for battle, which was instantly obeyed from the van to the centre. To the Culloden, captain Trowbridge, the honour was given of leading in, but that ship had not far advanced, before she struck upon a sandbank, and became immoveable. This circumstance, which was peculiarly distressing to the commander and his gal-

lant crew, proved of the most essential service to the rest of the division, as it enabled them to avoid a similar misehance. The Goliath, followed by the Zealous, Orion, and Theseus, now passed in, and though assailed by the batteries and the gun-boats, attacked the van-ships of the French in succession, and then pushed on between their line of battle and the land. In the mean time, the Vanguard, with the admiral's flag, kept on the outside, and came to anchor close to the Spartiate, a French line-of-battle ship of her own size; while the Minotaur was opposed to the Aequilon, the Defence to the Souverain Peuple, and the Swiftsure, of seventy-four, to the Franklin of eighty guns, commanded by admiral Blanquet. But the most unequal part of the contest fell to the lot of captain Darby, who, in the Bellerophon, of seventy-four guns, had to sustain the tremendous fire of the Orient.

Such was the judicious disposition of the British fleet, that it doubled upon, and separated from the rest, about half of the enemy's ships, while the others were compelled to remain inactive. Notwithstanding this, the battle raged with unabated fury for two hours, when two of the French ships struck their colours, and a third soon after. The Orient, however, still continued to pour forth successive broadsides from all her decks, and seemed to be more than a match for her adversaries, till a little after nine o'clock, when she was perceived to be on fire, and, in the course of an hour, blew up with a most tremendous explosion, the force of which was so great, that the falling of the masts, yards, and other pieces of the wreck, endangered the safety of the vessels on all sides. An awful pause ensued, but it was only momentary; for the battle raged till noon of the following day, when the victory was complete. Thus ended an engagement, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel for its boldness and its results. Out of the thirteen sail, the admiral's ship, of one hundred and twenty guns, and the Timoleon, were burnt; and the Frankin and Tonant, of eighty guns, with seven others of seventy-four guns each, were captured. Two vessels of the line, the Guillaume Tell, commanded by admiral Villeneuve, and the Genereux, with two frigates, escaped; but these also afterwards fell into the hands of the British cruisers; so that the whole of this armament, of which the greatest expectations had been formed, was either taken, sunk, or destroyed. The loss of men, on the part of the French, is supposed to have amounted to six thousand; while that of the English consisted of two hundred and eighteen killed, among whom was captain Westcott, of the Theseus, and six hundred and seventy-seven wounded. In the middle of the action, admiral Nelson was severely wounded in the head, but his ship still maintained the fight, under the orders of captain Berry. For this important achievement, the British commander was deservedly elevated to the peerage, and further rewarded with a pension; other honours were conferred upon different officers of the fleet, and the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the seamen.

At the close of the year, Minorca was wrested from the Spaniards by a force under admiral Duckworth and general Stuart; and the island of Gozo, in the Mediterranean, was also taken about the same time. On the other hand, St. Domingo, the grave of Europeans, for the acquisition and retention of which, immense treasures and a vast number of lives had been sacrificed, was now given up to the black chief, Toussaint l'Ouverture.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1798 to 1799.

THE victory of the Nile was productive of extraordinary and most important events. In England, it had the effect of inspiriting the people, so that the attempts of the opposition to moderate the national feeling, by recommending overtures of peace, were rejected with general indignation. On the continent, those powers which had been for some time vacillating, if not actually crouching to the haughty republic, now shook off their fears, and began to assume an attitude of defiance. The grand signior, who was more peculiarly interested in the recent achievement on the coast of Egypt, conferred the highest marks of distinction upon the British admiral, and at the

same time issued a formal declaration of war against France, for having treacherously, and without the slightest provocation, invaded his territories. The emperor of Russia also put his naval and military forces in motion, to support the common cause; and the court of Vienna, although it had so lately concluded a pacification with the directory, gave plain indications of its design to renew hostilities. But the most forward potentate in the new combination, was Ferdinand IV., of Naples, who not only distinguished admiral Nelson by honours and rewards, but levied contributions upon the ecclesiastical and monastical bodies, to enable him to raise an army of sixty thousand men. He also took into his pay sixteen thousand Austrians, and formed a treaty with England, which power stipulated to furnish the money necessary for the support of his military establishment. Yet while Ferdinand displayed this chivalrous spirit, his means were inadequate to the object of his zeal; for his troops consisted of raw recruits, few if any of whom had ever seen an enemy; and what was worse, he had not an officer in his service capable of leading them to battle. To supply this want, he had recourse to his relative the emperor, who sent him general Mack, a man of very questionable reputation. On the 29th of November, the Neapolitan army, headed by the king in person, entered Rome, from whence general Championet retired on their approach, first taking care to throw a garrison into the castle of St. Angelo. About the same time, a British squadron obtained possession of Leghorn, which so elated the Sicilian monarch, that he despatched an envoy to the pope, who was then in Tuscany, inviting him to return to his capital. The pontiff, however, declined the proposal, thinking that a prince who had been unable to reduce the castle of St. Angelo, was not likely to make any long stay at Rome. In this his holiness judged rightly, for Championet having collected a considerable body of troops, compelled Mack to concentrate all his force in an entrenched camp, which, on the 15th of December, was stormed by general Macdonald, and eleven thousand Neapolitans became prisoners of war. This victory produced the immediate evacuation of Rome, and Ferdinand fled to Naples, from whence, on new-year's day, 1799, he embarked on board the flag-ship of admiral Nelson, who conveyed him and his family to Palermo. Thus ended the romantic but imprudent enterprise of a sovereign, who had no resources on which he could rely to repair his misfortune. Naples was now entered in triumph by the conqueror, who, in the true revolutionary style, proceeded instantly to establish a new form of government, under the denomination of the Parthenopean republic.

But the case of the king of Sardinia was more to be pitied; for the French directory, with a characteristic disregard of all equity, proceeded to deprive him of his crown and capital, merely because the English had entered Leghorn, and that some Piedmontese were supposed to have joined the Neapolitan army; circumstances with which he had no connexion, and over which he could have no control.

While these changes were taking place in Italy, the French troops were employed in reducing the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, on the banks of the Rhine; the fall of which increased the jealousy of the Germanic princes, and accelerated the operations of the new confederacy against the ambitious republic, to whose rapacity there were no bounds. A treaty had already been concluded between Russia and England, for opposing the arms of France; and the king of Prussia was tempted by both parties to join in the coalition, the one offering to furnish him with forty-five thousand infantry and cavalry, which the court of London engaged to support by a subsidy.

As no inducements could prevail with that monarch to depart from his neutrality, the emperor Francis was applied to with the same propositions; which he accepted, notwithstanding the losses he had already experienced. It should, however, be considered, that his imperial majesty had sufficient reasons to be dissatisfied with the French, whose conduct to the Swiss and the king of Sardinia, to say nothing of what had occurred at Rome and Naples, placed his hereditary dominions in a critical situation. Those events had already roused his suspicions to such a degree, that, by way of precaution, he thought it necessary to station a formidable body of troops in the

mountainous part of the Grisons, and another army between the Inn and the Lech. In the mean time, the congress at Rastadt continued to sit with some appearance of sincerity; when the march of the Russians towards Austria gave fresh alarm to the French government. Remonstrances ensued; and such complaints were made on both sides, as plainly evinced that hostilities were far from being unexpected by, or unacceptable to, either party. The Austrians, besides the armies already mentioned, now assembled two others, under experienced generals, the principal one, on the Rhine, being commanded by the archduke Charles.

The French, on the other hand, were not inactive, and Jourdan, to whom the direction of the war was intrusted, formed a plan of operations on a scale sufficiently grand, it was thought, to ensure complete success. The forces placed under his orders, assumed the appellation of the "army of the Danube," because that river was expected to be the principal scene of its exploits. The republican general crossed the Rhine on the 1st of March, and the next day entered Manheim without resistance. A formal declaration of war was now made by the directory, who charged the emperor with violating the treaty of Campo Formio; but the most curious complaint of all was that which accused his majesty of a design upon the independence of Switzerland, a country that had already passed under the iron yoke of France.

The two great rival armies having approached each other, soon rendered an action inevitable; and, on the 20th of March, Jourdan was attacked by the archduke at Pfullendorf. The battle was obstinately contested; and ended without any material advantage on either side. Five days afterwards, it was renewed on the plain of Lieblingen, where the French were completely defeated, and driven through the Val d'Enfer to the Rhine, which Jourdan recrossed, and then returned himself to Paris, to account for his conduct, which he justified, and threw all the blame of his miscarriage upon the directory, for compelling him to act upon the offensive, with an army inferior in every respect to the enemy. The victorious Austrians now advanced along the banks of the Rhine towards Switzerland, where Massena commanded, who at first succeeded, not only in clearing the Grisons, but in sending troops into the Tyrol. The defeat of Jourdan, however, gave a new turn to affairs in this quarter, and early in April, Schaffhausen received the Imperialists, though the French endeavoured to impede their progress by destroying its beautiful bridge. Several other advantages were gained by the archduke, who, on the 4th of June, brought Massena to a general action at Zurich, and having defeated him after a sanguinary conflict, entered that city, which the French had abandoned, leaving thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of military stores. On the other side of the Alps, also, the republicans experienced a sudden reverse of fortune, insomuch that a secret league was actually formed among the different states, for the expulsion of the French from their territories. The latter, in the mean time, seized Florence and Leghorn, where they sequestered a quantity of property, the acquisition of which appeared to be the sole object of Scherer, the minister of war, who had succeeded Championet in the command of the army of Italy.

But this was a momentary triumph, for, in an attack upon the Austrian general Melas, at Verona, Scherer was defeated. Another battle followed soon after, in which the republicans were again unsuccessful, in consequence of which Scherer was superseded, and Moreau invested with the chief command; but his force did not amount to forty thousand men, who were much harassed and dispirited. It was at this crisis that Suwarrow entered Verona, as the commander of the allied army, and two days after his arrival he compelled the French garrison at Brescia to capitulate. This achievement was followed, on the 27th of April, by an obstinate battle at Cassano, where Moreau suffered a severe defeat, which decided the fate of the Cisalpine republic, and, in consequence, the directory of that ephemeral institution abandoned Milan to the allies. In other parts of Italy, the aspect of affairs was equally unfavourable to the republicans, who, by their arrogance and extortions, had made themselves enemies in those places where they were at first welcomed as friends and deliverers. The Austrian general count Bellegarde, about the same time, obtained a series of conquests in the Tyrol, while Hotze

dislodged the French from all their posts in the Grison country. Many actions also occurred in Switzerland: the people of the Vallais rose in a mass, and nearly the whole of the Valteline was occupied by the Imperialists. On the 26th of May, Peschiera surrendered to the allies, who not long after expelled the republicans from Turin and Mantua. Moreau, finding himself thus pressed on all sides, abandoned his position near the Po, and retreated slowly into the Genoese territory, having now only twenty-eight thousand men. Thus there appeared every prospect of delivering Italy and the adjacent countries from the presence of the marauders; which desirable event would in all probability have taken place, had not Suwarrow, instead of keeping his force collected, partitioned and directed it to a multiplicity of objects. Moreau took advantage of this division, and ordered Macdonald to join him from Naples with all speed. That general obeyed the mandate immediately, and, in his route, took Modena, after defeating some Austrian detachments. Suwarrow, who was then before Turin, hastened without delay to impede the progress of Macdonald, whom he encountered on the banks of the Trebia; but though three battles were fought, in which the allies had the advantage, the republican general succeeded in effecting his retreat, and making his way good to Genoa, where he was joined by Moreau, who had, in the mean time, defeated count Bellegarde near Tortona. On the other hand, Bologna, Alessandria, and Mantua were taken by the Austrians; and Moreau was in danger of being cut off, when Joubert, with large reinforcements, assumed the command, and placed the army of Italy in a state to commence offensive operations.

This general being determined to distinguish himself, quitted the entrenched camp at Cornigliano, and marched against the allies. Having gained the heights of Novi, which commanded the immense plain where the Austrians, Russians, and Piedmontese, lay encamped, a consultation was held respecting the propriety of risking a battle; but before the French generals came to a determination, Suwarrow, with his wonted promptitude, attacked their left wing, and Joubert, in advancing at the head of his staff, received a mortal wound. The command now devolved upon Moreau, who maintained the combat with great spirit several hours, and then retreated to his former position near Genoa. This victory, which took place on the 14th of August, promised advantages of the highest importance to the allies, and its immediate effect was the reduction of Tortona. Suwarrow added greatly to his reputation by it; and his sovereign, in commemoration of the exploit, conferred on the veteran the appropriate title of Prince Italiski. But unfortunately, success, which ought to have acted as a stimulus to new exertions, had a contrary effect, and instead of co-operating with energy against the enemy, the allied armies began to be jealous of each other. This discordant spirit rose at last to such a pitch, that a separation took place, and a new plan of operations was adopted, which proved ruinous to the common cause.

It was now resolved that Melas should continue the war in Italy; while Suwarrow was to enter Switzerland, and, after defeating Massena, carry the terror of his victorious arms into the French republic, which country was at this time in a state of ferment, bordering upon a revolution, owing to the disasters that had occurred during the whole of the campaign. Public indignation, however, was in some degree appeased by the dismissal of four members of the directory, and the adoption of new measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war. A law was passed, for embodying the whole of the military conscription, and orders were also issued to increase the regular troops to five hundred thousand men.

Massena, who had been for some time acting on the defensive, was now enabled to commence a more decisive course; and his troops again appeared in the field, to prevent the junction of the Russians with Prince Charles. Several actions occurred, in which the Austrians were defeated, and the French in consequence seized the opportunity of penetrating into Germany, for the purpose of levying contributions. The archduke, apprised of this movement, immediately crossed the Rhine in person, to check the progress of the republicans, and to save the fruits of the harvest from their depredations. Massena, taking advantage of the departure of the prince, resolved to give

battle to the allied force of Austrians and Russians, the former commanded by Hotze, and the latter by prince Korsakow. In this movement the French general was completely successful, and the Austrian commander fell in the conflict. Just after this action, which took place near Zurich, on the 24th of September, Suwarrow entered Switzerland, after scaling the heights of St. Gothard. On descending into the canton of Uri, the first intelligence that reached him was the discomfiture of the allies, which threw him into such a rage, that he told Korsakow, "if he made another retrograde step, he would take off his head." That general, chagrined at the reception he had met with from his chief, and anxious to recover his good opinion, collected his scattered forces, and, with the aid of some troops of Austrians, endeavoured to resume his former position, in which, however, he was foiled by the superior tactics of Moreau.

In the mean time, Suwarrow displayed, notwithstanding the excessive fatigues which he and his troops had undergone, all the talent and energy of his great military reputation. Amidst incessant labour and continual combats, he arrived in the valley of Mutten, where an obstinate contest took place between the Russians and the French, to the advantage of the former, who gained possession of the bridge and the post of Brannau. But they soon afterwards experienced a check; for Massena so effectually closed the passage between the lakes of Wallenstadt and Zurich, that Suwarrow found it expedient, for the first time in his military life, to retreat. He effected this in a masterly manner; and though actively pursued and harassed by the republicans, the Russian troops climbed heights which were to appearance inaccessible, and, with the loss of their cannon and baggage, descended into the country of the Grisons. Massena now turned his attention against Korsakow, who had been left near Constance with an united army of Imperialists and French emigrants. A battle ensued, in which the Russian prince was again defeated; but the republicans were prevented from following up this advantage, by the bravery of their countrymen, under the duke d'Enghien, who covered the retreat, and performed prodigies of valour. This victory, however, threw Switzerland again into the hands of the French, and their armies once more penetrated into Germany, where they captured Frankfort, Manheim, and Heidelberg. Disheartened at these changes, and indignant at the conduct of his colleagues, Suwarrow assembled the wreck of his forces at Coire, and returned home through Bohemia: but on his arrival at Petersburgh, the treatment which he met with from the capricious emperor, overpowered his lofty mind, and he soon afterwards sunk into the grave.

Having thus traced the course of this celebrated commander, through the last act of his military history, it is necessary to take a review of some of the occurrences which his victorious career produced in Italy. As soon as Macdonald retreated from the south, in order to form a junction with Moreau, who was perilously situated in the Genoese territory, the people of Naples began to evince their desire to throw off the republican yoke. This spirit was encouraged by cardinal Ruffo, who hoisted the standard of royalty in Calabria, where he succeeded in collecting an army sufficiently strong to enable him to commence hostilities against the French, who were defeated in several actions. Flushed with success, the military ecclesiastic marched to Naples, which he entered with little opposition, while the members of the new government sought refuge in the forts. The cardinal, knowing that his forces were more numerous than strong, wisely resolved to prevent a civil war, by negotiating with the republican patriots, who consented to surrender on the terms which were offered them. In the mean time, however, the king returned from Sicily, on board the Foudroyant, commanded by admiral lord Nelson; and the first act of royalty performed by Ferdinand, was to annul the treaty, and lay siege to those fortresses which still remained in the possession of the French and insurgents. The castles of Ovo and Nuovo were soon reduced by the English seamen and marines; but the fortress of St. Elmo made a vigorous defence for some days, when the commanding officer, apprehending that an assault was about to take place, for which he was not sufficiently prepared, consented to a capitulation, by one article of which all the subjects of his Sicilian majesty were delivered up to the allies. It was

to have been expected, that under all the circumstances, an amnesty would have been granted; but the mind of Ferdinand, little susceptible of liberal impressions, was bent upon vengeance, and he gratified his resentment by a terrible number of executions, to which, it is lamentable to reflect, his allies gave but too much encouragement. After putting to death some of the most enlightened of his subjects, this imbecile monarch, fearing a reaction, reimbarked on board the ship of the English admiral, and returned to Palermo, where he fixed his residence. While these tragical events were passing at Naples, the inhabitants of Tuscany took up arms, and attacked the French with such impetuosity, that they made a hasty retreat from Lucca and Leghorn. The capital of Italy, however, still held out, and though the Neapolitans blockaded it on one side, and the Tuscans on the other, general Garnier, who commanded the garrison, compelled them to retire. At length, when the English, under commodore Troubridge, appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, September the 20th, a negotiation ensued, and the republicans agreed to surrender Rome, Civita Vecchia, and the adjacent posts, on condition that the troops should be sent to France, and their allies suffered to depart without molestation. These terms were scrupulously observed; and when the king of the Two Sicilies had the weakness to demand of Troubridge the Neapolitan patriots, the honest seaman gave him a direct refusal, expressed in language of virtuous indignation.

The tide of success experienced by the allies in Italy, at the beginning of the summer, stimulated the British government to make an attempt to restore the stadtholder to his hereditary dominions. In this object the emperor of Russia concurred, and, accordingly, a convention was signed at Petersburgh, on the 22d of June, by which his imperial majesty agreed to furnish seventeen thousand five hundred troops, and a correspondent naval force, for which he was to receive a subsidy. While the necessary preparations to fulfil this engagement were making in the Russian ports, and magazines were collecting at Bremen, the hereditary prince of Orange repaired to Lingen on the Ems, where he was joined by several of his countrymen, who still adhered to the ancient government. At the same time, a considerable body of English troops, in two divisions, assembled on the coast of Kent; one of these being under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other under the duke of York. The first branch of the expedition, which sailed on the 13th of August, under the convoy of admiral Mitchell, had for its main object the possession of the Helder, which, by commanding the entrance of the Texel, was likely to facilitate the surrender of the Dutch fleet, many of the crews, as well as the officers, being known to remain well affected to the stadtholder and his family.

On the 27th, a landing was effected, and the next day the Dutch troops evacuated the fortress, while the ships which had been anchored in the Mars Diep, got under weigh and ran into the Texel. Admiral Mitchell, however, soon followed, and obtained possession of nine men-of-war, and three Indiamen; after which he pushed on, with the intention of advancing to Amsterdam; but, on the 30th, the Dutch commander, Storey, gave up the rest of his fleet, consisting of one ship of seventy-four guns, four of sixty-eight, two of fifty-four, three frigates, and a sloop. The French government, alarmed at these transactions, despatched general Brune with an army into that country, to act against the invaders, who had now assumed a position with the right to Petten on the German ocean, and the left on the Zuyder Zee, having the canal of Zuype in their front, which contributed to their security, as well as to supply them with fresh provisions. The enemy being now in considerable force, marched by break of day, on the 10th of September, in three columns, to attack the English. The onset was furious, but, in the end, the assailants were repulsed, and, about ten o'clock, were compelled to retreat towards Alkmaar, leaving the ground strewed with their dead and wounded. Three days after this exploit, the duke of York arrived at the Helder, and, at the same time, eight battalions of Russians landed there under general D'Hermann; while the hereditary prince of Orange, heading a respectable body of Dutch volunteers, contributed to strengthen the general confidence of success. The duke being resolved to seize the first opportunity of making an attack upon all the posi-

tions of the enemy, issued orders for that purpose immediately. After the necessary arrangements were made, the allied forces moved forward in four columns, through a country intersected with ravines and canals, while the bridges were removed, and the roads rendered for the most part impassable. In addition to these obstacles, the enemy were strongly posted on the heights and along the sandhills, which extend from Patten to Bergen, while several of the intermediate villages were secured by entrenchments. On the 19th of September, the column under general D'Hermann commenced an attack in the grey of the morning, with such effect, that in a short time the town of Bergen was taken. But the Russians, by advancing too far in a wooded country, encountered a superior force, and were repulsed, in consequence of which, the place they had captured was abandoned. This failure decided the fate of the enterprise, for though the British were successful in three attacks upon Walmenhysen, the head of the Lang Dyke, and Hoorne, they were now compelled to fall back, and resume their former position. This mischance, however, did not prevent the allies from recommencing offensive operations. After the army had been recruited, it was again put in motion on the 2d of October, and an attack made on the whole line of the enemy near Alkmaar. The troops were divided, as before, into four columns, under generals Abercrombie, D'Essen, Dundas, and Pulteney: and the plan was so arranged, as to enable the several corps to communicate with each other by intermediate detachments; but the chief effort was directed on the left, which consisted entirely of French. The engagement began at six in the morning, and lasted till the same hour in the evening, when the Dutch and French gave way, and, during the night, abandoned all their positions. In the course of the next day, the allies entered Alkmaar, the inhabitants of which city hoisted the standard of the prince of Orange, as also did those of some other places in North Holland. The duke of York being now resolved to harass the enemy, pushed on his advanced posts, which four days afterwards brought on another general action, with the whole force of Brune, at Baccum. The battle was desperately contested; but though the allies remained masters of the field, the enemy were still in great force, while their lines were so strengthened by fortified redoubts, as to render any attempt upon them impracticable. Added to this, the state of the weather, the setting in of the winter, the badness of the roads, and, above all, the apathy of the people, made any longer stay in the country extremely hazardous. On all these accounts, his royal highness, the commander-in-chief, after holding a consultation with his officers, gave orders for a reimbarkation; previous to which, a negotiation was entered into with general Brune, when it was stipulated that the Dutch admiral De Winter should be considered as exchanged; that the dismantled batteries at the Helder should be restored; and that eight thousand prisoners of war in England should be liberated. An effort was made, on the part of the French commander, to recover the Dutch fleet; but the duke of York peremptorily declared, that rather than consent to such a sacrifice, he would risk all consequences, and, by cutting the dykes, inundate the country.

This threat had its effect; the treaty was signed, and the allied troops departed for England without farther molestation. But if the Dutch had any cause to exult in the failure of this expedition, their pride was humbled by the loss of one of their most valuable colonies in the western hemisphere. In the middle of August, a naval and military force, under the command of lord Hugh Seymour and lieutenant-general Trigge, entered the river of Surinam, and compelled the governor to surrender the whole of that settlement to the British arms, within forty-eight hours. This acquisition was made without firing a gun; but the colonists had reason to rejoice in the change; for trade immediately began to revive, and a number of enterprising adventurers repaired to Surinam, to purchase goods, and carry on commercial speculations, which influx of capital contributed very much to enrich the inhabitants.

In the east, the English were still more successful. Tippoo Saib, though he had suffered so much by his temerity, in commencing hostilities against the formidable power of the India Company, continued to cherish the hope of being able to avenge himself for the mortifications he had endured. The

French revolution roused his spirit to such a degree of confidence, that he was induced to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the republic. He also agreed to subsidise any number of troops that might be sent into his dominions, for the purpose of enabling him to carry on the war against the English. Little doubt can be entertained that the invasion of Egypt was connected with this engagement between the French government and the sultan of Mysore. The earl of Mornington, now marquis Wellesley, who was then governor-general of Bengal, having received information of this treaty, wrote to Tippoo, expressing his surprise that he should have formed such a connexion, and proposing to send an ambassador to Mysore, to establish peace, and settle any misunderstanding. The answer of the sultan was so evasive, that his lordship gave orders for the army of Bombay, commanded by general Stuart, to march from Cannore, for the purpose of forming a junction with that of Madras, under general Harris. In the mean time, Tippoo passed his own frontier, on the 6th of March, to encounter general Stuart; but though the sultan's troops were three times the number of the British, the latter were victorious. Tippoo, after this defeat, retreated to Seringapatam, from whence he marched again, at the end of the month, to attack general Harris, but with no better success than before; on which he returned once more to his capital, where he made active preparations for the defence of the place. The British commander having encamped at a short distance from Seringapatam, on the 5th of April, began the necessary operations for the siege; and, on the 14th of the same month, he was joined by the army from Bombay. An overture of peace was now made to the sultan, who required time for consideration, hoping by that means to delay the siege till Zemaun Shah, upon whose assistance he relied, should arrive from the north of India.

General Harris, perceiving the object of the chief, resolved to attack the city without loss of time. The batteries were accordingly opened on the last day of April, and, by the 3d of the following month, an opening was made in the wall, sufficient to warrant an assault. On this occasion, a new stratagem was had recourse to; and it was resolved, contrary to the ordinary practice in warm climates, to commence the attack in the heat of the day, when the garrison would be in a manner off their guard. The troops intended to be employed in this service, were accordingly stationed in the trenches at an early hour on the morning of the 4th of May; and, a little after noon, they moved onward under major-general Baird. Having crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery, notwithstanding a heavy fire, they passed the glacis and ditch, after which they immediately began to ascend the breaches of the fausse-bray and ramparts of the forts, surmounting every difficulty with the greatest bravery. The noise at first rather excited the curiosity than the fears of the sultan, who had but lately relieved the guard; after taking a slight view, therefore, of the enemy's camp, where all appeared tranquil, he retired again to his palace, but was soon called out once more by the shouts of his troops, and the firing of the artillery. On learning what had happened, Tippoo put himself at the head of a party, and took his station near one of the gates, where he fell, in the vain effort to save his palace and capital. An immense booty fell to the lot of the captors, while the conquered territories were divided between the India Company, the nizam of the Deccan, and the Mahrattas. Some districts of Mysore, however, were assigned to Maha Rajah Kishenna Wuddiar, a descendant of the ancient chiefs of the country, which appointment, the result of sagacious policy, gave great satisfaction to the Hindoos, without increasing their power.

During these eventful changes in the east, the French army in Egypt experienced incessant fatigue; for the Mamelukes, though ignorant of the European system of warfare, kept the invaders of their country in continual alarm, by the suddenness of their attacks, and the rapidity of their movements.

The two principal chiefs, Ibrahim and Murad Bey, were defeated in several actions, and driven into the Desert, yet they had sufficient resources to enable them to harass the French troops, numbers of whom were cut off by the incursions of the Arabs, while many fell victims to the plague. Buonaparte, however, persevered in his design of rendering Egypt a permanent portion of the French empire, with which view he formed an institute at Cairo, and esta-

blished a number of regulations, civil as well as military. To ingratiate himself with the people, he professed the greatest veneration for Mahomet, and on every occasion referred to the Koran, as his authority for the measures he adopted, and the mission which he pretended to have received. In an address to the imaums and chiefs of the Mussulman faith, Buonaparte had the boldness to say, "Is there a man so blind as not to see that all my operations are conducted by destiny? Instruct the inhabitants, that ever since the world has existed, it was written, that after having overcome the enemies of Islamism, and destroyed the cross, I should come from the farthest parts of the west, to fulfil the task which has been imposed upon me. Make them see, that, in the second book of the Koran, in more than twenty passages, that which has happened was foreseen, and that which shall take place has also been explained; let those then, whom the fear of our arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations, now change their dispositions, for, in offering prayers to heaven against us, they solicit their own condemnation; let the true believer then present vows for our success. I could call to account each individual among you for the most secret sentiments of his heart; for I know every thing, even that which you never communicated to any person; and the day will come when all the world shall witness, that, as I act in consequence of orders from above, human efforts are of no avail against me."

But this pretence to divine authority, though accompanied by the assumption of the venerated name of Ali, could not impose upon the people whose favour it was intended to propitiate. The situation of the French became every day more perilous, particularly on the side of Syria, where the pacha Achmet D'Jezzar was known to be collecting magazines, and preparing for hostile operations. Buonaparte, therefore, resolved to march against this chief, and accordingly set out from Cairo, at the head of ten thousand men, in five divisions; while the heavy artillery was transported by sea. El Arisch, Gaza, and Jaffa, fell in rapid succession before this force; but, at the latter place, Napoleon covered himself with eternal infamy, by causing three thousand seven hundred captives to be put to death in cold blood. Yet this barbarian, in a letter to D'Jezzar, had the effrontery to say, "As God grants me victory, I will, like him, be clement and merciful, not only towards the people, but towards their rulers." The object of this epistle was, to prevail upon the pacha to abandon the Mamelukes and English, in which case the writer promised to take him into favour. But the old chief was not to be duped by the deceptive arts of a perfidious enemy. Relying on the assistance of the English and Turks, he returned a defiance to the French commander; who ordered his army to advance, and, on the 17th of March, they reached the river, which runs close to the walls of Acre. A bridge being formed in the night, all the troops passed over the next day, and, on ascending the heights, to their great mortification, they beheld the English colours flying in the harbour.

This squadron was commanded by sir William Sidney Smith, with whom, as a volunteer, happened to be associated colonel Phelippeaux, a French royalist, who had been the schoolfellow of Buonaparte, but of opposite principles. These officers, who arrived at Acre only two days before the French, by their presence encouraged the pacha to defend his capital, which at first he was inclined to abandon as untenable. Fortunately, at this crisis, the English seized, on the coast, seven transports laden with ammunition, and the artillery destined for the reduction of Acre; which capture contributed to strengthen the city and annoy the enemy. The operations for the siege, however, went actively on, and the trenches were opened on the 20th, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the walls; but as the assailants were deficient in heavy pieces of ordnance, they made but little impression on the place. The principal attack was made upon a tower, in which a breach was at length effected, and the counterscarp was supposed to have been destroyed by the springing of a mine. An assault, therefore, was now resolved upon; but the attempt failed, and a great number of soldiers fell, together with some officers of rank. This repulse so elated the pacha, that he dispersed firmans among the Arabian chiefs, urging them to fall upon the common enemy of their faith. Notwithstanding this, the besiegers still carried on their opera-

tions with unremitted vigilance; and, encouraged by the temporary departure of the English ships, which were obliged to put to sea in consequence of the weather, they advanced to the counterscarp, part of which was blown up, and a lodgment made in the town wall, whence they proceeded to undermine the tower, to increase the breach. The return of the squadron, however, invigorated the troops within the town, and, on the 7th, the British marines and seamen, in conjunction with the Turks, made a sally, in which the besiegers lost several men. About this time, the attention of Buonaparte was called off by the appearance of the Arabs, and the approach of an army from Damascus. A battle ensued near mount Tabor, in which the French were victorious; and, after burning a number of villages, their commander returned again to the works before Acre, where the siege was resumed with new vigour. The garrison, however, proved equally active; and though a great loss was sustained in the fall of colonel Phelippeaux, no relaxation took place in consequence of it, for even when the French obtained an addition of heavy artillery, and began immediately to batter in breach, the Turks and their allies fought them desperately, both above ground and in their subterraneous works. Buonaparte repeatedly changed his plan of operations; but being foiled in all his attempts, he became infuriated, and so regardless of the lives of his men, that the dead served as a rampart to the survivors. On receiving a supply of powder from Gaza, the tower and curtain were again battered, and the latter fell; upon which, Napoleon repaired thither, and ordered a new assault. The grenadiers accordingly rushed forward, and two hundred of them actually entered the town through the aperture; but their progress was soon arrested by the English and Turks, who attacked them so fiercely, that they made a hasty retreat, general Rambaud, who led them, being killed, and his coadjutor, Lasnes, wounded.

Buonaparte, maddened by these repeated disasters, resolved to hazard a new assault; but the troops who were ordered out for the service, refused to mount the fatal breach over the putrid bodies of their unburied countrymen. Another body of grenadiers then undertook the post of honour, but on advancing, they found their farther progress impeded by three lines of defence; a furious combat then ensued, which terminated in the repulse of the French, who lost several more officers, and a great number of men. In proportion as the troops relaxed in their efforts, and the capture of Acre became doubtful, the countenance of Buonaparte displayed the war of passions which raged in his mind. To increase his chagrin, he received alarming intelligence from Cairo, where the plague had already carried off seven hundred men, and the remainder of the French troops were in daily expectation of being overpowered by the Mamelukes, Turks, and Arabs. In this emergency, Napoleon, after having besieged Acre near ten weeks, was under the necessity of evacuating his lines, and commencing his retreat; but, previous to his departure, he issued a proclamation to his troops, in which he boasted of the exploits they had achieved, and concluded by saying, "In a few days more, you might have seized the pacha in the midst of his palace; however, at this critical season, the capture of Acre is not worth the time that would be necessary for the purpose."

On his arrival at Cairo, he found that the Turks, to the amount of eighteen thousand men, had landed at Alexandria, to which place they were about to lay siege. Buonaparte, upon this intelligence, immediately put his troops in motion, and marched towards Aboukir, where the Turks were strongly entrenched. A dreadful battle was here fought, on the 25th of July, in which the French were victors, Mustapha Pacha, the Ottoman general, being among the prisoners, while all his soldiers were either destroyed or taken.

This achievement obliterated the painful impression made by the discomfiture before Acre; but, instead of completing the conquest of Egypt, the French commander suddenly embarked at Alexandria, and, on the 16th of October, reached Paris. Another revolution was the consequence of his arrival, for, on the 10th of November, the senate being forcibly dissolved by the soldiers, a new government was instituted, consisting of three consuls, of whom Buonaparte was the chief.

CHAP. LXXIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1800.

BUONAPARTE, having now attained the supreme authority in France, for his two colleagues were mere ciphers, began his career of sovereignty by entering into negotiations for peace, not with any real design to accomplish that object, but obviously for the purpose of throwing the odium arising from the continuance of hostilities upon the allies. The attempts of the first consul to draw the court of Vienna into a separate treaty, having failed, he next applied, in a very extraordinary way, to the king of Great Britain, by a letter, not addressed, according to the usual etiquette, to the minister for foreign affairs, but to his majesty, with directions that it should be delivered into his own hand. In this epistle, Buonaparte said, "Called by the wishes of the French nation, to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty. The war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness, the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your majesty will only see in this overture, my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely confidential, and disengaged from those forms, which, necessary, perhaps, to disguise the dependence of feeble states, prove only, in those that are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, to the injury of all other nations, retard the period of their own exhaustion; but I will venture to say, that the fate of all civilized states is attached to the termination of a war which has convulsed the whole world."

This bombastic and indefinite communication was answered by lord Grenville, in a long note addressed to Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs; in which his majesty stated, that, "he could not place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions; since similar professions had been repeatedly held out by all those who had successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe."

But the most remarkable passage in this spirited reply, was that which recommended the "establishment of that dynasty of princes, which had preserved to the French nation, for so many ages, prosperity at home, and consideration and respect abroad." Yet it was observed, that, "however desirable such an event might be for that country, and the whole world, his majesty did not limit, to its accomplishment, the possibility of a sure and solid pacification; as he did not pretend to prescribe either the form of government, or the choice of those who were to be intrusted with the interests of a great and powerful nation. In the mean time, consulting only the security of his own dominions, and those of his allies, as well as the safety of Europe, he would seize the first favourable opportunity of concerting the means of a general pacification; but, as at present there was no prospect of obtaining that object, it remained for him only to pursue, with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his solicitude for the happiness of his subjects would not permit him to continue beyond the necessity in which it originated, nor to terminate it on any other grounds than those calculated to insure them the enjoyment of their tranquillity, constitution, and independence."

Talleyrand quickly gave a rejoinder to this note, and retorted upon the allies the charge of having provoked hostilities. The French republic, according to this declaration, had uniformly been distinguished by the most placable sentiments, and so far from having any inclination to conquest, she had evinced her love of peace, and her respect for the independence of all governments.

In conclusion, the proposal for a negotiation was repeated, and plenipotentiaries were invited to repair to some convenient town on the frontiers, for the purpose of effecting a pacification. Lord Grenville, however, in the name of his majesty, again declined accepting a proposal to treat separately from his allies; and thus the correspondence ended.

The British parliament was at this time sitting, and, on the 22d of January, 1800, a message was sent by his majesty to both houses, accompanying the papers which had so recently passed between the two governments. When the subject came under discussion, lord Grenville, in moving the address, went into a long and able examination of the causes and objects of the war, which last, he said, could not be attained by relying upon the insidious proposals of the chief consul, whose whole career was marked by crime and perfidy. The duke of Bedford proposed an amendment, in a speech replete with invective against ministers, who were accused of deliberately wishing to retard peace, with the sole view of restoring monarchy in France. In the lower house, Mr. Fox boldly echoed what Buonaparte and Talleyrand had asserted, that the French were not the aggressors in the war. The same great orator recommended conciliation, because, as he thought, Napoleon was really desirous of peace, to crown his glory; and chiefly because France stood in need of repose, to repair her losses. These arguments, however, failed to make an impression on either assembly, and the prosecution of the war was supported by increased majorities.

The secession of the opposition leaders from their public duty, rendered the history of parliament at this period rather barren in the display of eloquence. The most important subject which came under consideration during the session, was the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. In the preceding year, the attempt made to carry the measure through the Irish house of commons, failed; but, at the opening of the present, the whole plan of the union was adopted by both branches of the legislature in that kingdom. On the 21st of April, the momentous topic was brought forward for discussion in the British parliament; and though the union was strenuously opposed by earl Fitzwilliam and lord Holland, in the upper house, and by Grey, Sheridan, and Laurence, in the lower; the bill was carried, and, on the 2d of July received the royal assent. The session closed on the 29th of the same month, with a speech from the throne, in which the union, and other points of national interest, were noticed, but without any allusion to the intended operations of the cabinet.

The distressing scarcity of corn, at this period, occasioned some legislative enactments, little adapted to relieve the wants of the poor; but the spirit of charity, and the influence of example, amply supplied the deficiency of the laws, in ameliorating the condition of the lower orders, whose patience, under the heavy privations which they had to endure, was most praiseworthy.

Among the domestic occurrences of the year, the most remarkable related to his majesty; who, on the morning of the 15th of May, narrowly escaped being shot, in Hyde Park. While inspecting the troops, a ball was discharged from the ranks, which wounded a young man who was present as a spectator; but this circumstance, at the time, was attributed to accident. On the same evening, however, the royal family went to Drury-Lane theatre, and just as the king entered his box, a man stood up in the pit, and deliberately levelling a pistol, discharged it at the king, when two slugs providentially passed over his head, and did no injury. The horror conceived at this abominable attempt may be easily imagined. The assassin was secured, and underwent several examinations, when it apppeared that his name was Hatfield, and that he had served in the guards, under the duke of York, at Valenciennes, where he was severely wounded in the head. Of his insanity there could be no doubt, though his trial took place as a matter of course, and he was acquitted on that account, but was ordered to be detained custody for life.

From the internal concerns of Britain, we must now direct our attention to the state of the continent, where new scenes were now about to be developed, in consequence of the great change which had recently taken place in France. Buonaparte, while he affected the desire to restore peace, was actually

employed in preparing for warlike operations, on a most extensive scale, in order to consolidate and enlarge his power. Every thing now appeared military, and all the popular forms of the republican system were abandoned. The first consul endeavoured to bring over the royalists and priests to his side. With the same hypocrisy which had characterized his proceedings in Egypt, he now caused the churches to be opened for public worship, and a pompous funeral service to be celebrated in honour of the late pope. Thus the zealous Mussulman was now become a pious Catholic; and he who had professed his reverence for the prophet of Islamism, was, all at once, and for the same reason, a dutiful son of the church. But these arts could not impose upon the inhabitants of the five western departments, where new disturbances arose, of a nature so serious, as to require an army of sixty thousand men to put them down. Alarmed at the strong measures which the new government had adopted, the insurgents of Britany proposed an accommodation, and the terms were accordingly settled at Montauban. The troops then entered the department of Morbihan, where, though the royalists in arms amounted to forty thousand, they soon separated, and returned to their rural occupations. Louis de Frotté, a gentleman of Lower Normandy, and a few followers, still held out; but being unsupported, they also surrendered, and, by a barbarous policy, were put to death, meeting their fate with extraordinary resolution, and refusing to be blindfolded.

But though Napoleon had succeeded in suppressing this insurrection, he could not appease the disquietude of those who felt an intense anxiety respecting the fate of the army of Egypt; and the soldiers whom he had abandoned there, loaded him with execrations. While those unhappy men were perishing by fatigue, disease, and the sword, the Turks assembled in great numbers at Gaza, for the purpose of crossing the Desert. Though Kleber, who had been left in command by Buonaparte, did not apprehend much danger from the Mussulmans, he was under great concern about the means of quitting a country, which, without considerable reinforcements, he knew it was impossible to defend against the English. In this embarrassment, he sent two officers to sir Sidney Smith, in order to negotiate the conditions on which Egypt should be evacuated. At this critical moment, the Ottoman army appeared before the fortress of El Arisch, then possessed by the French, but which, in the course of a week, surrendered to the allied forces. This event brought the treaty to a speedy conclusion, and, by it, an armistice was agreed upon for three months, during which the French were to embark for their own country, in transports, under the protection of the English flag. Unfortunately, however, the British government refused to sanction this convention, on the plea that sir Sidney had no authority to act as he did, and enjoining him not to consent to the return of the French army to France, or to their capitulating in any other manner than as prisoners of war.

When Kleber received this disagreeable intelligence, he published an address to his troops, in which he accused the English of perfidy; and, without delay, marched to attack the Turks, over whom he gained a decisive victory, at Heliopolis, on the 20th of March. On the following day, the pacha of Upper Egypt, in marching to the relief of the Ottomans, was also defeated at Belbeis, in consequence of which, the grand Turkish army abandoned all their tents, baggage, and artillery, and returned to Syria. The French now repaired to Cairo, which they recaptured without difficulty, and soon after concluded a treaty with Murad Bey. But the pleasure which this important alliance afforded, was sadly clouded by the fate of the commander-in-chief, who was assassinated at the instigation, as was stated, of the Aga of the janissaries. Kleber was succeeded by Menou, who had lately married a native of Egypt, adopted the name of Abdallah, and professed himself a Mahometan.

In Europe, the campaign opened this spring with a promising appearance of success to the Imperialists, whose numerical force in Lombardy, Tuscany, and Piedmont, amounted to one hundred and ten thousand men; while that of the French, under Massena, in the neighbourhood of Genoa, did not exceed forty-five thousand. The Austrian general Melas left Milan at the beginning of April, and, after defeating Soult at the Bochetta, invested Genoa, on

the land side, while admiral Keith blockaded the harbour with an English squadron. On the 30th, a general attack was made upon the city, which was so vigorously defended, that the besiegers gave up the attempt; and the place held out till the 4th of June, when the garrison capitulated on honourable terms. This acquisition, however, cost the victors dear, for Buonaparte, putting himself at the head of the army of reserve, and calling in all the disposable forces he could collect in his way, suddenly entered Italy, where he made himself master of several strong posts, particularly Pavia, in which city he found a prodigious accumulation of cannon and military stores. Melas was at this time in Piedmont, having left the management of the operations before Genoa, to general Ott. The intelligence of the arrival of the first consul convinced him at once of his error and his danger. He lost no time in ordering the siege to be raised, and the army to join him with all speed; but when the despatch arrived, the capitulation was signed, and the released soldiers of the French were left at liberty to join their countrymen. The Imperial general now hastened to obey the injunction he had received from his commander-in-chief; but, on the 9th of June, he was attacked at Montebello by the advanced guard of the French army, under Lasnes, and, after an obstinate conflict, which lasted several hours, the Austrians were routed with a great slaughter, and the loss of twelve pieces of cannon. This victory was only the prelude to one still more important and decisive. After numerous skirmishes, the Austrians were driven across the Bormida; notwithstanding which, Melas, having succeeded in collecting the scattered remains of his army, determined to risk a general battle. Accordingly, the Imperialists having passed the river in three divisions, that of the right ascended the bank, while the centre followed the great road leading to Marengo, and the left moved towards Castel Ceriolo. The action began at seven in the morning of the 14th of June, and the attack was supported by one hundred pieces of artillery: while frequent charges of horse and infantry took place, in which the sabre and bayonet were used indiscriminately. Berthier, perceiving the design of the enemy, brought up the centre and vanguard of the French army to withstand the repeated and impetuous assaults of the Austrians; Buonaparte at the same time riding along the ranks to encourage his troops, who frequently retreated, and were again brought up to encounter fresh charges. For several hours the advantage was with the assailants, who made a number of prisoners, and took sixty pieces of cannon. But the victory being yet wavering, Melas resolved to decide it by one bold evolution. Having assembled ten thousand infantry, supported by a body of cavalry and artillery, he rushed into the plain, against the right wing of the French, who gave way instantly, and fell into confusion. General Victor, fearing a total route, sounded a retreat, which made the Austrians redouble their exertions, in full confidence of having gained the day. Napoleon was now in despair, and declared that he was determined to sleep on the field of battle; which he probably would have done, had it not been for Dessaix, who had but just arrived from Egypt, and commanded the reserve.

Perceiving about four in the afternoon, that the army was retreating, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and, ordering a charge to be beaten, advanced against the pursuing enemy, who were uttering shouts of triumph. Though twice repulsed and dismounted, Dessaix rushed into the hottest of the fight, and, by his example, recalled the main body to a fresh stand, as well as the counterguard, both horse and foot. At this critical moment, after having his horse killed under him, he received a musket shot, which deprived him of life almost immediately, and his last words were, that he only regretted having done nothing worthy to be remembered by posterity. This modest sentence, however, was afterwards changed by the satellites of Buonaparte, into a fulsome compliment on the first consul, whose name never escaped the lips of the dying hero. General Kellerman, now attacked the Imperial cavalry, and having thrown it into confusion, broke the first line of the Austrians, which then fell back upon the second. Instead, however, of giving way, both advanced, and endeavoured with the bayonet to restore the fortune of the day; but at this time the whole of the French army had rallied, and a division of the Austrians, amounting to six thousand men, being surrounded,

laid down their arms. Yet as there still remained, firm and entire, a third line of infantry, Lasnes, at the head of the consular guard, supported by the artillery and cavalry, under Marmont and Murat, with Bessieres, who led the horse-grenadiers, soon pierced and threw it into disorder, in consequence of which the rout became general.

The loss of the Austrians upon this occasion, has been estimated at seventeen thousand men, of whom seven thousand were taken prisoners; while that of the French, if their own statement is to be credited, amounted to no more than five thousand in killed and wounded.

The result of the battle was, the conclusion of a truce between the belligerents, until the arrival of a messenger from Vienna; the French, in the mean time, being put in possession of Genoa, Urbino, Ceva, Coni, Arona, Turin, Tortona, and Alessandria. Melas, chagrined by this extraordinary reverse of fortune, now retired with the remains of his forces to Mantua; while Buonaparte hastened to Paris, leaving the command of the army to Massena.

While the French were overcoming every obstacle in Italy, their arms were equally victorious in Germany, where Moreau acted on the offensive, against the Austrian field-marshal Kray, who had succeeded the gallant archduke Charles. On the 3d of March, the Imperialists were attacked at Maeskirch; but the assailants, after a long conflict, were repulsed with some loss. They resumed the action at sunrise, and continued the battle very obstinately during the greatest part of the day; when victory still remained undecided. On the 9th of the same month, the combat was renewed with such extraordinary fury and impetuosity, that the Austrians, after a vigorous resistance, abandoned their entrenchments, and retreated, first to Biberach, and next to Ulm.

The whole circle of Suabia was now exposed to the French, who seized all the magazines that had been collected by the Imperialists, and made themselves masters of Augsburg, Kempten, and Meningen. Still field-marshal Kray maintained his position at Ulm, to dispossess him of which, Moreau crossed the Danube, and attacked the troops of general Starray, who was advantageously posted at Blenheim. Here the Austrians experienced another discomfiture; in consequence of which, general Kray instantly broke up his camp, and retreated into Franconia. Moreau, however, pursued, and came up with the fugitives at Neuhourg, where, on the 8th of July, another action was fought, and a fresh defeat ensued. The victors then entered Bavaria, and established their head-quarters at Munich; where, while they were preparing for new achievements, the news arrived of the battle of Marengo, in consequence of which, the armistice that had been concluded in Italy, was extended to Germany.

A negotiation now took place, and preliminaries of peace were actually agreed upon at Paris; but when the emperor was called upon to ratify the treaty, he honourably refused to separate his interests from those of his ally, the king of Great Britain. Buonaparte, on the other hand, was obstinately bent upon concluding a peace with Austria alone; and, in the mean time, the armistice terminated. A new truce was then solicited on the part of the Imperial cabinet, for which, however, it was compelled to make some humiliating sacrifices, by giving up Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt. The French took further advantage of the circumstance, by seizing Leghorn, and storming Arezzo, at which latter place, all the inhabitants found in arms were massacred.

At length, a convention was agreed upon, and the plenipotentiaries assembled at Luneville; but while the negotiations were going on, another rupture of the armistice occurred, and both powers began to put their forces in motion for a winter campaign. The French general Augereau passed the Rhine, while Macdonald, who was in the Grisons, made preparations for crossing the Alps into Italy; and Moreau, at the head of a larger army than he had yet commanded, marched against the archduke Charles, who was now at the head of the Imperial forces. The prince, so far from declining, was eager for the combat, and, as early as seven in the morning, the two armies encountered each other on the heights of Hohenlinden, between the rivers Iser and Inn. Various circumstances concurred to the disadvantage of the

Austrians; and a heavy fall of snow prevented that celerity of operations which is essential to a combined movement. Notwithstanding this, the Imperialists braved the storm of the elements, and rushed on their enemies with uncommon ardour. Moreau, who had anticipated the attack, ordered general Richepanse to assail the centre column of the Austrians in flank, at the very moment of the onset, which sudden shock produced great disorder; and the left wing being pierced nearly at the same time by a correspondent evolution, the Imperialists were, in consequence, put to the rout with a terrible slaughter, leaving behind them eighty pieces of cannon, and eighteen thousand men, killed, wounded, and captives, among which last were three generals.

This battle decided the fate of the campaign, and compelled the emperor to sue for another armistice, which ended in a separate peace, on much more degrading terms than he had before rejected; the whole bank of the Rhine being ceded to the victors, who, to humble the house of Austria, deposed the grand duke of Tuscany, and erected that state into a kingdom, by the name of Etruria, in favour of the hereditary prince of Parma.

While France was thus extending its conquests and influence over the continent, England reigned paramount on the ocean. The combined fleets were prevented from quitting the harbour of Brest; besides which, a vigilant blockade was kept up also from the North Sea to the Adriatic. This superiority was productive of important results. The island of Goree, on the coast of Africa, was taken by a squadron of frigates, without offering any resistance; Malta capitulated to a joint naval and military force, after holding out two years; and the inhabitants of Curaçoa made a voluntary surrender of that colony to a single ship of war. Two expeditions, however, against Spain, were unsuccessful. The first, which had for its object an attack upon Ferrol, was conducted, in the middle of the summer, by admiral Warren and general Pulteney. After landing, and gaining possession of the heights which overlook the town, the troops were suddenly recalled, and the design relinquished. The enterprise against Cadiz, undertaken by admiral lord Keith and sir Ralph Abercrombie, proved equally abortive; owing partly to the boisterous state of the weather, which rendered a disembarkation impracticable; and partly also to the raging of a pestilential disease, so very nearly resembling the plague in its dreadful effects, that an attack, under such circumstances, would have been impolitic and cruel in the extreme.

CHAP. LXXX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1801.

THE nineteenth century opened with a stormy and portentous aspect upon Great Britain; for though her fleets had been hitherto victorious, all her efforts to deliver the continent from the grasp of the French proved fruitless, and she was left to combat with that colossal power single-handed. The defection of some of her allies was marked by circumstances peculiarly mortifying; and those states which had received profuse subsidies, to enable them to secure their own dominions, were among the first to injure the country that had befriended them. A confederation was also formed, to remove the only bulwark that remained to check the torrent of Gallic ambition; and, in a pitiful spirit of jealousy, the northern courts associated, for the avowed purpose of destroying the naval superiority of England, though, had the design succeeded, the entire subjugation of Europe must have been the consequence.

Sweden and Denmark, having made some ineffectual resistance to the right of searching trading vessels by British ships of war, the emperor of Russia laid an embargo on all the property of English subjects in his dominions. This proceeding was followed by a revival of the armed neutrality, which the empress Catharine had projected at the close of the American war; and, in a manifesto addressed to all nations, but particularly to the kings of Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, his Imperial majesty declared, that he would employ all his forces to maintain the liberty of trade and navigation.

A convention accordingly ensued between the four powers, by which they bound themselves to equip squadrons for the mutual protection of the trade and commerce of the respective countries.

The British government was not inactive on this occasion, but immediately caused an embargo to be laid upon all Russian, Swedish, and Danish ships; while those belonging to Prussia were not mentioned. At the same time, the most vigorous preparations were made to fit out a squadron for the Baltic, where it was ascertained that a combined fleet of eighty sail of the line was about to be equipped, to pass the Sound in support of the alliance that had taken place. At the beginning of March, admiral sir Hyde Parker, as commander-in-chief, and lord Nelson as his second, sailed from Yarmouth roads, for the North Sea, having under them eighteen line-of-battle ships, and a number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels.

At the very moment of the arrival of this force in the Cattegat, the Danes made themselves masters of the city of Hamburg; whilst the Prussians entered the electorate of Hanover. But these triumphs were short-lived; for sir Hyde Parker having been refused a passage through the Sound, immediately proceeded to hostilities. After anchoring about five miles from the isle of Huen, the admiral surveyed the formidable line of ships, rafts, galleys, fire-vessels, and gun-boats, which were so moored as to be supported by the batteries called the Crowns, mounting from fifty to seventy pieces of cannon, near which were two ships of seventy guns each, and a large frigate; while two floating batteries, of sixty-four-guns each, were moored on the flat, at the entrance into the arsenal.

Lord Nelson, who had volunteered his service to conduct the attack, now shifted his flag from the St. George to the Elephant, a vessel of smaller size; and immediately gave orders for laying the buoys in the channel. When this was done, the detachment, consisting of twelve sail of the line, with frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, passed in, and came to anchor. The next morning, April 2d, the vice-admiral made signal for the squadron to weigh, and engage the Danish line of defence, which amounted to six sail of two decks, eleven floating batteries, and one bomb-ketch, with several gun-vessels, supported by the land batteries; while four ships of the line were stationed at the mouth of the harbour, where also some strong works had been thrown up to annoy the enemy. In the mean time, the shallowness of the water, and the intricacy of the navigation, occasioned two of the largest English ships to ground, and another to anchor. In consequence of this, the frigates were greatly exposed to the fire from the batteries, and captain Riou, who commanded that division, was killed. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the battle was fiercely contested, and the slaughter on both sides was severe. The action began a little after ten, and lasted four hours, when seventeen of the Danish vessels, being the whole of the line to the southward of the Crown islands, were either sunk, burnt, or taken. The situation, however, of the victors was extremely critical; for the principal line of defence within the harbour remained uninjured, and the ships which were with the commander-in-chief could not possibly be brought up to support their consorts. Under these circumstances, Nelson had recourse to an act of policy; and despatched an officer on shore, with a letter to the crown prince, offering an accommodation, provided the firing ceased; otherwise he should, he said, be compelled to set all the floating batteries, which he had already taken, in flames. The prince acceded to the proposal, and an armistice was concluded for fourteen weeks, during which, the treaty called the armed neutrality was to be suspended. When the disabled vessels were refitted, the British squadron, after taking out some of the guns and stores, passed over the shallows into the Baltic, in quest of the Swedish fleet.

On their arrival off Carlscroon, intelligence was received of the sudden death of the emperor Paul, which event at once dissolved the confederacy, and restored peace. About the same time, however, French intrigues produced a rupture between Spain and Portugal; but though a formal declaration of war ensued, the contest was quickly brought to a conclusion, by a cession, on the part of the latter, of one of her provinces to her more powerful neighbour. This treaty gave so much displeasure to the consular govern-

ment, that, without the least regard to national rights, an army was marched through Spain into Portugal, where the fortress of Almeida was invested; and a new degradation of the court of Lisbon took place, in the enlargement of the French part of Guiana, and the compulsory shutting of all the ports in Europe and America against the English; who, by way of retaliation, sent out a force, and gained possession of the island of Madeira.

But an expedition of far greater importance in itself, and more splendid in its consequences, was undertaken at this period. Ministers, finding that their refusal to ratify the treaty of El Arisch had not, as was imagined, effected the unconditional surrender of the French army in Egypt; but that, on the contrary, there was too much reason to apprehend a total separation of that country from the Ottoman empire, and the annexation of it to the republican dominion, resolved to make an attempt, upon a large scale, to expel the invaders. The command of the forces was intrusted to sir Ralph Abercombie, and that of the fleet to lord Keith. Though the convoy destined for this purpose assembled at Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania, as early as new-year's day, the French government, apprized of its object, anticipated it by throwing into Alexandria a large reinforcement of troops, with a great quantity of ammunition and stores. Thus the difficulty of the enterprise increased, and the enemy had time to prepare for a vigorous resistance against the attack that was meditated, and which they knew would be made upon one point. Owing to various delays, it was not till the 7th of March that the combined English and Turkish fleets anchored in the bay of Aboukir, when orders were immediately given for the debarkation. In the mean time, the French had occupied a steep sand-hill, and lined all the adjacent heights with artillery and infantry, so that, on the approach of the armament within this fortified amphitheatre, a tremendous fire poured down from the eminences upon the assailants, who, however, pushed on, and a complete landing was effected.

After a short but desperate conflict, the English advanced, and formed in good order; the French retreating to Alexandria, leaving behind several pieces of cannon. On the 12th, the whole army moved forward, and arrived within view of the enemy, who were strongly encamped, to the amount of six thousand men. The next morning, orders were given for an attack, in order to turn the right flank of the French; but this evolution being foreseen, the republicans descended from the heights, and charged the leading brigades with great impetuosity. The advancing regiments suffered considerably on this occasion; but the rest of the troops having changed their position with quickness and precision, drove the foe for protection to their fortified lines near the city. The British now retired, and formed their camp, with the right to the sea, and their left to the lake of Alexandria. On the 18th, the castle of Aboukir surrendered, after a siege of eight days, notwithstanding which, Menou, who had now arrived from Cairo with a large reinforcement of troops, determined upon giving battle to the English, "who were," he said, in his general orders, "to be driven into the lake Maadie." To fulfil this threat, a body of twelve thousand men marched in four divisions, before day-light on the 21st, when a false attack was made by one corps on the left wing of the British; while the real contest was reserved for the right, against which, the French infantry, supported by the cavalry, advanced and charged in column; the brigade at the same time rushing straight forward upon the grand redoubt, with the design also of piercing the centre. The onset of the republicans was furious, but the English repulsed them in two successive charges, and remained masters of the field.

In this action, a body of chosen troops, which by their achievements in Italy had obtained the appellation of the "Invincibles," attempted to storm a battery three times; but were swept off almost to a man, by the volleys of grape and ball shot, and a charge of bayonets. Here their famous standard was actually taken by a Scotch sergeant named Sinclair, but the man being severely wounded, and falling to the ground with it in a state of insensibility, the trophy was carried off by a German soldier called Luts, to his commanding officer, in consequence of which he received a pension, while the real captor was unrewarded. Menou, perceiving that the battle was lost,

ordered a retreat, which was effected under the protection of the cannon. The loss of the enemy was estimated at three thousand slain, among whom were several officers: that of the English was also severe, consisting of thirteen hundred killed, wounded, and missing; which list included five generals, one of whom was the commander-in-chief, who died seven days afterwards, on board the admiral's ship. On the first attack, which was rather unexpected, sir Ralph Abercrombie rode towards the right, against which the fury of the French was directed. During a charge with cavalry, he was dismounted and wounded in two places; notwithstanding which, he still possessed strength enough to wrest the sabre from the hand of his antagonist, and, on being relieved, he presented the weapon to sir Sidney Smith, who had just before broken his own in combat.

Though bleeding profusely, the gallant veteran could not be persuaded to quit the field, until the victory was complete; and, amidst all his sufferings, which must have been exceedingly acute and distressing, he continued to give his orders with as much coolness and precision as if nothing had happened. The command now devolved upon general Hutchinson, who made an offer to the enemy, of renewing the treaty of El Arisch; but Menou indignantly replied, "that no attention could be paid to any proposal so injurious to the army of the East."

Upon this, farther operations were immediately adopted, the result of which was the capture of Rosetta; from whence the French made a hasty retreat to Rhamanieh, but were compelled also to quit that place, and hasten to Cairo. General Belliard, who commanded the garrison in that city, instead of following the example of his colleagues, sent a flag of truce to the English camp, with an overture to surrender the place, on condition of being allowed to embark the troops for Europe. The terms were acceded to, and the French, to the number of about thirteen thousand, marched to Rosetta, where they took shipping for their own country. Menou, at Alexandria, however, still held out, in expectation of the arrival of admiral Gantheaume, with succours from Europe. That officer, having four ships of the line and a frigate, crowded with troops, did leave Toulon for Egypt; but finding that he could not effect a landing on any part of the coast, he was obliged to return, after capturing the Swiftsure of seventy-four guns.

In the mean time, the siege of Alexandria was continued with great activity; the English troops before that place being increased by the arrival of general sir David Baird, with five thousand men, from Bombay. Menou made a stout resistance, till, pressed on all sides, and cut off from every chance of relief, he found it prudent to capitulate on the same terms as were granted to the garrison of Cairo. The surrender of Alexandria, on the 30th of August, completed the deliverance of Egypt, in commemoration of which, the grand signior instituted the military order of the Crescent; and conferred that dignity on the principal officers engaged in the expedition. At home, also, their services were liberally considered, and general Hutchinson and lord Keith were raised to the British peerage.

While these transactions were taking place on the African coast, some severe engagements occurred on the other side of the Mediterranean. At the beginning of July, admiral sir James Saumarez having received information off Cadiz, where he was cruising, that three large French ships and a frigate were lying at Algesiras, proceeded thither with six sail of the line, to endeavour to get possession of them. On arriving off the place, he found the objects of his search warped close in land, and under the protection of the batteries. Notwithstanding this, an attack was resolved upon, and the Pompée, captain Stirling, having taken a position near to the Formidable, carrying the flag of admiral Linois, commenced the engagement in a spirited style. Soon afterwards, the Hannibal came up, but in the attempt to get between the French admiral and the batteries, she unfortunately grounded, and, being under the enemy's guns, was compelled to strike; though not till her decks were covered with killed and wounded.

The British admiral now made several attempts to close with the foe, but the wind dying away, rendered his efforts fruitless; and he was under the necessity of retiring to Rosia bay, leaving the Hannibal behind. In a few

days, all the ships, except the Pompée, being repaired, the English admiral put to sea again, and had the satisfaction of meeting the French squadron, with five Spanish vessels, and the Hannibal, bound for Cadiz. Notwithstanding the disparity of force, an action commenced, in which two of the largest of the Spanish ships were burnt, and one of seventy-four guns was captured, but the rest escaped.

Exasperated against the only power whose immense resources he could not exhaust, and whose dauntless spirit he could not subdue, Buonaparte now threatened to carry the war into England. Hoping that the menaces which he had found so effectual elsewhere, would operate in a similar way upon the minds of the proud islanders, he began to collect large bodies of troops all along the line of coast from Bruges to Brest; while the ports of Holland, Belgium, and France, were crowded with gun-boats, rafts, and other armed vessels, to convey his legions to the shores of Britain. These preparations, however, instead of appalling, only served to inflame the people they were intended to intimidate; and all ranks of persons throughout the empire appeared anxious for an opportunity to meet the foe.

Government also was on the alert: the dockyards were occupied in constructing gun-boats; a chain of telegraphs, extending from the principal ports to the capital, kept up a constant communication between the admiralty and the coast; while the army, amounting to about four hundred thousand men, was so stationed as to assume a central position, and kept in constant readiness to march at a moment's notice. Not satisfied with defensive measures, ministers resolved to attack the enemy in their own harbours. Accordingly, an expedition against Boulogne, where a great armament had been collected, was now undertaken, and committed to the direction of lord Nelson. The gallant admiral, at the beginning of August, hoisted his flag on board the Medusa frigate, and proceeded, with two sail of the line, and some smaller vessels, to the French coast. On arriving off Boulogne, his lordship caused some shells to be thrown among the enemy's flotilla, which service was done so effectually, that several of the flat-bottomed boats and gun-vessels were destroyed. Still the main force within the harbour remained uninjured, and to sink, burn, or capture them, constituted the principal object of the enterprise. Perceiving that this could not be accomplished but by boats, the admiral caused those of his squadron to be manned, and formed in five divisions, each led by a captain. At midnight they steered silently for the harbour, which captain Parker reached in about an hour, and immediately detached his subdivision to attack the vessels anchored to the northward, while he proceeded himself against a large brig, carrying a broad pendant, off the mole-head. When the boats came alongside, an attempt was made to board; but this was rendered impracticable, by a strong netting carried up to her lower yards, while a discharge of all the great guns, as well as of musketry from about two hundred soldiers, killed or wounded a number of the assailants, among whom was captain Parker, who fell in the conflict. The other divisions were equally unsuccessful, and the whole squadron returned to port, after losing above one hundred and twenty men.

As this unfortunate enterprise was the last event of consequence in the present war, it is necessary to take a brief view of those political changes in the English cabinet, which led to the termination of hostilities. On the 22d of January, agreeable to the act of union, the first imperial parliament was opened by commission; and, soon afterwards, a general surprise was excited by the announcement of a new administration; Mr. Pitt being succeeded by Mr. Addington, lord Grenville by lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Dundas by lord Pelham, lord Loughborough, as chancellor, by lord Eldon, lord Spencer by earl St. Vincent, and Mr. Windham by colonel Yorke.

This unexpected revolution in the council gave rise to various conjectures; one of the most prevailing of which was, that Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, not being able to fulfil a promise given to the Catholics of Ireland, owing to the opposition which the proposed measure met with from the king, thought it a point of duty to resign their places. Another surmise was, that the prime minister, perceiving the difficulty of carrying on the war, and desirous of trying the experiment of peace, recommended the speaker of the house of

commons, as a fit person to succeed him in his office, for the purpose of bringing about an amicable agreement between France and England. That the new administration came into power with that object, is clear, for though the great plan of operations projected by Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, was carried into effect, negotiations were opened between the two governments, for the restoration of peace; and, on the 1st of October, the preliminaries were signed in London, by M. Otto, on the part of France, and by lord Hawkesbury on that of England. This event produced a lively sensation of joy in both countries; though many were of opinion, that the successes which had recently crowned the British arms warranted the demand of more permanent and extensive securities for the tranquillity and independence of the European continent, than those which were contained in the treaty.

The parliamentary history of this year was not distinguished by any feature of novelty, except that of passing an act to remove the doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders, to sit in the house of commons. The occasion of this extraordinary measure of disfranchisement, was the election of John Horne Tooke for the borough of Old Sarum.

When that celebrated character took his seat, earl Temple moved for a committee to inquire into the qualification of the new member, on the ground that he was in priest's orders, and had formerly held the living of New Brentford. When the report was brought up, lord Temple moved, that a new writ should be issued for the borough of Old Sarum, in the room of the reverend John Horne Tooke, who was ineligible, being in holy orders. This produced a long debate, which Mr. Addington put an end to, by moving for leave to bring in a bill, to prevent in future the return of persons who had been once admitted into holy orders. Leave was granted, and the bill went through both houses, though not without a strenuous opposition, on account of its peculiar hardship, and degrading tendency; by which a large and most enlightened portion of the community were placed under perpetual proscription, for no reason whatever, except to prevent the return of an obnoxious member, who, however, was suffered to hold his seat during the existing parliament.

CHAP. LXXXI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1801 to 1802.

AT the meeting of parliament on the 29th of October, the terms of the peace constituted the principal subject of the royal speech, and of the subsequent debates in both houses. The motion for an address, in the lords, was opposed by earl Spencer, who thought that the terms were disgraceful and humiliating. Lord Grenville and several other peers were of the same opinion; while the duke of Bedford, earl St. Vincent, and lord Nelson, defended the preliminaries throughout. A similar opposition was made to the address in the commons; but with this remarkable difference, that Mr. Pitt dissented from most of his old associates, in advocating the peace on general grounds, as the best that could be had under the peculiar circumstances in which this country then stood. Mr. Fox, as might have been expected, vindicated the preliminaries, not because the peace was glorious, but because it put an end to a fatal and disgraceful war.

In the mean time, the marquis Cornwallis was sent, at the beginning of November, to Amiens, to meet the ministers of the respective powers, and bring the treaty to a definitive conclusion. Near five months, however, elapsed, before the business came to a final close; and on the 27th of March, 1802, the ratification took place. It now appeared, that the animadversions which the outlines of the treaty had experienced, were neither unreasonable nor too severe; for the sacrifices of England could not have been greater, had she suffered a series of defeats, instead of being victorious by land and sea. The cessions on her part consisted of all the possessions and colonies taken during the war, excepting the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch settlements in Ceylon. In behalf of Portugal, it was stipulated, that the province of Olivenza should be restored, but, on the other hand, the British

government assented to the extension of French Guiana, by which the colonial territory of an old ally was curtailed. The interests of the house of Orange were also injured by this negotiation, to such a degree, that the stadtholder, after writing a strong letter of remonstrance to the king, on the subject, hastily departed for the continent. The republic of the Seven Islands was fully recognized. But one of the most curious articles of the treaty, was that which related to the restoration of Malta to the knights of St. John; his Britannic majesty engaging to evacuate those possessions within three months after the ratification of the treaty, on condition that two thousand Sicilians should be sent thither; and that the independence and neutrality of the order should be guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia. It was farther stipulated, that a new division of knights, consisting of natives of the island, should be instituted, free from the obligation of proving their noble descent; and farther, that one half of the civil and judicial appointments should be filled by inhabitants of Malta.

Of the deficiencies of this unfortunate treaty, two were particularly noticed: one, the total neglect of the interests of the emigrant princes of France; and the other, an abandonment of the house of Savoy to the mercy of the consular government.

But no part of the convention became more exposed to censure than that which related to Malta. Lord Grenville, in particular, reprobated the placing of the island under the guaranty of six powers who could never be brought to agree in any one point on the subject; and as for the restoration of it to the order, it was an additional absurdity, since all the estates necessary for its support had been confiscated, wherever the French plunderers could lay their hands upon them. The same enlightened statesman pointed out many other strong objections to the peace, and concluded with moving an address, beseeching his majesty to settle, by an amicable arrangement, those essential articles which were left in a state of uncertainty.

In the lower house, a similar motion was made by Mr. Windham, but both were negatived; that in the lords by a majority of one hundred and six, and that in the commons by a still greater disproportion, the numbers being two hundred and seventy-six to twenty.

Notwithstanding the loud boast of the minister and his friends, that the peace which had been concluded was safe and honourable to the country; it soon appeared that they were themselves doubtful of its stability. Even while the British plenipotentiary was at Amiens, the exertions of the consular government had all the appearance of a warlike disposition; and, in the course of the winter, a powerful armament, of twenty-three ships of the line, and twenty-five thousand land forces, sailed for the West Indies. The object of this expedition was, indeed, stated to be the recovery of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe from the negroes, who, after being emancipated, had made themselves masters of those colonies. But though the English ministers professed themselves satisfied with the explanation which they had received in regard to this formidable array, they had other proofs, of a more unequivocal nature, of the grasping ambition of the French ruler, who, indeed, took little care to conceal his views. Immediately after the signing of the preliminaries of peace, Buonaparte assumed the title of President of the Italian republic; which, with the annexation of the Pays de Vaud to France, clearly evinced a design of subjugating all the southern part of Europe to his dominion. In other respects, also, Napoleon manifested his hostile intentions towards Great Britain, by establishing a new system of commercial intercourse, by which the manufactures and produce of this country were in effect excluded from admission into a great part of Europe. Such was the feverish state which followed the treaty of Amiens, and, in consequence of it, the English ministers, while they laid claim to extraordinary merit in concluding the peace, were driven to the necessity of contradicting themselves, by keeping up an enormous military and naval establishment, at an expense that required a loan of twenty-three millions for the current service of the year.

On the 26th of June, the parliament was prorogued, and the next day dissolved by proclamation.

While the British empire exhibited the bustle of a general election, France

was sinking fast under the yoke of despotism. A new constitution was framed, by which Napoleon was not only invested with supreme power for the term of his natural life, but also authorised to nominate a successor. Every vestige of public freedom now disappeared, and the formation of law, as well as the administration of it, was fully confided to the will of the first consul; who in civil, military, and even religious concerns, was completely absolute.

One of the first acts of the usurper was to annihilate the shadow of liberty that remained in Switzerland. A new constitution was dictated to the cantons, and though some received it implicitly, others spurned it with indignation. A confederacy of the refractory districts followed, and some actions were fought decidedly to the advantage of the patriots, who made themselves masters of Berne. But this was a momentary triumph. Buonaparte first issued a proclamation reproaching the Swiss for their treachery, and commanding them to obey the code which his wisdom had devised for them. As this mandate was supported by the presence of thirty thousand men, the virtuous but unfortunate people, who had incurred the hatred of the tyrant, were compelled to bend under the yoke, after having appealed to the powers of Europe in their distress, without meeting with a single friend to interpose in their behalf.

At the same time, a war of extermination was carried on in St. Domingo, where the French and the Blacks strove which should exceed the other in acts of barbarity. At length, Le Clerc, the brother-in-law of Buonaparte, who commanded the army that was sent out upon this murderous mission, having prevailed upon Toussaint l'Ouverture, the chief of one part of the island, to submit to the French government, transmitted him to Europe, where Napoleon threw him into a dungeon, out of which he never came again. The island, however, remained unsubdued, and the perfidious Le Clerc, who had so iniquitously falsified his engagement, fell a victim not long after to the yellow fever; a malady which did more execution than the sword. In Guadaloupe, the French were more successful, but not till after a terrible slaughter had been made of the negroes; to supply which loss, the slave trade was revived, and carried into full activity.

While Napoleon was making these exertions to regain and secure the colonies, he gave cause for popular discontent in France, and of alarm to other powers, by having recourse to the odious and oppressive system of conscriptions, for the augmentation of the army. Another measure which evinced the disquietude of his mind, was that of laying a restriction upon the freedom of the press; and in the same spirit of jealousy he issued a decree prohibiting the importation of foreign journals, especially those of England.

Amidst these unfavourable symptoms, the imperial parliament assembled on the 16th of November, when the commons, after appearing at the bar of the lords, returned to their own house, and chose Mr. Charles Abbot, now lord Colchester, for their speaker. On the 23d, his majesty opened the session in a speech, which, though extremely cautious with respect to foreign politics, contained the observation, "That as he could not be indifferent to any material change in the state of Europe, he trusted parliament would agree with him in thinking it incumbent to adopt such means of security as were best calculated to preserve peace."

In the upper house, the address, which passed without a division, was moved by lord Arden, and seconded by lord Nelson. Nothing of moment then occurred, though lord Grenville, in addition to his former objections to the terms of the late treaty, observed, that subsequent to the signature of the preliminaries new encroachments on the part of France had taken place; and that this country had disgraced herself by unmeasured concessions and mean compliances. "It is," said the noble orator, "the want of energy, of plan, and of foresight, that subjugates the genius of Britain before the first consul! It is as if ministers had conspired with the adversary to bind Great Britain hand and foot. The ruin which they have prepared is upon us."

In the house of commons, Mr. Fox spoke a different language, for though he admitted that Europe was in a very unsatisfactory state, and felt concern at the immense aggrandizement of France, he vehemently protested against adopting any measures that had a tendency to the renewal of hostilities.

Mr. Canning and Mr. Windham were of a different opinion; and contended strenuously for the necessity of vigorous preparations to encounter that spirit of rancour which only waited for a favourable occasion to overwhelm this country.

Mr. Addington, in reply, took credit for the peace which he had made, and censured the warlike tone that had been assumed, as unnecessary, and having no adequate motive.

Notwithstanding this, a few days only elapsed, when ministers came before parliament with a proposition to increase the war establishment to 130,000 men, exclusive of 50,000 already voted for the naval department.

Mr. Fox protested vehemently against the increase, which he considered as totally uncalled for either by the circumstances of the country or of Europe. The motion, however, was carried; and the prospect of a war, instead of being considered as an evil, seemed to be anticipated with eagerness by all classes of people.

While things stood in this state of suspense, an atrocious conspiracy against the life of his majesty, and for the subversion of the government, was detected. This extraordinary scheme was planned by colonel Despard, who in the American war had distinguished himself with reputation; but not meeting with promotion equal to his expectation, turned malcontent, and was for some time confined in the Cold-Bath-Fields prison, on account of his seditious practices. After his enlargement, he returned to his old course with increased malignity, and having tampered with some disaffected soldiers and mechanics, he formed a society which met at different public-houses. The association was watched, and at length some of the members gave information of its proceedings to government, in consequence of which the colonel and his principal confederates were apprehended at their ordinary place of resort in Lambeth. On the 5th of February, 1803, a special commission was held at the sessions-house in Southwark, for the trial of the offenders, against whom a true bill had been found by the grand jury on the 20th of the preceding month. After a long examination of evidence, and the adduction of witnesses to the character of Despard, particularly lord Nelson and sir Alured Clarke, who had known him many years before, a verdict of guilty was returned against him and nine of his associates. The sentence of the law as in cases of treason followed, and on the 19th it was carried into execution on the colonel and six of his wretched dupes; the three others, being less culpable, were reprieved.

Congratulatory addresses were presented on the occasion to his majesty, by both houses of parliament and various public bodies, all expressive of unbounded loyalty, and ascribing the plot to those principles which had too long been spreading among the community. Some persons, however, affected to believe that the ringleader of the confederacy was insane; though at his trial, and on the scaffold, his language and behaviour fully indicated the possession of his intellectual powers.

The jealousies and disputes which for some time had prevailed between the French and the English governments, now assumed an aspect which too plainly foretold an open rupture. On the 17th of February, Napoleon, in a long conference with lord Whitworth, the British ambassador, inveighed bitterly against this country for not having quitted Alexandria and Malta, observing, that he would rather see the English in possession of one of the suburbs of Paris than of the latter island. He next complained of the abuse of the press in England, and demanded summary vengeance on those persons who had the temerity to libel him and his government in their journals, published at London, and from thence sent all over the continent. Another matter of grievance to which the consul adverted with peculiar asperity, was the support given to the French royalists in England. Having gone through this chain of complaints, he expressed his wish for peace; and, at the same moment, talked of putting himself at the head of an expedition to invade the British coast, though he acknowledged that the chances were against the success of the attempt. At this period, extensive military and naval preparations were going on in the French and Dutch ports, which proved very clearly, that the language of the despot who wielded the resources of those

countries at his pleasure, was not mere gasconade, or the ebullition of a momentary resentment. An armament, at Helvoetsluys, which was now nearly ready for sea, though ostensibly intended against the refractory colonies, bore such suspicious characteristics, that his Britannic majesty, on the 8th of March, sent a message to both houses of parliament, signifying the expediency of adopting measures of precaution for the security of the kingdom. Two days afterwards, another communication was made from his majesty, announcing his intention of embodying the militia. The French government, upon this, declared, that if the augmentation of the forces in England went on, twenty thousand men should be sent into Holland, encampments formed on the frontier of Hanover, and all the armies put in motion.

A few days after this, Buonaparte, at a public levee, insulted the British minister by menaces of the most offensive nature: "The English," said he, "wish for war; but if they be the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheathe it. They have no regard for treaties; we must henceforth cover them with shame."

Notwithstanding these provocations, and cautionary measures, every effort, short of an abject prostration, was made to preserve amity. As Malta was the principal object of contention, the British government offered to relinquish that island at the expiration of ten years, on condition that it should then be declared an independent state; and that the knights of the order of St. John should be indemnified by a settlement in some other part of Europe. This proposal not being acceded to, the British ambassador demanded his passports, and, on the 19th of May, arrived in London. Such an event could produce no surprise, especially as the first consul had, two months before, published an *exposé*, or view, of the state of France, which contained the following challenge; "Whatever be the success of intrigue at London, it will never force other nations into new leagues; and the French government asserts, with just pride, that England alone cannot now contend with France."

The renewal of hostilities, however, was strenuously opposed in the house of commons by Mr. Fox, who thought Malta not worth contending for, in which he would probably have been right, had the question rested on that point only; but the whole conduct of Buonaparte at this time shewed, and events soon proved, that an attack upon England was meditated.

At the beginning of March, admiral Linois sailed from Brest with a powerful squadron, conveying six thousand troops to the Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies, where, if peace had really been the desire of the French ruler, no additional military force was required. But this was not all, for the army at home was increased to near half a million, all the strong posts in the Mediterranean and Adriatic were occupied by considerable detachments; and the whole line of coast, from Holland to Ushant, exhibited the inimical designs of the first consul, who, previous to the rupture between the two powers, sent a manifesto of the most offensive character, for insertion in the Hamburg public Gazette. As this piece contained personal reflections of the foulest description upon the king of Great Britain, the syndic and censor of the press in that city did not think it proper to publish the piece, without expunging the exceptionable passages; which liberty gave such offence to the French minister, that the most formidable threats were used to compel the senate to make an apology, and consent to reprint the paper in its original state.

The eagerness of Buonaparte to recommence the war, notwithstanding all his pacific professions, was evinced in his conduct towards Hanover, which, though an integral part of the Germanic empire, and totally independent of Great Britain, was entered by his troops, who took possession of all the public property. At the same time, he caused the Elbe and the Weser to be blocked up against the English; and, to shew still further his utter disregard of all principle, he levied contributions upon the free towns of Hamburg and Bremen.

These proceedings compelled the British government to adopt retaliatory measures, and, on the 17th of June, a message was sent to both houses of parliament, informing them, that his majesty had communicated to the Batavian government his wish to respect their neutrality, provided the French

did the same, by withdrawing their troops from the Dutch territories; but that, as this proposal had not been complied with, the English ambassador had been recalled from the Hague, and letters of marque and reprisal were issued against that republic. This message was followed by another, recommending a large additional force for the defence of the country; in consequence of which, ministers proposed levying an army of reserve, consisting of fifty thousand men, and a bill to that effect was passed, together with another, enabling his majesty to raise a levy *en masse* in the event of an invasion. But the latter measure was rendered nugatory, by the zeal of the people in forming voluntary associations, so that the whole kingdom, from one end to the other, was in arms. Though the hatred of Buonaparte to this country, had been conspicuous on every occasion, the rancorous spirit was never so strongly manifested as at this period, when he caused all British subjects, who were within his power, to be detained as prisoners of war, in spite of the assurance which had been given them, before and after the departure of the ambassador, that they should neither be molested while in France, nor prevented from quitting the country at their pleasure.

The preparations of the French despot, for effecting a landing on different parts of Great Britain, were now so immense, that no doubt could exist, either of his intention to undertake the desperate enterprise, or of his having for some time indulged the delusive idea of being able to accomplish his purpose.

Scarcely had the flame of war been rekindled, before another insurrection broke out in Ireland, attended with peculiar circumstances of atrocity. For some time, symptoms of disaffection had appeared in the metropolis, but they were not much regarded by the government, at the head of which was the earl of Hardwicke. These indications became so alarming on the morning of Saturday, the 23d of July, that a manufacturer, near Dublin, perceiving an unusual degree of insolence and activity among his labourers, thought it his duty to attend at the Castle, and communicate what he had observed. Unfortunately, his information was disregarded, and, on his return home in the evening, he was fired at, and badly wounded. Through the course of the day, small parties continued to enter the city, and filled all the public-houses in a quarter which is resorted to by country people. The plan of the rebels was, for one body to rise suddenly at noon on Sunday, and to seize the barracks, while another forced the castle; and a third set fire to the town in several places. The impatience of some of the insurgents, however, urged them to commence operations earlier, and a tragic occurrence, which distinguished their first proceedings, had the effect of saving the city from destruction, and the inhabitants from a general massacre. The chief-justice of the king's bench, lord Kilwarden, coming to town from his country seat, with his daughter and nephew, chanced to enter the street which was crowded with the rebels, who, on perceiving the carriage, darted upon it in a moment, and, having dragged out the judge and his nephew, murdered them with their pikes. The young lady, in the dreadful confusion, was rescued by two persons on horseback, who conducted her to the Castle, where her distracted appearance gave the first alarm to the government.

Parties of cavalry instantly proceeded to the fatal spot, and soon dispersed the insurgents. In the mean time, however, the leaders of the conspiracy, of whom Robert Emmet, whose brother had been engaged in the former rebellion, was the chief, forced the mayoralty house, and plundered it of a considerable quantity of arms; but though the number of the malcontents was great, the confusion and irregularity of their movements prevented them from carrying any part of their original scheme into effect. Several persons, indeed, were severely wounded, and some were killed, among which last was lieutenant-colonel Browne, who was treacherously shot while going from his lodgings to join his regiment. On the suppression of the insurrection, it was discovered that the means of destruction which the rebels had provided, were most ample, and that the military preparations evinced the skill of experienced leaders. In the principal depôt were found ten thousand pikes, immense quantities of hand-grenades, formed of bottles filled with powder, bullets rusty nails, and other deadly materials, to be thrown in at windows.

or amongst the people collected for self-defence. Here also were discovered a number of machines, formed of planks, thick set with large spikes, to impede the progress of cavalry in the streets. In other places, quantities of pikes were found enclosed in cases, so constructed as to have the appearance of logs of timber, and among other articles, there appeared a great supply of military clothing; some richly ornamented for general officers.

Emmet, the principal in this conspiracy, was apprehended, and, together with Roche, Kearney, and Kirwan, who were concerned in the murder of lord Kilwarden, suffered the just vengeance of the law. Redmond, another of their leaders, shot himself, to avoid an ignominious end, but, being only wounded, he was also convicted, and met the fate which he merited. The plan of the insurrection extended to almost every part of Ireland, but owing to the premature conduct of the rebels in Dublin, and the prompt measures which were then adopted, a general rising was prevented. The hopes of the malcontents were stimulated by a daring manifesto, which had been privately, but very extensively, circulated; and no doubt existed of the design having been fostered, at least, by the French government, for two emissaries of that nation were apprehended in Dublin, the day after the insurrection.

The war between France and England did not, at the outset, present any very striking feature, beyond that of malignity on the one side, and firmness on the other. Buonaparte, besides trampling upon the small but independent powers in the north of Germany,—and forcing the Dutch and Italian republics to take part in a contest, with which, in reality, they had no concern,—wrested Lousiana from Spain, and then sold it to the United States of America for three millions of dollars, that he might be enabled to carry his object of destroying the modern Carthage, as Britain was then denominated.

The accomplishment of this scheme formed the main design of the invasion of Egypt, the conquest of which country, it was fondly thought, would facilitate the expulsion of the English from India. One of the first acts of Buonaparte, therefore, when at Cairo, was, to send a letter to his great friend, the magnificent sultan, as he called Tippoo Saib, in which he said, "You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with a numerous and invincible army, full of the design of delivering you from the iron yoke of England."

Though this letter accelerated the ruin of the eastern despot, by precipitating him into a war, for which he was ill prepared; neither the extinction of the empire of Mysore, nor the disasters of the French in Egypt, made any change in the views of Napoleon. On the contrary, he set his engines at work, to raise new commotions, and with such success, that, at the beginning of this year, the French general Perron, who was nominally in the service of the Mahratta chief, Scindia, had a regular army of 20,000 men, regularly disciplined, and cantoned within ten miles of the British advanced posts. At the same time, Louis Bourquin, another French officer, was appointed governor of Delhi; where the aged and blind Shah Aulum, resided, with the name of the mogul, but destitute of all authority.

In this state, British India was perilously situated, for, on the one side, the Mahrattas, who had been hitherto divided, were now combined under a formidable head, while Holkar, another chief, though the rival of Scindia, appeared ready to co-operate in any hostile measure against the English; and the whole hostile array only waited the arrival of a force from Europe, to commence operations. The plan of the French was, to unfurl the Imperial standard, and to make the different native powers believe, that, in extirpating the India Company, they would gain immense riches, and the partition of a vast extent of territory. To counteract these designs, and prevent a general union of the Mahrattas, the marquis of Wellesley adopted a masterly stroke of policy, in causing the Peishwa, or supreme head of those tribes, to be restored to his throne, from whence he had been driven by the intrigues of Scindia, and the encroachments of Holkar. Accordingly, on the 13th of May, general Wellesley, now duke of Wellington, entered Poonah, the capital of the Peishwa, and reinstated that prince in his sovereignty. Scindia at first affected to be satisfied with this measure; though, at the same time, he was mustering his forces with the intention of invading the territory of

the nizam of the Deccan. Negotiations were also going on between him, the rajah of Berar, and Holkar, having for their object a general attack, in conjunction with Perron, and the expected forces from France, upon the possessions of the Company. At this critical period, Linois arrived off Pondicherry, and landed his troops; but as intelligence of hostilities soon after reached India overland, the British government prevented the reinforcements from marching into the interior, and they were all made prisoners of war.

Still the British government did not proceed to extremities against the native chiefs, without attempting to settle matters amicably; and every exertion was made to bring about a pacification by treaty. The confederates for some time pretended to listen to these proposals, but when called upon to evince their sincerity, by separating their armies on a certain day, and retiring to their respective territories, they refused; and thus the event was referred to the decision of the sword. The plan that had been previously arranged, for a simultaneous attack upon the combined forces in the Deccan, the French establishment in the Douab, and the possessions of Scindia and the rajah of Berar, in Hindoostan, was, therefore, now instantly put in execution. General Wellesley, who was opposed to the last-mentioned chiefs, began the campaign, by reducing the fortress of Amednugher, the fall of which was succeeded by that of Arungabad; and, on the 23d of September, he gained a complete victory over the Mahrattas, at Assye, though the numerical force of the enemy was six times more than his own.

Meanwhile the territories of Scindia, in the Guzerat, fell before the forces from Bombay; and the province of Cuttack, belonging to the rajah, was taken by colonel Harcourt. During these operations, general Lake, with the Bengal army, defeated the combined French and native troops commanded by Perron, which victory accelerated the capture of the strong fortress of Ally Ghur; from whence the British troops hastened to Delhi, which city they entered in triumph, after an obstinate conflict with the army of Scindia, commanded by the French general Bourquin. The consequence of this achievement was, the release of the venerable Shah Aulum from confinement, and the restoration of the aged monarch to the throne, though not to the splendour, of his ancestors. Following up the career of success, general Lake reduced Agra, and, on the 1st of November, gained a decisive victory over the combined Mahrattas and French at Laswary. With similar activity, general Wellesley, after his gallant exploit at Assye, pursued the rajah of Berar, and defeated him on the plain of Argaum, after which he made himself master of Garril Ghur, one of the strongest forts in that part of India.

These advantages were productive of a separate peace with the rajah, who lost thereby the province of Cuttack, which was ceded to the English Company. Scindia, now finding himself unable to cope with the victors, made overtures, which were accepted, and, to prevent that turbulent chief from again disturbing the public tranquillity, he was deprived of all his territories in the Douab, as well as of those in the northern districts, together with Baroach in the Guzerat, and Amednugher in the Deccan.

Thus, in little more than four months, the cloud which hung heavily over British India was dispersed, the enemy sued for peace, and obtained it on the most liberal terms that could be granted, consistent with the general security. All the ports of the peninsula were shut against the French, and their influence in the East was destroyed.

While these transactions were taking place on the Indian continent, a war broke out in Ceylon, between the English and the sovereign of Kandi, occasioned by the refusal of the latter to make restitution of some property, which he had unwarrantably seized, belonging to British subjects. As much to prevent the recurrence of such acts, as to avenge the insult already offered, a force was sent against the Kandian capital, which the monarch abandoned without resistance. A new chief was then placed upon the throne; but his reign was of short duration, for, on losing the presence of his protectors, he was deprived of life, and the fugitive prince, after committing a dreadful massacre, was suffered to retain his sovereignty.

While the English were thus engaged in securing and enlarging their eastern dominions, their arms proved successful in another hemisphere, in

the reduction of St. Lucie and Tobago, with the Dutch settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. At the same time, also, the French were completely dispossessed of St. Domingo, which was left then, after an immense waste of life and treasure, in the hands of the black population.

CHAP. LXXXII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1803 to 1804.

THE menace of invading England, instead of damping, had the effect of rousing the energies of the people, and of absorbing, in one patriotic spring of zeal, all party spirit. Animated by the same generous feeling, the prince of Wales earnestly intreated to be placed in a more ostensible situation than that which belonged to him, as the mere colonel of a regiment. An interesting correspondence took place on this subject, between his royal highness and the king; as also between the prince and his brother the duke of York. The answer of the king was no less expressive of heroic sentiments, than the request of the heir apparent to the throne. "Though," said his majesty, "I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which I trust no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no farther on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of shewing your zeal at the head of your regiment; it will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion, and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example, in defence of every thing that is dear to me and to my people."

The same sentiment pervaded the speech of his majesty, at the opening of the winter session of parliament, on the 22d of November. "In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged," said he, "it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object to execute, as becomes me, the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers, in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in the issue of this momentous contest."

While the British empire exhibited the cheering spectacle of a sovereign and people united in the resolution to stand or fall together; the consular government of France could neither raise men nor money, by any other means than military power and exaction. With all his parade, the arbitrary chief of that country began to experience difficulties in levying supplies, in consequence of which, he demanded another loan from Hamburg, and threatened to seize the imperial city of Lubec. In England, on the contrary, a vote of credit passed the house of commons, at the beginning of the session, enabling ministers to issue exchequer bills, to the value of five millions, to be provided in the supplies of ways and means for the ensuing year. In the estimates of the expenditure, the number of seamen and marines was estimated at one hundred thousand; and the whole amount of charge for the navy only, was not less than nine millions.

When, in addition to this force, there was an augmentation of the army to the amount of one hundred and sixty-seven thousand men; and when, besides, it was ascertained that there were near four hundred thousand volunteers completely trained and disciplined; the French and their ruler had a tolerable prospect of what they might expect, on approaching the shores of Britain.

With respect to the latter description of force, there was, indeed, a strong difference of opinion among the leading members of the legislature. Mr. Windham warmly arraigned the volunteer system altogether, as both dangerous and inefficient; while Mr. Secretary Yorke defended the conduct of government, in encouraging the national spirit. Mr. Pitt, though he eulogized the measure, and expressed his admiration of the conduct of those who had come forward in the defence of their country, suggested, as an amendment of the

plan, that the volunteers should be nearly assimilated, in regard to discipline and active employment, to the regular army. This proposal, however, was far from being agreeable to those who had embarked in the cause, on an independent principle; and the amendment was rejected.

The same great statesman, on the 15th of March, 1804, moved for an inquiry into the state of the navy. In his speech on this occasion, he shewed, that, since the peace, the building of ships had been nearly suspended in the royal dock-yards; and that, by a wretched parsimony, the stores which should have been husbanded with care, and increased, had, in fact, been diminished. The assertions of Mr. Pitt were encountered by much vehement declamation, and recriminatory aspersion; notwithstanding which, it was evident, on the division, that the administration was shaken, for the motion was negatived by a majority of no more than seventy-one.

Mr. Addington, finding his influence declining every day, now resolved to retire; and, on the 12th of May, it was officially announced, that Mr. Pitt had resumed his former station, as first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. The duke of Portland retained his seat as president of the council, lord Hawkesbury became secretary of state for the home department, and was succeeded in the foreign office by lord Harrowby; while lord Eldon retained the great seal; but lord St. Vincent was superseded, at the head of the board of admiralty, by lord Melville, as Mr. Tierney was in the post of treasurer of the navy, by Mr. Canning. It was the earnest wish of Mr. Pitt to form an extensive administration, which should have included Mr. Fox and some of his principal adherents, as well as lord Grenville and Mr. Windham. In this, however, he could not succeed, the king being inflexible against employing the leader of the Whig party; for reasons which, having never been disclosed, cannot easily be conjectured. Mr. Pitt, finding that the resolution of the sovereign was fixed, consented, in the emergency of affairs, to take the helm of government; with a full reliance upon receiving the support of his noble relative, lord Grenville, who, to his great surprise, declined coming into power without Mr. Fox. How far the refusal was respectful to the sovereign, consistent with his lordship's former conduct, or even patriotic in the existing circumstances of the country, it would not be easy to determine.

The first act of Mr. Pitt was, to bring forward a plan for raising an efficient and permanent military force by parochial rates, and for a limited period of service. This scheme, though strongly reprobated in some of its parts by Fox and Windham, and in its whole construction by some of the late ministers, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent.

In the course of this session, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the abolition of the slave trade, which went through the commons, but was extinguished in the house of lords, by a vote of postponement till the next meeting of parliament. A prorogation took place on the 31st of July, previous to which, the minister carried a motion for discharging the arrears belonging to the civil list, to the amount of £590,000, and for an additional grant of £60,000 to the yearly allowance of the crown. It should be observed, however, that this department of national expenditure included various charges, which were necessarily connected with the national defence, and had no distinct relation to the personal dignity of the sovereign or his court.

The war, at this period, presented but few incidents of moment, either naval or military. Early in the year, a small French force captured the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa; but the English gained more than an equivalent for the loss of that settlement, by taking, in the month of May, the valuable Dutch colony of Surinam. In the Indian ocean, a gallant affair occurred, which fully evinced the superiority of British seamanship and valour on that element. Admiral Linois, after landing the troops which he had brought from Europe, plundered the English settlement of Bencoolen, and committed much mischief to the country trade of the company, in the straits of Malacca. In the month of February, he fell in with a convoy of fifteen East Indiamen, and twelve smaller vessels, when an engagement took place; and though the French force consisted of one large ship of the line, three frigates, and an armed brig, Linois, after a few broadsides, sheered off, followed by the victorious English, till the latter deemed it prudent to discon-





Adm.l Earl Howe

Eldon.



C. Fox.



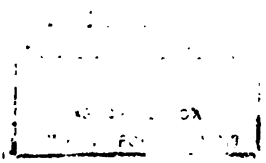


Wellington.

R. B. Sheridan.

W. M. Craig del.

Bland



tinue the chase, and pursue their voyage. For this exploit, the captains of the East India ships were liberally rewarded by the company, and Mr. Dance, their commodore, on being presented to his majesty, received the honour of knighthood.

During the summer and autumn, various attacks were made upon the armaments of the enemy in the Channel and on the coast of Holland. But this desultory species of warfare produced no other consequence, than that of displaying the courage of British seamen, and of shewing the extreme difficulty of transporting an army of sufficient force to effect a landing in England. From the relation subsisting between France and Spain, it was scarcely possible that the latter country could avoid being engaged in the new contest. The British government, however, would willingly have suffered the court of Madrid to remain in a state of neutrality, had an equal degree of liberality been manifested by Buonaparte. But when it was discovered, that not only were large subsidies exacted from Spain, but that bodies of French troops were received there, and that the most formidable preparations were going on in the principal ports, farther forbearance on the part of the English cabinet would have been criminal.

The demand of a clear explanation, as to the object of those armaments, was evaded by excuses, which, instead of giving satisfaction, had all the indication of insult. The harbour of Ferrol was, in consequence, declared to be in a state of blockade; and the court of Madrid was peremptorily required to abstain from any farther preparations of a warlike character. This vigorous conduct on the part of his Britannic majesty became the more necessary, as it was known that a flotilla with treasure was daily expected from America, the arrival of which was eagerly looked for by the rapacious government of France.

On the 5th of October, commodore Moore, who was cruising for the purpose with four frigates, descried the expected ships, four in number, standing in for Cadiz, under a press of sail. The Spanish vessels, on being summoned to surrender, refused, and an action began, which lasted but a few minutes, when one blew up, and the other three struck their colours. The captured ships contained cargoes of immense value, as well in bullion as merchandise. As this transaction was not preceded by a formal declaration of war, it occasioned much animadversion upon the conduct of the British government; but ministers justified the proceeding by the admitted fact, that Spain was in a state of vassalage to France, and that the treaty by which the court of Madrid was bound to furnish supplies to that power, amounted to an act of hostility, which called for measures of prevention. The negotiation, however, between the two countries, still proceeded, though with little prospect of an amicable adjustment, till the 12th of December, when his Catholic majesty declared war against England. But it merits observation, that this extremity was not produced by the detention of the Spanish ships, nor was that circumstance once mentioned in the dispute which terminated in an open rupture. It is fair to conclude, therefore, that the party most affected by the occurrence, was aware that the connexions subsisting between France and Spain were of a description which justified the seizure.

About the time when this affair happened, Buonaparte committed an outrage against all public rights, in causing sir George Rumbold, the British resident, to be seized at Hamburg, and carried prisoner to Paris, where he was thrown into the Temple. As this atrocious act affected all nations, and the court of Berlin in particular, a remonstrance was made to the French government on the subject, in consequence of which, the British envoy was released from prison, and sent to England; but his papers were detained, in order, as was stated, to convince the world, that conspiracies were fomented against Napoleon by diplomatic agents on the continent.

A new change was now about to take place in the ever-varying history of revolutionary France. Buonaparte, not satisfied with the power, panted also for the trappings of royalty; but as nothing short of the imperial dignity would content him, he was now preparing for that climax of his ambition. In the preceding year, the man was weak enough to tempt Louis XVIII., then at Warsaw, with the offer of an ample settlement, and correspondent revenues, in

some part of Europe, on condition of his renouncing, for himself and family, all claim to the throne of France; at the same time accompanying the proposal with a threat of inflicting still further hardships upon the Bourbons, in case of a refusal. The exiled prince replied in a style of dignity, firmness, and moderation; and his royal relatives bound themselves by a solemn act, to adhere to that answer, and never to relinquish their right to the throne of their ancestors. What followed was in natural order, and such as might have been expected from the character and conduct of the usurper. A few months afterwards, the report of a plot arose in France, and several persons were arrested, among whom were the generals Pichegru and Moreau. The former died in a dungeon, and it was said that he strangled himself; but the situation in which the body was found, proved that the act of violence could not have been of his own perpetration, for it was exactly similar to the Turkish mode of execution by the bowstring. Moreau, after a short confinement, was banished to America; while a number of prisoners of inferior note were publicly executed. That the whole of this business was a mere contrivance to carry a particular object, cannot reasonably be doubted; since all the witnesses brought forward against the unfortunate victims, were the spies and agents of the consular government.

The last scene of this tragedy was in unison with the other circumstances, and perfectly characteristic of the tyrant, who, in aiming at the imperial sceptre, cared little about the means of gratifying his ambition. In the night of the 14th of March, a party of French cavalry, commanded by Caulincourt, the aid-de-camp of Buonaparte, crossed the Rhine, and, entering the electorate of Baden, seized the duke d'Enghien, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, and carried him off to Paris, where he was lodged in the Temple; from whence he was removed to the castle of Vincennes, brought before a military tribunal, and sentenced to be shot, which judgment was immediately put in execution. Thus did Napoleon wreak his resentment upon a gallant youth, for the inexpiable offence of belonging to the royal line of France; nor would the rest of the unfortunate family have escaped the vengeance of the usurper, had they been within his reach.

While these complicated scenes of treachery and murder were agitating the public mind every where, the obedient senate of Paris humbly desired Buonaparte, for the national good, to accept the throne. This supplication was echoed by similar addresses from other places, and, in compliance with the wishes of the people, the modest chief condescended to exchange the title of first consul for that of emperor of France. For politic reasons, and to render the spectacle of a coronation more imposing, the pope was called from Rome, to perform the ceremony, which took place on the 2d of December, in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1805.

NAPOLEON, having attained the utmost height of human elevation, made, as he had done in the first step of his advancement, a parade of being animated by moderate and pacific principles.

On the 2d of January, 1805, he addressed a letter to the king of Great Britain, informing him of his new advancement, and declaring that the strongest wish of his heart was peace. To this general and indefinite communication, a suitable reply was made, stating, that his majesty "could not accept the overture, without consulting those powers to whom he stood engaged in confidential connexions, and particularly the emperor of Russia."

This letter appears to have been rather intended to produce an effect on parliament, than to elicit any disposition to negotiate; for when, at the meeting of that august body, on the 15th, the king slightly alluded to the communication he had received, and the answer he had given, Mr. Fox complained of the ambiguity, and threw out an indirect censure upon ministers. No motion, however, took place; nor did any thing of moment occur, till the 11th of the following month, when the question of the war with Spain occasioned

some severe animadversions in both houses, on the capture of the ships belonging to that country, before the negotiations were ended.

To meet the expenses of the year, a loan of twenty millions for the empire was voted, and a separate one of three millions and a half for Ireland. The war taxes were, in consequence, augmented, and that upon property raised to six and a quarter per cent.

But one of the most important subjects that came under the consideration of the legislature during this session, was the case of lord Melville, arising from the tenth report of the commissioners for naval inquiry. It appeared that, contrary to an act for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, this nobleman, while in that situation, had suffered his paymaster to draw large sums belonging to the public, from the bank of England, and employ the same to other purposes than those for which they were there deposited. A series of resolutions, tending to criminate his lordship, was then brought forward by Mr. Whitbread, when, on a division, the numbers proved equal on each side, being two hundred and sixteen votes. The speaker, as usual, gave his casting voice, in favour of the charge which declared lord Melville guilty of a dereliction of duty; and, in consequence, that nobleman immediately resigned his place as the head of the admiralty. After hearing his lordship's defence, in which he acknowledged that he had applied the money to other public purposes, but denied having derived any benefit from it, an impeachment was moved, and negatived by an amendment in favour of a criminal prosecution. Subsequently, however, the latter mode of proceeding was again abandoned, and the motion for an impeachment carried without a division. Mr. Whitbread, accordingly, appeared at the bar of the lords, on the 26th of June, and, in the name of the commons of Great Britain, impeached Henry viscount Melville of high crimes and misdemeanours.

In the mean time, a singular bill passed through both houses, to indemnify Alexander Trotter, and all others who should be called upon to give evidence on the trial, from public prosecution or civil actions. On account of the lateness of the session, however, no farther proceedings were entered upon, and the trial was postponed till the next meeting of parliament.

Lord Melville was succeeded in the cabinet by sir Charles Middleton, who was raised to the peerage by the title of lord Barham. This was a great blow to Mr. Pitt; and it was rendered still more painful by the defection of some of his friends. At the beginning of the year, a reconciliation had been effected between him and Mr. Addington, who, in consequence, was created viscount Sidmouth, and made president of the council. The appointment of lord Barham, however, gave such umbrage to the late minister, that he soon after resigned his seat, to which earl Camden was then nominated, whose place, as secretary of state, was filled by lord Castlereagh. The earl of Buckinghamshire also, being disappointed of the vacant seat at the admiralty board, gave up his situation as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

These were mortifying circumstances to such a mind as that of the prime minister; but he had other causes of chagrin, at a time when it required his utmost energies to secure the country from the efforts of an implacable enemy. At such a juncture, he could hardly have expected that his earliest friend, lord Grenville, would have lent his great powers in agitating the question of what was called Catholic Emancipation. No man knew better than his lordship, that the measure could not possibly succeed, and yet he persisted in bringing before the lords, on the 10th of May, a petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, praying for relief from the civil disabilities under which they laboured. At the same time, Mr. Fox introduced the subject into the lower house; where Mr. Pitt was compelled to enter into some explanation of his conduct, and to state his reasons for giving a decided opposition to the motion, which was negatived there, as well as in the house of lords. The state of the continent was likewise of a nature so gloomy, and portentous of so many unfavourable changes, as to render the situation of the great manager of the national councils extremely irksome and disagreeable.

Notwithstanding the accumulation of difficulties by which he was surrounded, and the secession of political friends, who were indebted to him for their rank and popularity, this illustrious statesman resolved to sacrifice to

the public weal, rather than consult his own ease, a constitution already broken, and rapidly declining, through intense labour and anxiety. To check the career of Buonaparte, and prevent, if possible, the entire continent of Europe from falling under his absolute control, Mr. Pitt engaged in forming a new coalition of the great states against France. On the 19th of June, a message came down to parliament from the throne, informing the two houses, that his majesty had opened negotiations with some of the foreign powers, which were not yet concluded; and, therefore, recommending a provision for entering into such engagements as the exigency of affairs might require. A vote of credit for the advance of three millions and a half was immediately passed; and, on the 12th of July, parliament was prorogued by commission.

The negotiations to which the king alluded, were with the emperor of Russia, and, on the 11th of April, a treaty was signed at Petersburgh, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to form, as far as they could, a general league, for the purpose of putting a stop to the encroachments of France, and securing the independence of the powers of Europe. Though the courts of Vienna and Stockholm acceded to the alliance, they were under the necessity of waiting the issue of events, before they could declare themselves in favour of the confederation.

The primary object of the combined powers was, to effect a pacification upon principles of public safety, by reducing the preposterous dominion of the French ruler within the bounds of moderation. For this purpose, an ambassador was despatched from Petersburgh, with an overture to the government of France, to open such a negotiation as should restore peace to bleeding Europe, upon a permanent foundation. Buonaparte was not ignorant of what was transacting; but, instead of meeting the pacific views of the northern powers, he was resolved to thwart them, and by new inroads to create fresh jealousies, productive of more extended wars. Early in the spring, he set out for Italy, where he assumed the iron crown, which he placed on his own head, in the church of Milan, as he had before done that of France in the cathedral of Paris. While there, he also annexed the republic of Genoa to the imperial diadem; promising his new subjects the protection of his flag, "which," as he said, "he would maintain on all the seas of the universe."

At the time when these additions were making to the imperial diadem, the government of the United Provinces was undergoing a transmutation, and passing from a state of republican simplicity, to the servile dignity of titled vassalage. The form of independence was observed, but the new constitution, dictated by France, plainly indicated that the Dutch, instead of being a free people, were the slaves of the new emperor, whose dictates they dared not resist.

In consequence of these changes, the Russian envoy, who had already reached Berlin, was recalled; it being now sufficiently obvious that no attempt to limit the ambition of the French ruler by negotiation, would prove effectual. As the emperor of Austria was more immediately interested in the encroachments which Buonaparte had made on the side of Italy, his accession to the league followed in course; but, being unwilling to proceed to extremities, he sent count Cobentzel to Paris, to express his sincere desire of peace, and also to propose an amicable adjustment of the differences between France and Russia, under the mediation of the court of Berlin. This proposition, instead of being well received, was treated with scorn, accompanied by the grossest abuse of the emperor Alexander, and not a little of the Austrian monarch, while England was stigmatized as the common enemy of all nations.

Napoleon, who had anticipated this rupture, and even courted it, now dismantled his flotilla at Boulogne, broke up all his camps on the coast, and drew in his forces from Holland, as well as Hanover, so that, at the end of September, he headed an army of 150,000 men, to whom he said, on crossing the Rhine, "You are only the vanguard of the great nation, which, if requisite, will, at my bidding, rise in a moment, to dissolve a confederacy that hath been cemented by British gold."

The Austrians were not backward, but they were unfortunate in being deserted by the Bavarian forces, which joined the French; and still more so by having Mack for their commander, who, after being defeated in several

actions, threw himself into Ulm, which surrendered unconditionally to the French, on the 20th of October. Napoleon, profiting by this advantage, lost no time, but pushed on for Vienna, which his army entered on the 13th of November; the imperial family having previously retired to Brunn, in Moravia, while a great part of the nobility withdrew into Hungary. Nor were the French less successful in Italy, where Massena had for an opponent the archduke Charles, whose brother, prince John, occupied the passes of the Tyrol. On the 18th of October, the French forced the Adige, and soon after made a general attack on the Austrian lines, which were carried with a great loss. The archduke, upon this, retreated to Laybach, in Carniola, where he joined his brother, who was hard pressed by the army under Ney. This junction, however, gave the Imperialists such a decided superiority, that they advanced towards Vienna, the French armies of Massena and Ney hanging on their rear.

In the mean time, the united Austrians and Russians, headed by their respective emperors, were assembled near Austerlitz, on the road from Vienna to Olmutz. Here also was the grand army of the French under Napoleon, who commanded in person, while the military movements of the Russians were directed by Kutusoff, and those of the Austrians by prince John of Lichtenstein. The evil genius of the allied monarchs prompted them to risk a battle, without waiting for the arrival of the two archdukes, whose force would have given them a decided superiority over the French. At the dawn of day, on the 2d of December, the action began, and continued to be obstinately contested till the shades of evening parted the combatants, when the allies retreated, though in good order, leaving a number of prisoners, with a quantity of stores and artillery. Two days after the battle, the emperor Francis, who had still strength enough to withstand the enemy, proposed an armistice, which was readily granted by Napoleon; but the Russian monarch, in high indignation, refused to become a party in the agreement; nor was the archduke Charles better satisfied with this precipitate step, which reduced him to a state of inactivity, at the very moment when it was in his power to have given a new turn to affairs.

The conduct of the Prussian monarch during these transactions was extremely disgraceful, particularly in suffering the French forces to march through his territory; and still more in consenting to accept Hanover as a boon from Napoleon, whose object therein was, to exclude England wholly from the European continent.

A definitive treaty between France and Austria was concluded on the 26th of December, at Presburgh, by which the Venetian territory, on the western side of the Adriatic, was united to the kingdom of Italy, and the Greek provinces, east of the Gulf, were ceded to France. Bavaria was converted into a kingdom, and enlarged by the cession of the Tyrol, Burghausen, and Eichstadt. The electoral duke of Wirtemburg was also advanced to the regal dignity, with a grant of the Brisgau. For these sacrifices, Austria received the principality of Saltzburg, and the archduke Ferdinand obtained Wurtzburg.

But though Napoleon was thus victorious in Germany, he failed in his endeavours to wrest from Britain the sovereignty of the ocean. At the beginning of the year, a squadron of five ships of the line, and three frigates, with four thousand troops, sailed for the West Indies, where they plundered the islands of Dominica, St. Christopher, and Nevis; after which they returned to France, without having achieved any thing equal to the expense and parade of the armament. About the same time, a more formidable naval force was preparing at Toulon, which was intended to unite with a Spanish fleet at Cadiz. Lord Nelson had then the command in the Mediterranean, but Villeneuve, the French admiral, on the 15th of March, eluded his vigilance, and put to sea, with eleven sail of the line, and several frigates and corvettes, having on board ten thousand troops. This squadron passed down the Mediterranean undiscovered by the English admiral, and, on arriving off Cadiz, the blockading ships, five in number, under the command of sir John Orde, retired. The junction of the two fleets being now formed, the whole quitted Cadiz on the 9th of April, and steered for the westward.

Lord Nelson being informed of the escape of the French squadron from Toulon, sailed immediately in pursuit. Thinking that they had bent their course to Egypt, he proceeded thither, but hearing nothing of them in that direction, he returned to Sicily, where he remained in great uncertainty till the middle of April, when he became persuaded that they must have passed the Straits, and gone for the West Indies. Having formed this idea, the active admiral immediately quitted the Mediterranean, and repaired to Lagos bay, where he received such information as removed all doubt on the subject, and the pursuit was renewed with fresh vigour. In the passage, the admiral learnt from two merchant vessels, that the enemy had, ten days before, appeared off Barbadoes; and, on his arrival there, he was informed that Trinidad was their object. Thither he proceeded without delay, but was disappointed once more, nor could he gain any intelligence to guide his course, till he came off Grenada, when he was told that the combined fleets had left Martinico only the preceding day, and were steering northward. Villeneuve being apprized of the arrival of his old antagonist in the Caribbean seas, relinquished the plan, whatever it was, which had been formed of an attack upon the British settlements, and resolved to hasten back to Europe. In this also he was fortunate enough to elude the vigilance of his active pursuer; though, off Ferrol, it was his hap to encounter a British squadron then cruising there, under the command of sir Robert Calder. After a smart action, the combined fleets escaped to Vigo, leaving two Spanish ships, one of eighty-four, and the other of seventy-four guns, in the hands of the victors. Such, however, was the high spirit of the British nation at this period, that, intoxicated by the splendid achievements of Nelson, this exploit was considered in the light of a defeat, and the gallant admiral, whose courage was never called in question, received a reprimand for not having destroyed the whole force of the enemy.

After the incessant fatigue which lord Nelson had undergone, he might reasonably have desired to repose upon his laurels; but, bent upon the attainment of higher glory, he determined once more to seek the enemy. Having refitted his ships, and increased the number, he hoisted his flag on board the Victory, at Portsmouth, and, on the 12th of September, put to sea. In the mean time, the combined fleets, now augmented to twenty-seven sail of the line, quitted Ferrol for Cadiz, where admiral Collingwood was stationed, with five ships only, which retired on the approach of the enemy. Lord Nelson soon after arrived, and took the command, but, instead of blockading the port, he placed his principal force near Cape St. Mary, leaving only a few frigates, to watch the motions of the French and Spaniards. This manœuvre had its effect, in drawing Villeneuve out of the harbour, on the 19th of October, with thirty-two sail of the line, seven frigates, and eight corvettes. Nelson was no sooner informed of the event, than he steered for Gibraltar, thinking that the hostile fleets had entered the Mediterranean; but, finding his mistake, he altered his course, and, early in the morning of the 21st, the object of his search was descried off Cape Trafalgar.

The British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven line-of-battle ships, in two divisions, now bore up, when the commander-in-chief threw out the memorable signal in these words, "England expects every man to do his duty." Without waiting for the formation of a regular line, orders were given that each ship should single out her antagonist. The French admiral, on perceiving the force opposed to him, disposed his whole fleet in the form of a crescent, convexing leeward. Admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, was the first that entered into action, near the rear of the enemy, leaving the van to the commander-in-chief. The succeeding ships following their leader, broke through in all parts, engaging as they came up, so that the muzzles of the guns nearly touched on both sides. Nelson, finding that part of the line which he intended to attack, so close as to render it impossible to pass, ran on board the Redoubtable; while the Temeraire engaged the next ship to her; the rest choosing their antagonists as occasion offered. In this part the action was so hot, and the vessels so close, that the Redoubtable was on fire several times; the British seamen throwing buckets of water upon the flames, to prevent them from spreading to the Victory. The battle raged with the utmost fury till three in the afternoon, when Gravina, the Spanish

admiral quitted the line, and retreated to Cadiz. Soon afterwards, the French admiral Dumanoir, with four ships, effected his escape, and bore away to sea. But the commander-in-chief, Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals, with nineteen ships of the line, were captured. The weather, however, proved so tempestuous, and the vessels were so much crippled, that it was found expedient to destroy fifteen of them, the other four being sent to Gibraltar.

This splendid victory was dearly won, by the death of the heroic commander; and it is the more to be regretted, that he lost his life for want of proper caution. The enemy had a number of sharp-shooters in their tops, whose business it was to take aim at the English officers. Lord Nelson, however, was the principal object, and unfortunately he was too easily distinguished by his star and uniform; so that the shot which flew about the quarter-deck like hail, plainly evinced the design of the enemy. Captain Hardy seeing this, endeavoured to persuade the admiral to put on another dress; but he was too intent upon the great business in which he was engaged, to heed the advice. The consequence was, that, while talking with the captain, he received a musket-ball, which forced its way to the heart, and he was carried to the cock-pit. He lived about two hours, and, on hearing that the victory was achieved, replied, "God be praised," and expired. His remains were brought to England, and interred with great solemnity in the cathedral of St. Paul, where a monument has since been erected in honour of his memory. As he left no legitimate issue, the title passed to his brother, who was also created an earl, and a permanent revenue was settled to support the dignity.

On the death of lord Nelson, admiral Collingwood, who was also raised to the peerage, succeeded to the command. To alleviate as much as possible the weight of human suffering, the prisoners were sent to Cadiz, which generous act made such an impression upon the Spanish governor, that he caused all the English captives to be delivered up, and made an offer of the hospitals in the city, for the reception of the wounded, pledging his honour that they should be well treated, and, when recovered, sent home to their own country.

Admiral Dumanoir, in his flight from the scene of disaster, fell in with an English squadron commanded by sir Richard Strachan, when, after an obstinate engagement, all the French ships were taken. The fate of Villeneuve was very mysterious, for, being anxious to return to France, that he might clear his conduct, he obtained his parole from the British government; but died on the road to Paris, either by his own hand, or that of some hired assassin.

In the east, also, the English arms were successful at this period. The peace which had been concluded with the head of the Mahratta confederacy, was interrupted by the violence and treachery of Jesswunt Rao Holkar, who, after usurping the rights of his brother, carried on a predatory warfare against the allies of the British government. When called upon to desist, he replied in a tone of defiance; in consequence of which, lord Lake sent a force against him, under the command of general Frazer, who defeated Holkar's infantry, near Deeg, November 13, 1804, but fell in the moment of victory. On the 17th, lord Lake attacked Holkar's cavalry, near Feruckabad, and completely routed them, with the loss of the whole of their baggage. This achievement would have ended the campaign and the contest, had not the rajah of Bhurtpore become a party in the war. At the beginning of the next year, therefore, the British commander laid siege to the capital of that prince, but all his efforts to carry it by assault proved fruitless. The defeat of Ameer Khan, however, obliged the rajah to surrender on the 10th of April; and as lord Lake had now no impediment to hinder his operations against Holkar, he pursued him with all his force to the banks of the Hyphasis, and on the very spot where Alexander had stopped in his memorable expedition to India, a negotiation was concluded, December the 24th, which saved the fugitive from ruin.

While these transactions were taking place, lord Wellesley was superseded in the governorship of India, by marquis Cornwallis, who died within three months after his arrival, at Gazypoor, in the province of Benares, October 5th, 1805.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1806.

THIS was an eventful period to Britain, in the loss of great men. While the death of the marquis Cornwallis completely disarranged the plans that had been laid for the settlement of our eastern possessions; that of lord Nelson, on the other hand, put a final end to the great object of Gallic ambition, and destroyed the proud boast of Napoleon, that he would deprive Britain of her maritime dominion.

The victory of Trafalgar, though so dearly purchased, animated the nation with fresh vigour, and diffused a similar spirit through every part of Europe, where any sense of the value of freedom and independence was preserved. But at this momentous crisis, another instance of mortality occurred, which produced an entire change in public affairs, and threw a damp upon those hopes that had been so strongly excited.

On the 21st of January, 1806, parliament assembled, when the king, taking confidence from the recent victory, and the unshaken adherence of his Russian ally, recommended from the throne, a firm perseverance in the great cause which involved the happiness of Europe, and the particular interests of the British empire. At this time, however, the minister who had for so long a period, with but a trifling interval, directed the counsels and wielded the resources of the nation, was on his death-bed, and two days afterwards he expired, with Christian resignation, in his forty-seventh year. On the demise of Mr. Pitt, a motion was made for his interment at the public expense, and for the erection of a monument in honour of his memory. The motion, though opposed with little generosity by Mr. Fox, and with still less liberality or consistency, by Mr. Windham, who had so long been the associate of the deceased statesman, was carried by a majority of 258 to 89. The sum of £40,000 was also voted for the liquidation of the debts of Mr. Pitt, who, instead of enriching himself, literally sacrificed all personal emolument to the public welfare, and, free from imputation on his character, died insolvent.

This event had, as might be expected, the immediate effect of producing a new cabinet, under the direction of lord Grenville at the head of the treasury, with whom were associated Mr. Fox and lord Spencer, secretaries of state, the former for the foreign, and the latter for the home, department. Mr. Erskine, now advanced to the peerage, took the seals from lord Eldon, though not without a warm opposition on the part of the king; and lord Henry Petty became chancellor of the exchequer. Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed president of the council; viscount Sidmouth, lord privy-seal; earl Moira was made master-general of the ordnance; Mr. Grey, first lord of the admiralty; Mr. Windham, secretary at war; Mr. Sheridan, treasurer of the navy; the duke of Bedford obtained the government of Ireland; and sir Arthur Pigot and sir Samuel Romilly were appointed attorney and solicitor general.

Great expectations were formed in consequence of this change of the administration, and many flattered themselves with not only seeing a reform of public abuses, but of experiencing some relief from that load of taxation which had been so vehemently complained of by the persons now in power. As the impost upon property had been particularly and uniformly reprobated by Mr. Fox and his friends, a general opinion prevailed, that this tax would at least be reduced and rendered more palatable under their management. Instead of this, the nation saw, with astonishment, the income tax raised at once to ten per cent.; and so far were the new ministers from evincing any disposition to correct existing evils, or to alleviate the public burdens, that, on the contrary, places, pensions, and sinecures, were multiplied, to oblige their friends; while lord Grenville was empowered, by a special act of parliament, to retain the office of auditor of the exchequer, and the chief-justice of king's bench was admitted a member of the cabinet. The financial scheme brought forward on the 28th of March, by the chancellor of the exchequer, had a very formidable appearance, the war taxes being raised from fourteen millions and a half, to nineteen millions and a half; while a new loan was proposed to the amount of eighteen millions. At the same time, Mr. Wind-

ham, in order to the more speedy and effectual augmentation of the army, introduced a new mode of enlistment into the line, for a term of years, instead of the ordinary custom for life.

As these measures indicated a vigorous plan of operations for carrying on the war, public expectation rose high in consequence, and the additional exactions were the more easily endured, in the hope that the glory of the country would be advanced by the splendour of its arms, or its safety secured by a speedy and honourable peace. The period when this combination of talent came into power, was one that called for great exertions, and the full application of the national resources. At the beginning of the year, the king of Prussia published a proclamation, declaratory of his intention to take possession of Hanover, in virtue of his treaty with France; and soon after, the same monarch ordered all his ports to be closed against British commerce. To repel this aggression, ministers adopted the measure of blockading the Ems, Weser, and Elbe rivers; though every one knew that the Prussians had neither trade nor shipping, and therefore could not be injured by the presence of a squadron in the North sea, while the English merchants and manufacturers, on the contrary, were in danger of suffering materially. A state of inaction now followed, and the people wondered, that, with an accumulated load of taxation, nothing was attempted against the enemy, either by sea or land.

Public attention was fixed during this session, upon the trial of lord Melville, which began in Westminster-hall, on the 29th of April, and ended in a verdict of general acquittal, on the 12th of June, on all the charges, which were ten in number, but in substance amounted to these three articles: first, that, as treasurer of the navy, he had applied divers sums of money to his personal use and benefit;—secondly, that he had permitted his paymaster, Alexander Trotter, to draw large sums out of the bank of England, and place the same in the hands of his own banker;—thirdly, that he allowed the same Trotter to apply the money so abstracted to purposes of private emolument, and that he had, moreover, derived profit therefrom. That his lordship acted in many respects irregularly, and contrary to the letter of the statute, cannot be questioned; but of any criminal motive, no proof was given: and when it is considered that his own antagonists were now in power, it is but fair to conclude, that those who pronounced him not guilty, were satisfied of his integrity, whatever might be thought of his prudence.

The history of this session was distinguished by an advance in the cause of general humanity, in a vote of the house of commons, pledging that branch of the legislature to an abolition of the African slave-trade. This measure was followed by a conference with the lords on the subject, after which, on the 24th of June, a debate arose in that assembly, on a motion of lord Grenville, to concur with the commons in their resolution. This motion was ably supported by Dr. Horsley, bishop of St. Asaph, and as warmly opposed by lord Hawkesbury, who succeeded at that time in getting rid of it by the previous question. But in the next parliament, the proposition was resumed, and carried through both houses.

Another measure of legislation, founded on liberal principles, which took place at this period, was an act, permitting the reciprocal transit of grain between England and Ireland, free from the shackle of duty, or the tempting influence of a bounty.

Towards the close of the session, a message from the king was brought down to the commons, recommending an increase of income for all the junior branches of the royal family, except the duke of York, in consequence of which, an addition of £43,000 a year was made to the national expenditure. This grant, at a time when taxation was nearly doubled, did not tend to render the present administration more popular than the one which preceded it; nor had the people any reason to feel much respect for a set of men, who, while they were so profuse in the disposal of the public money, withheld, in the most ungracious manner, a parliamentary vote of thanks to the volunteers for their services.

On the 23d of July, a termination was put to the session by special commission, when the chancellor, in the name of his majesty, complimented both houses for their diligence and regard to economy, concluding with informing

them, that he was engaged in discussions, which had for their object the restoration of peace.

The negotiations alluded to, began under such suspicious circumstances, that it was a matter of surprise, how men of ordinary discernment could have been lulled, for so long a time, into the least belief of the sincerity of the French government. Mr. Fox had scarcely entered upon his office, when an agent, employed by Talleyrand, came with a proposal to assassinate Buonaparte. The British minister ordered the emissary out of the kingdom, and, at the same time, apprised the French statesman, by letter, of the base design that had been projected against the life of his master. Talleyrand, in his reply, hinted at a negotiation; and thus the diplomatic farce began, Mr. Fox very readily and courteously meeting the wily overture that had been made, but laying it down as a preliminary condition, that the object on each side should be the conclusion of a peace, alike honourable to both, and for the benefit of their respective allies. It was, however, stated, that his Britannic majesty would by no means enter into any engagements separate from the interests of the emperor Alexander. This was by no means agreeable to the French minister, who was at the same time endeavouring to inveigle the Russian cabinet into a separate peace; judging, that by thus dividing the allies, he should so far weaken them, as to be enabled to make more advantageous terms than could be demanded of them in conjunction. In the course of this correspondence, Mr. Fox solicited the release of lord Yarmouth, who had been detained in France ever since the commencement of hostilities. Talleyrand very courteously granted this request, and, at the same time, offered to receive that nobleman as an accredited agent to conduct the pending negotiation to an amicable conclusion. The proposition was acceded to with the greatest readiness, and powers were transmitted to lord Yarmouth, for the purpose of treating with the French government. The insincerity of that court, however, was soon seen through; and it became obvious that Buonaparte only wanted to gain the consent of England to the tranfer of the Neapolitan throne to his brother Joseph. The continental part of the kingdom was already in his possession, but the island of Sicily was not so easy to be obtained; and, therefore, proposals were made to exchange the Hanse towns for it, to which neither the French nor the English had any right. After such an overture, negotiation was a disgrace; notwithstanding which, the discussion went on; though our ministers were not ignorant that Talleyrand was at the same time playing a game of political chicanery with Oubril, the Russian envoy, over whom he had such an ascendancy, as to gain his assent to a treaty, that, had it been carried into effect, would have made Buonaparte master of the Adriatic, and expelled the Russians from the Mediterranean. Another instance of the daring ambition of the French ruler, which occurred during these negotiations, was that of drawing the minor princes of the Germanic empire from their legitimate head, to place themselves, with the name of the Confederation of the Rhine, under the auspices of the emperor of the French. Disgusted with this defection, Francis, by a proclamation, renounced his former general and elective title, for that of Austria; a change which gave pleasure rather than offence to the new protector of the liberties of Germany.

In spite of these alarming strides of gigantic ambition, such was the fatuity which pervaded the English cabinet, that the negotiations were prolonged during the greatest part of the year, and lord Lauderdale was sent over to Paris to settle the terms of a peace. The French government now offered to restore Hanover, and to consent that Britain should retain Malta and the Cape of Good Hope; for which, however, Sicily, Dalmatia, and Albania, were demanded in return.

In the mean time, Mr. Fox, who had been long in a declining state of health, closed his mortal career, September 13th, in the 59th year of his age. Soon after this event, the British envoy was recalled from Paris, and Talleyrand did not scruple to charge the failure of the negotiation to the surviving members of the cabinet, who, he said, wanted the humanity, magnanimity, and patriotism of their late colleague.

Immediately after the return of lord Lauderdale, a manifesto was published

in the name of his sovereign, in which the tergiversation of the French government, throughout the whole proceeding, was set forth to the world in the strongest light; though impartial observers could not help thinking that the dignity of Britain had suffered some diminution in the protraction of discussions, which, in every stage, evinced a want of principle. This appeal was answered by a flaming declaration, in which Napoleon, after accusing England of arrogance, placed her ports in a state of blockade.

The death of Mr. Fox occasioned some slight changes in the administration, his office being filled by lord Howick, now earl Grey, who was succeeded at the admiralty board by Mr. Thomas Grenville, while Mr. Tierney became president of the board of control, in the room of lord Minto, who was nominated to the government of India; lord Sidmouth succeeded earl Fitzwilliam as president of the council, and the post of privy-seal was given to lord Holland.

It is necessary now to trace the military history of this eventful year. At the beginning of February, Joseph Buonaparte, with Massena, entered Naples, king Ferdinand, with his family, having previously retired to Sicily. On taking possession of the capital, the decree of the French emperor, declaring his brother Joseph king of Naples, was issued; and accordingly, on the 30th of March, the upstart monarch exacted an oath of fealty from all the nobility. But though the people of Naples were awed into submission by the presence of an army, the hardy mountaineers of Abruzzo and Calabria rose against the French. To aid their efforts, sir Sidney Smith sailed along the coast, and threw in supplies at convenient places, while general sir John Stuart, with a force of about five thousand men, landed in the gulf of Euphemia, on the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. As the French general Regnier lay strongly entrenched at Maida, the British commander resolved on an attack, though in numbers he was considerably inferior to the enemy. Regnier anticipated this design, and, being now reinforced, marched from his elevated position on the 4th of July, to meet his antagonists. After a brisk fire, both armies came to a trial of strength with the bayonet; but as soon as the weapons crossed, the French fell back, and retreated in the utmost disorder. The carnage was great, and that part of the country was cleared of the enemy; but the retention of it being deemed unadvisable, the British troops were withdrawn, and returned to Sicily.

Napoleon having placed one brother upon a throne, now proceeded to create a new kingdom for another of his family. The shadow of liberty was no longer to be endured, and the existence of a republic was repulsive to the lofty notions of the modern Charlemagne. The states-general of the United Provinces, had for some time lost all power, and subsisted only as an instrument to execute the imperial decrees. On the 9th of June, their high mightinesses received an edict, announcing the will of the emperor, that prince Louis Buonaparte should be proclaimed king of Holland. To demur would have been rebellion; and, on the 24th of the same month, the king and queen made their grand entry into the Hague, where the oaths of allegiance were administered to the burgomasters, and all persons in authority.

While these mutations were taking place in Europe, the British arms were occupied in a distant part of the globe. At the beginning of the year, a force, under sir Home Popham and general Baird, retook the Cape of Good Hope, after which, the two commanders, with about five thousand men, proceeded to the Rio de la Plata, and, on the 28th of June, entered the city of Buenos Ayres, where they captured a considerable booty. But though the achievement was splendid, and to the victors lucrative, the conquest was of no advantage, and, within a short time, the place reverted to its former masters.

That the naval history of the year was contracted within scanty limits, may be accounted for by the crippled state to which the battle of Trafalgar had reduced the maritime force of the enemy. In the month of February, however, a French squadron of five sail of the line was met with off St. Domingo, by admiral Duckworth; when three of the number were captured, and two were driven on shore, one of which was burnt.

In the eastern seas, the Marengo, of eighty guns, admiral Linois, and the Belle Poule, of forty guns, both richly laden, were taken by sir John Borlase

Warren; while sir Samuel Hood, with a squadron off Rochefort, captured four out of five frigates with troops bound to the West Indies.

Among the domestic incidents of this period, the case of the princess of Wales was that which most engaged the public attention. From some cause, hitherto unexplained, that marriage was clouded at the very beginning, by a disagreement between the parties, and, on the birth of a daughter, articles of separation were mutually settled. The conduct of her royal highness became, at times, the subject of common discourse; but, in the present year, circumstances arose, which rendered a particular inquiry indispensable. Accordingly, four commissioners, the lord chancellor, lord chief-justice Ellenborough, earl Spencer, and lord Grenville, were deputed by his majesty to examine witnesses respecting some charges tending to criminate the princess. After a close investigation, the four lords drew up a report, acquitting her royal highness of the substantial matter of accusation; but stating, that her behaviour had been so suspicious, as to call for inquiry and animadversion.

On the 25th of October, a dissolution of parliament was declared by proclamation; and the new assembly met, for the despatch of business, on the 29th of December, when the documents relative to the late negotiations were laid before both houses, by order of his majesty, who, in his speech, lamented the "calamitous state of affairs, but praised the conduct of the king of Sweden, and the good faith and confidence of the emperor of Russia, whose alliance afforded the last remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe."

CHAP. LXXXV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1807.

WHILE the British ministers were wasting time in a fruitless negotiation with the French government, the latter was actively employed in reducing the whole continent of Europe to the sway of the mighty Napoleon. The confederation of the Rhine, and the erection of the United Provinces into a kingdom, now convinced the Prussian monarch of what he might have seen long before, that the friendship with which he was favoured, amounted only to the distinction of being the last to be devoured. That potentate had been lured, by degrees, into a complete subservience to the will of the despot of France; and, among other acts of grace conferred upon him, was that of making him an agent for the formation of another confederacy in the north of Germany, where every spot was already under French control.

The king sorely felt all these degradations, but was unwilling to embroil his country in a new contest; till his people grew so impatient under the yoke of foreign oppression, as actually to force him into warlike preparations. The first movement that indicated hostility, was the opening of the ports to British commerce; and, on the 1st of October, 1806, the Prussian ambassador at Paris made a formal demand, among other requisitions, that the French armies should recross the Rhine. Instead of returning any reply, Napoleon immediately put himself at the head of an army, and advanced into Upper Saxony. The Prussian forces were commanded by the duke of Brunswick, who established his head-quarters at Weimar; supported on the left by the Saxon auxiliaries, under prince Hohenlohe. The French moved from Bamberg in three divisions, and, after some trifling engagements, in one of which, prince Louis, the brother of the king of Prussia, was killed, the two armies appeared in front of each other, both animated by the same resolution, of giving battle. The Prussians, to the amount of one hundred thousand men, were advantageously posted on the heights of Jena, near the Saale; but, by leaving one elevated spot unoccupied, they gave an advantage to the French, of which the latter profited effectually on the night of the 13th of October. At that time, a singular spectacle presented itself, in the two armies, the lights of which were only half cannon shot distant from each other, and the sentinels almost touching; so that neither motion nor word could pass without being heard on both sides. Soon after break of day, the action began on the part of the French, with such impetuosity, that, in a short time, the line of the Prussians was broken, and five of their battalions were put to the rout.

All now was in confusion, and nothing like order was observed in the retreat. The duke of Brunswick and general Ruchal were killed; and marshal Mollendorff and prince Henry were wounded. The entire loss of the Prussians amounted to near fifty thousand, killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the French stated theirs, with what truth is easy to guess, at no more than a tenth of the number. The battle, however, was decisive, and, on the 25th, the victors entered Berlin. After this fatal discomfiture, the real cause of which has never been explained, Napoleon delivered up all the Saxon prisoners to the elector, with whom a treaty of alliance was also signed, by which the latter became a member of the confederation of the Rhine, and was rewarded with the regal dignity. This sudden amity, in the opinion of many, served to account, in some degree, for the rapid progress of the French ruler, who now issued a decree at Berlin, prohibiting all commerce and correspondence between the countries under his power, and Great Britain.

In the mean time, the unfortunate king of Prussia had taken refuge at Konigsberg; while the city of Lubeck was carried by storm, and the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were made prisoners of war.

The emperor Alexander, alarmed for the safety of his dominions, put his armies in motion; but the French anticipated him, by penetrating through Prussian Poland, and collecting in great numbers on the frontier of Russia. On the 26th of November, general Beningsen, a Hanoverian officer, who commanded the imperial troops, crossed the Vistula, to check the progress of the French, but, finding them superior in numbers, he repassed that river, and took up a strong position near Pultusk. It was now evident, from the cautious movements of Napoleon, that he was aware of the difference between the enemy he had here to encounter, and the one he had already reduced. Instead of advancing with his usual rapidity, he halted for reinforcements, and it was not till the 26th of the following month that he would venture an attack, which began at daylight, and continued till dusk; when, after a most sanguinary conflict, both parties kept their ground. As the Russian army fell short of the French, Beningsen deemed it prudent to retire upon Eylau, of which the enemy were in possession, but were soon driven out. This was on the 7th of February, 1807, and, at the same time, another general battle took place, which lasted till midnight of the following day, when the French lost at least twenty thousand men, and twelve of their eagles, though, as usual, Napoleon, in his bulletins, claimed the victory. The carnage on both sides was immense, but the Russians kept the field all night, and in the morning removed to another position, without being followed or disturbed.

In the mean time, operations were carrying on in Swedish Pomerania, and, on the 26th of May, the French made themselves masters of Dantzic, but not till the garrison had been reduced, by desertion and other causes, to about one half of its original force. Stralsund, however, still held out, and Napoleon, finding that the emperor of Russia was on the march with large reinforcements, broke up his camp from before that place, and, calling in all his troops, advanced to decide the contest.

On the 14th of June, at break of day, the hostile armies came in contact, near Friedland, which was occupied by the Russians. This was the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, of which Napoleon did not fail to remind his troops, when the enemy approached in order of battle. Several actions took place during the day, but it was not till five in the afternoon that the engagement became general. Ney led the attack, supported by general Bisson; but the Cossacks came on in such numbers, that the fate of the day seemed more than dubious, till Victor caused a battery of thirty pieces to play upon the Russians, who fell into disorder. At this crisis, the body guard of Alexander advanced with an impetuosity that threatened the division of Ney with annihilation, from which he was timely saved by the cavalry under Dupont, who turned the scale, and routed the assailants with great slaughter. Still the hardy sons of the north would not quit the field, but, collecting their force, bore down in a mass upon the French centre, commanded by Lasnes. Here the carnage became dreadful; for the bayonet and the artillery swept down the Russian ranks so tremendously, that fifteen thousand, at least, lay stretched on the plain. Those who escaped, however, carried off a great

part of their artillery; and, in their retreat, destroyed all the bridges and magazines. Immediately after this fatal battle, Soult took possession of Konigsberg, where he found vast quantities of grain and military stores, among which were one hundred and sixty thousand muskets, of the manufacture of England. Nothing now remained for the two northern potentates, but to make the best terms they could with the victor, and, accordingly, on the 7th of July, a treaty of peace was concluded at Tilsit. By this convention, that part of the Prussian dominions which lay on the eastern side of the Elbe, was annexed to the newly erected kingdom of Westphalia; the provinces taken from Poland in the partition of that country, were given to the king of Saxony, with the title of the duchy of Warsaw; the city of Dantsic was declared independent; and the navigation of the Vistula was made free. The emperor Alexander, besides recognizing the sovereign titles of Joseph, Louis, and Jerome Buonaparte, as kings of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia, gave his consent to the Confederation of the Rhine, all the princes of which union were made parties to the treaty. It was also settled that hostilities should cease on the part of Russia and the Porte; Napoleon being chosen the arbiter of their respective differences. Alexander interposed his good offices as mediator of a peace between France and England, to which the French ruler gave a reluctant assent, on condition that the overture should be accepted by the court of St. James's within a month after the ratification of the present treaty. There were some private articles agreed upon at this meeting; but being all kept profoundly secret, it was reasonably supposed that they were unfavourable to the interests of Great Britain.

The king of Sweden peremptorily refused his assent to the treaty of Tilsit; but finding that he could not, under existing circumstances, retain Pomerania, he withdrew his forces from Stralsund, and returned to Stockholm.

The whole state of European politics was now completely changed, and England, by her union with Russia, instead of gaining an advantage, had increased her own difficulties.

The war which broke out at the close of the preceding year, between the emperor Alexander and the Ottoman Porte, brought the British government into a contest with the latter power on no pretext whatever, and totally contrary to the true interests of this country. The Turks having shut the passage of the Dardanelles against the Russians, it was determined to send a naval squadron to force an entrance. This enterprise was intrusted to sir John Duckworth, who, in the month of February, entered the strait, and approached within eight miles of the Turkish capital, for the purpose of demanding the surrender of all the Turkish ships of war. But while there, the Ottomans gave a remarkable instance of their superiority in the art of deception, by persuading the English commander and ambassador to enter into a protracted negotiation; the consequence of which was, that the fortresses, in the interim, were put in a state of defence, as well as the fleet. The situation of the English now became critical, and a retreat was rendered unavoidable. This was accomplished, though with difficulty, and, in repassing the castles, one of the ships had her mainmast cut in two by a granite shot, weighing eight hundred pounds. About the same time, an expedition was sent from Messina against Alexandria, of which possession was taken on the 20th of March; but an attempt on Rosetta failed, with the loss of one thousand men; in consequence of which, the former conquest proved unavailing, and, in the month of September, the English army returned to Sicily.

While these extraordinary scenes were passing in one quarter, others, little less remarkable, and not a whit more creditable, were occurring in an opposite part of the globe. Though sir Home Popham had succeeded in capturing Buenos Ayres, ministers, with whom he was no favourite, thought proper, not only to recall him, but actually to bring him before a court-martial, for presuming to undertake a service of that nature without orders. The result of the trial was a reprimand only; and his prosecutors, with a singular regard to consistency, sent out another expedition, under sir Samuel Auchmuty and admiral Stirling, to secure an establishment in the same quarter. The consequence was, an attack upon Monte Video, which sur-

rendered, after a brave defence, on the 3d of Febuary. An attempt was also made to recapture Buenos Ayres, for which purpose, general Whitelocke was employed, who landed on the 28th of June, with seven thousand eight hundred men. After a fatiguing march, the troops came before the city, and, early on the 5th of July, a general attack took place, according to express orders, with unloaded muskets. The men behaved gallantly, and executed the service to admiration; but, after gaining possession of two important posts, their situation became distressing, being fired at from the windows and tops of the houses, so that above two thousand of their number were either killed, wounded, or taken. A negotiation then took place between the general and the governor, when it was agreed, on the part of the latter, to liberate all the prisoners, on condition that the English should immediately reimbark and quit the coast.

Whitelocke, on his return to England, was brought to trial, and dismissed the service; which sentence gave general satisfaction to the public, though many thought that the conduct of those who employed a person so incompetent as this man proved himself to be, deserved a visitation no less severe, for the disgrace which the transaction brought upon the military character of the nation.

As a small counterbalance to these misfortunes, the Dutch settlement of Curaçoa was taken this year by a naval force, under the command of captain Brisbane, who was detached for the purpose, from the fleet of admiral Dacres. The place was strong and well defended, notwithstanding which, it was carried by assault, and several prizes in the harbour rewarded the captors for their bravery.

During the summer, an affair happened, which seemed to threaten a rupture with the United States. It being known that the American frigate, Chesapeake, of forty-four guns, had some English deserters on board, captain Humphreys, of the Leopard, insisted upon searching for them. This being refused, a broadside was poured in, which produced the desired effect, and the men were found. When the American returned into port, a violent ferment ensued, and Jefferson, the president, issued a proclamation, interdicting all intercourse with British ships of war. But here the matter terminated, at least for the present, though the offence was never forgotten.

The enmity of another power was, about the same time, provoked, by a measure which, however harsh in appearance, was called for by the extremity of the times. After the peace of Tilsit, it became obvious that the neutrality of the lesser states in the north could no longer be maintained. This was particularly the case in regard to Denmark, where warlike preparations were now making, the object of which could not be misunderstood. It was a critical point, but self-preservation dictated the immediate adoption of some course to hinder the French from getting possession of a fleet, which was alone wanting to complete the ambitious projects of Buonaparte. A friendly communication was accordingly made to the court of Copenhagen, stating, that, under existing circumstances, Great Britain could not, consistently with a proper regard to its own safety, suffer the French to take possession of the Danish fleet and stores. It was, therefore, proposed that the ships of Denmark should be sent into English ports, under a pledge of being restored within a given time; and to enforce this requisition, a naval and military force, under admiral Gambier and lord Cathcart, was sent to the Baltic; where, on its arrival, hostilities became indispensable, owing to the pertinacity of the Danish government in refusing all terms of accommodation. On the 29th of August, the troops commanded by general Wellesley defeated the Danish army; which achievement was followed by an investment of Copenhagen. But the siege was short, for, on the 5th of September, the governor offered to capitulate, and the terms were soon concluded, on the basis originally proposed, that of a surrender of the fleet and naval stores. The crown prince, however, instead of ratifying the capitulation, issued a formal declaration of war against England; in consequence of which, possession was retained of Zealand for some time, and all the vessels, with the contents of the arsenals, were removed, but private property was respected.

This affair gave such offence, either real or affected, to the emperor of Rus-

sia, that a manifesto was published by him on the 31st of October, in which he accused the English government of having rejected his mediating offices for the restoration of peace; and yet not co-operating vigorously with the allies in the prosecution of the war; with sending troops against Alexandria and Buenos Ayres, instead of making a powerful diversion for the common cause, in Europe; and chiefly, in having now oppressed Denmark, and injured the Baltic. Such were the complaints of the northern potentate, and it must be admitted, that some of them were but too well founded, especially those which related to the military plans of the British cabinet. But in regard to the rejection of the proffered mediation of the emperor, it was successfully retorted that he had himself given cause of offence, and become unqualified as a referee, by concealing the arrangements which he had entered into with France. Among the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, were some which directly affected the honour and interests of Great Britain; and, therefore, a blind assent to the terms proposed, would have been an act of political insanity on the part of the latter government.

Of the increasing rapaciousness of the French despot, at the time when he had thus fettered the powers of the north, an instance soon appeared in his conduct towards Portugal, which he first compelled to shut its ports against British commerce, and then sent an army to occupy the country. In consequence of this unprincipled aggression, the prince regent, and the royal family, embarked at Lisbon, on the 29th of November, under the protection of the English flag, for Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, where they arrived on the 19th of January, 1808.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1807 to 1808.

IT is now necessary to take a brief survey of the parliamentary history of this eventful period. The first business of moment after the recess, was a motion brought forward by lord Grenville, for the total abolition of the slave-trade; which, being powerfully supported, passed through both houses with commanding majorities. But if this measure gave general satisfaction, and did honour to the administration under whose auspices it was carried, another piece of policy which followed it almost immediately, had a contrary effect. As it was well known that the leaders of the cabinet were strongly in favour of the claims of the Roman Catholics, to a complete relief from the disqualifying statutes; the people of that persuasion in Ireland very naturallythought that no time could be more seasonable for the presentation of a petition to the legislature on the subject of their supposed grievances, than the present, when their friends were in the seat of power. They were the more encouraged in this opinion, from the circumstance that lord Grenville had himself advocated their cause, in opposition to Mr. Pitt, who resisted the proposition, on the mere ground of its being repugnant to the avowed sentiments of the king. The same objection still subsisted; but if lord Grenville thought that the royal scruple furnished no reason why the petition should be withheld in a former session, he could not, consistently, discountenance the application, now he was in place. No sooner, however, was the cabinet apprized, by the duke of Bedford, of the intention of the Catholics to bring their case before parliament, than they took an alarm, and instructed that nobleman to exert himself in preventing the design from being carried into execution. As an inducement to keep the complainants back, it was stated, that ministers would bring the matter forward in a less objectionable way, and one more likely to give general satisfaction. The plan adopted, was that of introducing into the mutiny bill, and thereby extending to the whole kingdom, the clauses of an act passed in 1793, granting to Catholics in Ireland the privilege of holding any rank in the army, under that of a general on the staff. To this proposition, the king, after mature deliberation, consented, but cautiously and frankly told his confidential advisers, that one step beyond the exact terms of the Irish act he would not go; trusting also,

that he should be secured from being distressed by any further overture concerning the Catholic question.

After so explicit a declaration, it was not to be surmised that any set of men would venture to hazard promises which they could not redeem; or undertake measures contrary to the avowed resolution of the sovereign. Notwithstanding this, the majority of the cabinet introduced into the bill, clauses of so wide a nature, as must have opened every degree of preferment, without limitation, both to Catholics, and all other dissenters. In short, the act, if it had become one, would have completely repealed the corporation and test laws. Lord Sidmouth, seeing this, fairly warned his colleagues against pursuing a course in which they could not succeed, for he was assured that his majesty would never consent to the alterations proposed. Lord Grenville and lord Howick turned a deaf ear to the suggestions of their associate, and confident of being able to carry their object, transmitted to Ireland a copy of the clauses which were intended to be added to the bill, previous to its appearance in the house. According to custom in cabinet measures, a draft of the bill was sent to his majesty, at Windsor, and returned without any remark, for this reason, that the king, thinking it contained nothing more than what had been previously settled, did not take the trouble to examine it. Lord Sidmouth, being somewhat surprised at this, felt it to be his duty to wait upon his majesty, and state the case. The consequence was, that, on the 4th of March, the king expressed to lord Howick his high dissatisfaction at the conduct which had been pursued in regard to this measure. After this, it was natural to have supposed that ministers would have retraced their steps; instead of which, they persevered in the same line, and pressed the bill so far, that the second reading was ordered for the 12th of the same month. Lord Sidmouth now threatened to resign, and the king, on hearing the cause, became much agitated; when lord Grenville proposed to modify the bill, so as to remove all difficulties. Thus matters stood till the 15th, when a select council, consisting only of a few members, determined to abandon the bill, which resolution was accompanied by a splenetic declaration to the sovereign, of their right to advise his majesty on all subjects connected with Ireland, as circumstances and the interests of the empire should require. This supererogatory explanation was extremely offensive to the king, who had been himself deceived by these advisers, and who, in the present instance, were so far from meriting confidence, that they, in fact, were in a state of schism among themselves. His majesty, perceiving from the language of the resolution, that his peace of mind was threatened by new cabals and intrigues, had recourse to the defensive measure of requiring from ministers a written assurance, that he should never again be distressed by a recurrence to the subject. This put an end at once to the dispute; but though ministers refused to give the pledge that was demanded of them, they still tenaciously resolved to hold their places, and it actually required the royal mandate to compel them to give up the seals of their respective offices. At the end of March, the new arrangement took place, consisting of the duke of Portland, as first lord of the treasury; lord Eldon, as chancellor; the earl of Westmoreland, privy-seal; earl Camden, president of the council; the honourable Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty; the earl of Chatham, master-general of the ordnance; lord Castlereagh, lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. Canning, secretaries of state; George Rose, treasurer of the navy; sir James Pulteney, secretary at war; sir Vicary Gibbs, attorney-general; and sir Thomas Plumer, solicitor-general; while the duke of Bedford was superseded in the viceroyalty of Ireland by the duke of Richmond.

This ministerial revolution naturally produced warm discussions in parliament, where the leading members of the late cabinet endeavoured to justify their conduct by explanations; though with little effect, for two motions, in their favour, were negatived by considerable majorities. Notwithstanding this, the king thought proper to appeal to the nation at large, by a dissolution, on the 29th of April, observing, in his speech at the close of the session, that he "should recur to the sense of his people, while the events which had recently taken place were still fresh in their recollection." This measure

had its effect, and the returns fully proved that the general sentiment concurred in support of the conscientious principles of the monarch, and in a disapproval of the attempt made to entrap his assent to a dangerous, if not an unconstitutional, measure. Numerous addresses were sent up to the king on this occasion, and one in particular, from the city of London, was the more remarkable, because the same corporate body, a few months before, had congratulated his majesty on possessing a vigilant, upright, and intelligent ministry.

The new parliament assembled on the 22d of June, when Mr. Abbot was re-chosen speaker of the house of commons, without opposition. The speech, which was delivered by commissioners, contained such allusions to the cause that had occasioned the dissolution, as compelled the friends of the former administration to measure their strength with the present cabinet. Amendments in both houses were accordingly moved, strongly censuring the dissolution of parliament, and the grounds alleged in justification of the proceeding; but each division shewed that the persons who were now at the head of affairs had nothing to apprehend from their opponents on the score of numerical force, whatever might be the weight of their talents.

As the state of Ireland had been rendered alarming by the recent changes, a bill was brought into the lower house, for the suppression of insurrection in that part of the kingdom, and for the better security of the public peace. Among other provisions in this act, one empowered magistrates to arrest and commit persons out of their habitations between sunset and sunrise; and another to prevent suspicious characters from keeping arms.

A new military system was at the same time adopted, having for its object the augmentation of the regular troops from the militia, and to increase the latter description of force, by a supplementary draught throughout the kingdom. Two bills for this purpose were brought in, and, though vehemently contested, passed into a law. On the 14th of August, the session terminated by prorogation, when the chancellor, in the name of the king, expressed a confidence "that the loyalty of the people would be manifested in defeating the designs of the enemy, and in maintaining those rights which were essential to the honour of the crown, and the interests of the nation."

The external politics of Great Britain wore, at this period, an aspect far from consoling. All the allies on whom the country had relied for co-operation, and whose aid had been purchased at a heavy expense, were not only alienated, but, for the most part, converted into enemies. The court of Vienna did not break off all connexion with England, till its mediatory efforts to bring about a peace proved fruitless. That the emperor of Austria was sincere in his wish to effect a general pacification, cannot be doubted; and, as early as the month of April, he proposed some place in his dominions for the holding of a congress, to accomplish this desirable object. The proposal was assented to by the British government, on condition that the mediation of Austria should be accepted by the other parties at war. Little or nothing, however, was done to accelerate the proposed meeting, till the middle of November, when prince Stahremberg, the imperial minister at London, revived the subject, in a remonstrance to the British government, on the necessity of putting an end to the contest between England and France. To this it was replied, that nothing was more agreeable to his majesty than the conclusion of such a peace as should be consistent with his engagements to his allies, and calculated to secure the tranquillity of Europe. Upon this, the Austrian ambassador formally invited, in the name of his court, the British ministers to send plenipotentiaries to Paris, for the purpose of concluding a general pacification. This overture, which was made on the 1st of January, 1806, had a very suspicious appearance, and was expressed in terms of remarkable ambiguity; for it was neither accompanied by any authoritative commission from the French government, nor contained any preliminary basis on which the negotiation should be conducted. Had the proposal been accepted, Great Britain would have been placed under circumstances of the most degrading character; and her minister would have appeared at the French capital as a humble suitor for peace, rather than a negotiator treating upon equal terms. It was evident that Austria was nothing more

than an instrument in the hands of the Gallic despot, whose sole object was, to humble England, and reduce every part of the continent to his dominion. The fatal effects of negotiating at Paris, had already been too severely felt, to admit of a second reliance upon French sincerity; and, therefore, the proposition was declined. Prince Stahremberg then left London; and Austria from this time became enrolled among the nominal enemies of Great Britain. The consequence of this was, a war between Russia and Sweden; in which contest Denmark became a party soon afterwards, as an inveterate foe of the latter power, and out of resentment at the conduct of England.

In the south of Europe, the capital of Portugal was taken possession of by the French, but not till the fleet had been removed, with the royal family; and soon after, Madeira surrendered to his majesty's arms. The state of Sicily was equally gloomy, for though a British fleet protected the island, the force sent to secure Calabria had been found insufficient for the purpose, and was therefore withdrawn.

In the centre of Italy, the French ruled with a rod of iron, and Napoleon, regardless of his obligations as the eldest son of the church, now seized all the temporalities of the pope, who became a stipendiary upon the usurper, for a beggarly maintenance to support his spiritual character. New revolutions were bursting upon the astonished world every day, but those on the peninsula attracted most attention, and were productive of the most tremendous effects. The annexation of Spain and Portugal to the French empire, was a favourite project of Napoleon; and such was the weakness of the former power, that there appeared no serious obstable to the attainment of his wishes. Treachery often defeats its own purposes, and opposition sometimes converts the feeble into formidable enemies. Buonaparte, however, had experienced so much success, that the lesson of prudence and forbearance, read to him by his chief minister Talleyrand, was treated with disdain. Having dictated terms of peace to the greatest of all the continental potentates on the borders of his dominions, he could not bring himself to believe that any of those states which lay contiguous to France, and were overshadowed by its colossal ascendancy, could presume to resist its authority, or, if refractory, prove successful in the issue. To ordinary understandings, that judge only by appearances, every thing was in favour of this confidence, for the court of Madrid had long been in a condition of contemptible fatuity, under the control of a low-born minion, called the prince of peace. Between the king and his son a difference subsisted, which ran so high, that the latter was thrown into prison, on a charge of treason; but his confinement was short, and an apparent reconciliation was effected. Napoleon took advantage of these jealousies, and, by his agents, lured each party into his snares. A treaty was concluded with the old monarch, for the partition of Portugal, in virtue of which agreement, French troops were to march through Spain. The plot, however, could not proceed without detection; and the assembling of forces at Bayonne, sufficiently indicated the object for which it was destined. The court of Lisbon had now no alternative between an absolute subjection, and a removal to its transatlantic colonies; the latter course was adopted, and Portugal, for a short space, was left to enjoy the benefit of French fraternization.

Such was the state of Europe at the meeting of the British parliament on the 31st of January, when the lord chancellor, in the name of his majesty, delivered the longest speech, perhaps, that was ever remembered on such an occasion. It exhibited a very perspicuous delineation of the existing state of the continent; but while the defection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, was lamented, some satisfaction was expressed in the steadfastness of the king of Sweden, who had resisted every attempt to abandon his alliance with Great Britain. The most consolatory part of this exposition, however, was, the information that, notwithstanding the difficulties which the enemy had endeavoured to impose upon commerce, the resources of this country were so abundant, as to have produced such an increase of revenue, that the necessary supplies would be raised without any material addition to the public burdens. On the motion for the usual address in the house of lords, an amendment was brought forward, reprobating the seizure of the Danish fleet,

but it was negatived, as also was a similar one in the commons. In the course of these debates, some members of the opposition flatly denied that the treaty of Tilsit contained any secret articles; though the fact was admitted by the Russian government, with this explanation, indeed, that the concealed provisions were not hostile to Great Britain. They were, however, injurious to her allies, and, if acted upon, would have been destructive to her interests in the Mediterranean. With respect to the attack upon Copenhagen, and the seizure of the Danish ships, the question lay within a very narrow compass; and it was effectually answered by a reference to the conduct of the late ministers towards Turkey, and the attempt to force the passage of the Dardanelles, not from any fear of the Ottoman porte, but merely to oblige the emperor Alexander.

Another subject which engrossed much attention in parliament during this session, was the retaliatory measure adopted by the British government, in consequence of the decrees of Napoleon, declaring the British islands to be in a state of blockade, and thereby subjecting to capture and condemnation all vessels with their cargoes, neutrals or others, which should continue to trade with his majesty's dominions. To repel this sweeping act of injustice, the king in council issued counter orders, placing all the ports and places of France and her allies in a similar state of blockade. Rigorous as this proceeding was on our part, it was merely defensive, and, at least, it could not be said that England was the first to violate the rights of neutral nations. As a question of policy, different opinions were entertained, but the legality of the proceeding could not be called in question, without overthrowing the whole system of public law. The bill brought into the house of commons, for making valid the orders in council, passed through parliament, and received the royal assent; as did another of affinity with it, the object of which was, to regulate the intercourse with America.

In this session, the subject of Indian policy was brought under discussion; but the attempt to fix a serious charge against lord Wellesley, on account of his transactions with the nabob of Oude, was defeated by a vote of approbation, in which the numbers were one hundred and eighty votes to twenty-nine. On the 11th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced his financial scheme, which contained the proposal for a loan of eight millions; with a very slight addition to the taxes.

Among other defensive measures adopted by this parliament, was one for raising a local militia of two hundred thousand men; and, on moving the mutiny bill, lord Castlereagh proposed the insertion of a clause, allowing men to enlist for life, which was vehemently opposed by Mr. Windham, as being repugnant to the system that he had himself carried through parliament, for a limited time of service. The measure now recommended, however, was ably supported, and the clause was adopted. An improvement in the criminal code was also made this session, taking away capital punishment in cases of privately stealing from the person. No opposition was made, by the law officers of the crown, to this motion, which originated with sir Samuel Romilly; and, on the 4th of July, parliament was prorogued by commission.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1808.

THE greatest sufferer by the change which took place in the politics of the north, was the king of Sweden, against whom a combination was formed by Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, for no other cause than his having refused, like the coalesced powers, to bend his neck to the French usurper. Early in the year, the emperor Alexander, without issuing any declaration of war, sent his troops into Finland, which province was soon subjugated. Gustavus, however, with a spirit that became his illustrious ancestors, bore up bravely against the storm, and would probably have been enabled to repel the invaders of his dominions, had he been seconded in a proper manner by his nobility. The British government not only encouraged him by the grant of a monthly subsidy for the payment of his own forces, but sent also ten thou-

sand men, under the command of sir John Moore, to co-operate with the Swedes in the defence of their country. Unfortunately, a misunderstanding arose between the king and the English general, respecting the employment of the army intrusted to the latter, and the difference became so serious, that the auxiliaries returned home, and Sweden was abandoned to its enemies. The Russians, upon this, seized Sweaborg, the strongest fortress in the kingdom, and, after gaining some other advantages by land and sea, forced Gustavus to purchase a peace, at the expense of ceding Finland to the victor.

While these transactions were occurring in that quarter, similar aggressions were carried on by Napoleon in Germany and the Low Countries; where Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, and Flushing, were made appendages of the French empire. In Italy, also, the insatiate ambition of this restless despot was employed about the same time, in the annexation of all the ecclesiastical estates, including the city of Rome, to the imperial diadem. The pope being thus deprived of the last fragment of sovereignty, published a protest or appeal to the Christian world, on the subject of the sacrilege, and, having no other weapon to wield, he next proceeded to issue a bull of excommunication against the usurper. But the thunder of the Vatican was no longer an object of dread, and Buonaparte, instead of being awed by it to submission, caused the pontiff to be arrested, and conveyed to Avignon.

These public robberies, atrocious as they were, excited little indignation, compared with the perfidy and outrage which marked the conduct of Buonaparte towards Spain. After deceiving the infatuated monarch of that country by the most fallacious assurances of friendship, and promises of aggrandizement, the French ruler threw off the mask, and no longer disguised his intentions of effecting a revolution in Spain. His Catholic majesty perceiving the danger which surrounded him, and having no ally upon whose support he could depend, formed the resolution of removing to Mexico. This design, however, could not be kept secret; and the prince of Asturias, on being made acquainted with it, stirred up such a spirit of opposition to his father, that the old king, for the sake of peace, gave up the project, and made a formal abdication of the crown, in favour of his son. The whole of this business was the effect of French intrigue; and while the nation was in a state of ferment, an army, commanded by the duke of Berg, entered Madrid, under the plausible pretext of supporting the government, and preventing disorders. The next stroke of policy played by Napoleon, was that of drawing the whole royal family of Spain to Bayonne, where both the old and new king were compelled to resign the crown into the hands of the usurper, while the two junior princes subscribed a renunciation of their right to the succession. The publication of these acts was accompanied by the barefaced declaration, that they were purely voluntary; and that the object of the emperor in taking the part he did, was to give happiness to the Spanish nation.

In pursuance of this liberal design, an imperial mandate was issued, pronouncing the throne of Spain vacant, and summoning the prelates and grandees of the kingdom to a great council, to be held at Bayonne, on the 6th of June, for the purpose of arranging a new government. At the time appointed, none of the nobility attended, except a few who had been bribed to sell their country; which venal junta, in subservience to the orders they had received, assented to the transfer of the crown of Spain to Joseph Buonaparte, who vacated the throne of Naples in favour of his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat. In forming his plan, and arranging the means of accomplishing it, Napoleon evinced considerable address; but cunning often overreaches itself, and this was the case in the present instance. With true military skill, the tyrant had taken care to secure the strongest positions in Spain, particularly the passes of the Pyrenees, by which means, fresh troops could be poured into the kingdom at pleasure. At this time, the French force in the country could not be less than one hundred thousand men; besides which, there was a considerable number of troops in Portugal, and a large body at Bayonne. To oppose this vast military apparatus, directed by the ablest generals in the service, the Spaniards had neither an army nor a government; so that, under all circumstances, the usurpation seemed to have been fixed upon a permanent basis; and the more so, when the degeneracy of the national character was taken into considera-

tion. There are, however, occasions when the feeble become powerful by combination, and when oppression goads the indolent to great exertions. Such was the case in Spain, the inhabitants of which country had been so long sunk in sloth, that Napoleon never calculated on meeting with any resistance from them, in the establishment of a new dynasty.

In this he soon found himself mistaken. The loss of their independence, and the treacherous circumstances which occasioned it, raised a spirit of resentment among the Spaniards, that flew from province to province like lightning. An insurrection first broke out in Asturias, from whence it spread into Gallicia and Leon; while a convention, which met at Oviedo, issued a formal manifesto, declaring war against France, and the same body elected the marquis of Santa Cruz commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies. One of the first acts of the patriots was, to send deputies to solicit aid from his Britannic majesty, who immediately published a declaration of peace between the two nations. A provisional government was next established at Seville, in the name of Ferdinand VII.; and the example of that place was followed all over the kingdom, except in the capital, which was kept in awe by the French army. The insurrection proceeded so rapidly, and the spirit of the people, throughout the whole kingdom, was so invigorated by a sense of their wrongs, that the duke of Berg found it necessary to erect fortifications at Madrid, for the protection of his troops. Detachments were also required in the different provinces, to keep down the patriots; but the presence of these soldiers only served to spread the flame among persons of each sex, as well as of all ranks, ages, and professions. A French squadron, consisting of five ships of the line and a frigate, then lying at Cadiz, surrendered to the inhabitants; and, soon after, general Moncey was defeated before Valencia, with a great slaughter.

These achievements had the effect of animating the nation to fresh exertions, and no people could display more bravery and unanimity, or submit to severer privations, than the Spaniards did at this important era. On the 1st of July, the French laid siege to Saragossa, which was so vigorously defended by Palafox, that, after many desperate attacks, they were obliged to retire in disgrace. At the same period, the French general Dupont was defeated, and obliged to surrender, with his whole army, to the patriots under Castanos.

While the insurrection was thus triumphant, Joseph Buonaparte made his entrance into Madrid, but his stay there did not exceed a week, for, on being apprized of the disasters which had befallen the French arms, he suddenly packed up the regalia, and all the valuable articles that were of a portable nature in the Escurial, and retreated to Bayonne. The patriotic cause received additional strength soon after this, by the arrival of ten thousand Spanish troops, whom Napoleon had treacherously drawn out of the kingdom, and stationed in Denmark. When their commander, the marquis del Romana, was informed of the events that had recently occurred in his native country, he communicated the intelligence to his brave companions in arms, who immediately seceded from their French connexions, and were conveyed home by the squadron of admiral sir Richard Keats. Portugal now caught the spirit of independence, a general rising took place, and the French commander, Junot, found himself under the necessity of concentrating his forces near the capital. In the mean time, the British government was neither inattentive to the affairs of the peninsula, nor tardy in affording succour to the patriots. At the end of July, an army of fourteen thousand men, commanded by sir Arthur Wellesley, landed in Portugal. The first action was at Roleia, where general Laborde was driven from his strong position with great loss, though that of the victors was also very serious, both in men and officers.

Junot, who had been lately honoured with the ducal title of Abrantes, now resolved to risk a battle, as the only means of securing Lisbon. Accordingly, on the 21st of August, after calling in his detachments, he made a general attack on the British lines at Vimiera, but all the efforts of the French were fruitless, and, at length, they abandoned the field, which was covered with their dead and wounded. It was reasonable to suppose that this achievement would have been followed up with redoubled energy on the part of the con-

querors. But, instead of this, sir Hew Dalrymple, who came up after the engagement, and took the command, concluded an armistice, which was followed by a convention, at Cintra, between the French and British commanders. By this extraordinary treaty, it was agreed that the French should be conveyed home in English transports, with their arms, artillery, military chest, and even the spoils they had acquired during their stay in Portugal. Another curious article in this agreement, was one relating to the Russian fleet, then lying in the Tagus, and which had previously surrendered to the British government; but now it was settled that these ships should be retained only till the peace, and that, in the mean time, the officers and men should be conveyed to their own country. This convention gave general dissatisfaction, and a court of inquiry was instituted to investigate the conduct of sir Hew Dalrymple; but without producing either censure or information.

Napoleon now began to see that the annexation of the peninsula to his empire would not be so easy as he had at first imagined. The resistance of the people in Spain and Portugal had never been once contemplated by him; but this opposition, formidable as it was, he still flattered himself might be overcome, if the patriots could be deprived of foreign support. To gain this object, a conference was solicited with the emperor of Russia, and a meeting accordingly took place in September, at Erfurt, where some concessions were made in favour of Prussia, for no other purpose than to enable Buonaparte to bring a more effectual force into the new field of his inordinate ambition. But he knew that the neutrality of these powers would be of little avail, unless England could be detached from the cause of the patriots. An offer of peace was, therefore, made to his Britannic majesty, but rejected, because the preliminary article required the exclusion of the Spanish provisional government from all concern in the negotiation, a condition, the acceptance of which would have been a disgrace to the crown, and a violation of the rights of humanity. The tyrant being thus baffled, affected an air of great confidence, and, on his return to Paris, caused immense preparations to be made for his march into Spain. After ordering a conscription of one hundred and sixty thousand men, to be raised in addition to the existing military force, Napoleon proceeded, in the autumn, to Vittoria, and, at the beginning of December, took possession of Madrid. In the mean time, sir John Moore arrived at Lisbon with a considerable army; and sir David Baird landed another at Corunna. These divisions were designed to converge, for the security of the capital, in the heart of Spain; but unfortunately, so much time was lost after the debarkation at Lisbon, that Napoleon improved the opportunity afforded by the delay, to make himself master of Madrid, and thus he was enabled to bring all his forces into the field against the British troops.

Sir John Moore now hesitated what course to pursue, and even after his junction with sir David Baird, he still wavered in his judgment. Although he had nearly thirty thousand men under his command, and an assurance of being joined by the Spaniards in considerable force, he lingered in such a manner as to give the enemy every advantage. At length, on hearing that Napoleon was advancing from Madrid, the British general broke up his camp at Toro, and made a hasty retreat, first to Astorga, and next to Villa Franca. His first design was to embark at Vigo, at which place the transports were accordingly ordered to rendezvous, but, on quitting Astorga, he altered his mind, despatching three thousand of his troops to Vigo, and hurrying on with the rest to Corunna. In the mean time, Buonaparte made forced marches, to cut off the retreat of the British, but on his arrival at Astorga, and finding that they had taken a different route, he relinquished to Soult the honour of expelling or annihilating the English, and returned himself to Madrid. The retreating army continued its course fourteen days, through roads covered with snow, so that the sufferings of the men were exceedingly severe, notwithstanding which, they bore up with uncommon fortitude, and, in many instances, not only repelled the enemy, who hung upon their rear, with great loss, but several times offered them battle. At length, the towers of Corunna appeared in view, on the 11th of January, 1809; but the pleasure which the prospect yielded, was turned into despair, on finding that the ves-

sels, which they expected to meet there, were all at Vigo. A battle, in consequence, now became inevitable, and, under the walls of Corunna, on the 16th, the French made a general attack, with a vast superiority of force; but all their efforts were unavailing, and the harassed army, though destitute of horses and artillery, compelled the assailants to retreat. At the beginning of the action, sir David Baird lost his arm, and general Moore received a mortal wound, but sir John Hope continued the operations with great skill, and afterwards directed the embarkation of the troops in a masterly manner, without confusion or material loss. Thus ended an expedition, of which the greatest expectations had been formed; but which, for want of a regular plan, or sufficient energy, proved disastrous to the cause it was intended to support. When the British ships left the harbour of Corunna, the French entered the city, and soon after, Bilboa, Ferrol, and other strong places on the same line of coast, fell into their hands.

The naval history of this year exhibits few transactions of importance; but those which occurred were honourable to the British flag. In the month of March, a Danish ship of seventy-four guns was taken and destroyed, on the coast of Zealand. About the same time, the San Fiorenzo frigate, commanded by captain Richard Hardinge, captured the French frigate Piedmontaise, off Ceylon, after a severe action, in which the English captain was killed. On the 5th of July, the Seahorse frigate attacked, in the Mediterranean, a Turkish ship of war, of fifty-two guns, a corvette of twenty-four, and a galley. After cutting off the corvette, and disabling her, the Seahorse commenced a close fight with the large ship, and compelled her to strike, with the loss of three hundred and sixty men, killed and wounded; while the English had only five killed, and ten wounded. In the Baltic, on the 25th of August, a combined squadron of English and Swedish ships engaged a Russian fleet, which took to flight, after losing one of their number.

Among the minuter incidents of this year, may be mentioned, the arrival, in England, of Louis the Eighteenth, with the rest of the French royal family. Here, after undergoing various vicissitudes, and being driven from different places, these illustrious exiles found a safe and comfortable asylum, with a liberal support from the British government.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1809.

ON the 19th of January, 1809, the British parliament was opened by commission, when the chancellor, in the name of his majesty, mentioned the proposals for a negotiation, that had been transmitted from Erfurth; and which, it was observed, could not be attended to in prejudice to the cause of Spain. It was also stated, that his majesty had renewed to the Spanish nation, in the moment of its difficulties and reverses, the engagements which he voluntarily contracted at the onset of its struggle against the usurpation and tyranny of France; and that these engagements had been reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance. Notice was next taken of the favourable turn of affairs in Portugal, with some qualifications, however, expressive of his majesty's disapprobation of the armistice and convention of Cintra. An allusion was also made to the steadiness of the king of Sweden; and the necessity of supporting that monarch by a continuance of the subsidy, was recommended.

The debates that followed turned chiefly upon the management of the peninsular war, which was strongly censured by the members of opposition; who, in their eagerness to fix an accusation upon ministers, entirely overlooked the distracted state of the Spanish juntas. The jealousies which actuated some of these provincial assemblies were the real cause of the retardation that had taken place, and therefore it was unfair to make the British government accountable for errors arising from local prejudices and independent authorities.

But the principal concern that engaged the attention of parliament, as well as of the nation, was one of a domestic nature. On the 27th of January, Mr. Wardle, a colonel of militia, and member for Oakhampton, brought forward

a series of charges, tending to implicate the character of the duke of York, as commander-in-chief. The cases, as stated, wore a very dark appearance, and occasioned not less regret than surprise; but an inquiry being deemed indispensable, it was voted, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, that the same should be carried on in a general committee.

In pursuance of this imprudent resolution, Mary Anne Clarke, a discarded mistress of the duke, was examined at the bar of the house; when a mass of evidence came out, in which it was too clear that a most abominable trade, in the sale of commissions, had been carried on under her influence. But though every attempt was made to bring the abuse home to his royal highness, it did not appear that he had any knowledge of these scandalous practices; and accordingly, on the motion of Mr. Perceval, the commons passed a resolution, that, "having examined the evidence, and found that personal corruption, and connivance at the same, had been imputed to the duke of York, the house was of opinion that the imputation was wholly unfounded."

But though the majority was considerable, and the general voice concurred in approving the vote, it could not be denied by the most zealous friends of the royal personage, that he had acted with great imprudence, in suffering an artful and unprincipled woman to gain over him such an ascendancy. The tide of public opinion was expressed so strongly upon this occasion, that his royal highness found it most advisable to resign his situation as commander-in-chief, to which sir David Dundas was appointed; and when this change was announced, the house of commons resolved, that it was unnecessary to proceed any farther on the minutes of evidence taken before the committee.

During this session, a criminatory charge was brought against lord Castlereagh, on a singular occasion. While this nobleman was at the head of the board of control, he had held a correspondence with a man of the name of Reding, who professed his ability to procure a seat in parliament for one of his lordship's friends, provided he could be accommodated, in return, with a writership for India, an appointment worth about three thousand pounds. It did not appear that any positive engagement was entered into; but the negotiation transpired, and the matter was made the subject of a motion, the object of which was, to bring down upon the noble lord a vote of censure. The debate that ensued was warm, but the motion was overthrown by a counter one, "that the house of commons, on considering the whole of the case, did not see any necessity for a criminatory resolution."

On the 12th of May, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced his financial plan; which exhibited, among the ways and means, nineteen millions for the war taxes, and eleven millions as a loan. This was the last important business of the session, which ended on the 21st of June.

From this view of domestic affairs, we must direct our attention to the state of the continent; which was now exhibiting new scenes of lawless rapacity and insatiable ambition. Buonaparte, on his return from Spain, at the beginning of the year, began to entertain apprehensions that Austria intended to take part with the Spaniards. To counteract this design, he instantly put his troops in motion, which, early in March, crossed the Rhine; and at the same time, Eugene Beauharnois, the viceroy of Italy, collected a large army on that side, to keep the Austrians in check. The Imperialists, on the other hand, were not inactive, but passed the Inn at the beginning of April, in consequence of which, the king of Bavaria, who was in alliance with France, retired to Augsburg. On the 18th of that month, Napoleon entered Ingoldstadt; and, soon after, the archduke Charles made himself master of Ratisbon, the garrison surrendering at discretion. This turn of fortune, however, was soon counteracted, for, four days after, the two grand armies encountered each other at Eckmuehl; when the Austrians were defeated at all points, and only saved from utter ruin by the darkness of night. The fugitives endeavoured to take shelter at Ratisbon, but were driven from thence, and forced to cross the Danube. The consequence of this victory was, the evacuation of Vienna by the imperial family, and the entrance of Napoleon into that city on the 12th of May. Here the conqueror published a decree, calling upon the Hungarians to "shake off the yoke of the house of

Austria; and promising them, that, under the auspicious protection of France, they should preserve their lands inviolate, and recover their ancient liberties and rights." The people to whom this pompous proclamation was made, were too well familiarised with the character of the French ruler, and too strongly attached to the descendants of their ancient monarchs, to be drawn from their allegiance by such fallacious allurements. In the mean time, the archduke Charles hastened towards Vienna; but, on being apprised of its fate, he moved along the northern bank of the Danube, and entrenched himself in a strong position, between that capital and Presburg. The French army, for the purpose of watching and counteracting this force, advanced on the opposite side of the river. Having constructed bridges, Napoleon passed his troops across the Danube without opposition, and then occupied a position between Esling and Asperne. Here, on the 21st of May, as soon as it was light, a sanguinary conflict began, which lasted without interruption till night parted the combatants; the French being driven from Esling, but still keeping possession of Asperne. The next morning, the battle was renewed with increased resolution; and, in the end, the Austrians succeeded in turning the right flank of the French, who then recrossed the river. The victory, however, hardly deserved the name, for though the Austrians made a number of prisoners, and had forced Napoleon to retreat to the isle of Lobau, in the middle of the Danube, they lost, on their part, twenty thousand men. That of the enemy was also immense, and among the slain was the celebrated general Lasnes, one of the first officers in the service.

The situation of Buonaparte was now extremely critical, for he and his army were cooped up within a narrow compass, and surrounded on all sides by foes, from whose vengeance every thing was to be dreaded. In this state, nothing was wanted to complete the destruction of the French, but incessant activity on the part of their opponents; instead of which, the archduke most unaccountably remained a passive observer of his formidable antagonist. This was the more surprising, as the Tyrolese, encouraged by the late success, had taken up arms, and were now annoying the invaders and oppressors of their country, with resistless celerity and courage. In the north of Germany, also, a similar spirit had begun to manifest itself, and there seemed to be a general disposition to rise against the French, through every part of the continent.

On the side of Italy, the Austrians, commanded by the archduke John, captured the cities of Padua and Vicenza; but, on proceeding to join his brother, he was followed by Eugene Beauharnois, and the two armies encountered each other near Raab, in Hungary, where the Imperialists suffered a total defeat, in consequence of which, that strong fortress fell into the hands of the victors.

Amidst all these operations and movements, the archduke Charles continued in his position, keeping Napoleon in check; while the latter was secretly preparing the means of recommencing offensive operations with greater vigour and effect. The two armies remained in this extraordinary state of quiescence near six weeks, when, all of a sudden, the archduke was alarmed by the appearance of the French, who, in the course of one night, had thrown a new bridge, of wonderful dimensions, across the river, and taken up a position in front of his lines, at Wagram. The prince made several attempts to outflank the enemy, but in vain; and, on the 6th of July, the Austrians, after a bloody conflict, were obliged to retreat into Moravia. Thither they were followed by Napoleon, who, while engaged in the pursuit, received a proposal to negotiate, from the emperor Francis. The overture was readily accepted, and an armistice took place; but the treaty was not concluded till the month of October, when an accession of territory, from the imperial dominions, was assigned to the king of Bavaria; the emperor of Russia, and the new king of Saxony, being rewarded with large portions of Austrian Poland.

Napoleon, in terminating this contest, was not unmindful of his brother Joseph, whose title to the Spanish throne was formally recognised on the part of the emperor of Austria; who added disgrace to his humiliation, by abandoning the faithful Tyrolese to the vindictive fury of their oppressors.

Another instance of French ascendancy occurred this year, in the dethrone-

ment of Gustavus IV. king of Sweden, by his relative, the duke of Sudermania, who assumed the name of Charles XIII. The deprived monarch, while in prison, signed a renunciation of the crown, not only for himself, but his issue; after which he obtained his liberty, on condition of leaving the kingdom. The immediate effect of this revolution was, the restoration of peace between Sweden, Russia, France, and Denmark, while all intercourse with England was nearly suspended.

Our attention must now be directed to the south of Europe, where the French, after the unfortunate retreat of sir John Moore, exerted themselves to the utmost, to accomplish the reduction of Spain and Portugal. On the 26th of January, they made a desperate attack upon Saragossa, which was most vigorously defended, till the 27th of the following month, when the place, being no longer tenable, was entered by the besiegers, who, however, found the acquisition of little value, for most of the houses were destroyed, and twenty thousand of the inhabitants lay buried in the ruins.

But while the cause of the Spanish patriots languished, affairs wore a better appearance in Portugal, where general Beresford, having been created a field-marshal of the kingdom, was empowered to organize an army upon the English plan. The good effect of this confidence was soon perceived, for the Portuguese soldiers improved rapidly, and did eminent service against the common enemy, as well in detached parties, as in conjunction with more regular troops. On the 22d of April, sir Arthur Wellesley arrived in the Tagus, with fresh forces from England, at the head of which he pushed on, without delay, for Oporto, which was then in the possession of Soult, who, on the advance of the British commander, abandoned the place, and retired into Gallicia. Having thus cleared that part of Portugal, sir Arthur returned to the south, to encounter marshal Victor, who, after defeating the Spanish general Cuesta, had taken Alcantara; for the retention of which acquisition, however, he did not choose to risk an engagement, but retreated with great celerity to Guadiana. General Wellesley, on effecting a junction with Cuesta, at Oropesa, followed Victor, who, being also strongly reinforced, now determined to attack the combined army, which had taken up a position near Talavera de la Reyna, on the river Tagus.

At an early hour, on the 28th of July, the main body of the French was brought to bear upon the British, who sustained the assault with their wonted firmness; nor did the Spaniards display less bravery. The battle raged with great fury during the whole day; but though the enemy were superior in numbers, they were obliged to quit the field, leaving behind twenty pieces of cannon, a quantity of ammunition, and several prisoners. Their entire loss amounted to ten thousand men, and that of the English and Spaniards to six thousand. Thus the victory was complete, but, as the concentrated forces of the other French generals, Ney, Soult, and Mortier, were now in full march to recover the ground that had been lost, it was deemed most advisable for the allied troops to repass the Tagus, and retreat to Badajos.

While these operations were going on in that quarter, the Spanish patriots suffered severely through their want of management, the temerity of their leaders, and the preponderating force of their oppressors. General Blake, one of those characters who rise to distinction in troublesome times, by their zeal rather than their talent, ventured, with an undisciplined army, to make an attempt for the recovery of Saragossa. The consequence was, as might have been expected, that the unfortunate Spaniards were attacked by Suchet, and put to the rout. This disaster, however, had not the effect of producing more cautious measures. The marquis Arriazega, who commanded a large body of his countrymen in the centre of the kingdom, was hardy enough to march upon the capital; by which bold movement, on the 19th of November, he came into contact with the strength of the French force, led by Soult, Mortier, and Victor, at Ocana, on the south side of the Tagus; when, after an obstinate conflict, the patriots were defeated with a prodigious slaughter. Those who escaped the murderous sword, and the chain of captivity, fled to the mountains; and thus an army, which, properly employed, might have effected the liberation of Spain, was sacrificed, and this misfortune hastened the downfall of Gerona, which at length surrendered to Augereau.

But if the Spaniards were sufferers by their want of experience, the English had little reason to censure them for their rashness. Two expeditions undertaken this summer, each upon a large scale, and at a great expense, while they afforded proofs of the national resources, evinced, at the same time, an imbecility of judgment in the direction of them. In the month of June, sir John Stuart, who commanded the British forces in Sicily, embarked with a body of fifteen thousand regular troops, and a considerable number of auxiliaries, with a view of regaining the city of Naples. After taking and dismantling some of the forts on the adjacent islands, the general, finding the capital too strongly defended to give any hopes of success, returned, without accomplishing any thing by his enterprise, adequate to the parade and expense with which it was attended.

But this waste of means was trifling, compared with the extravagance of the other project, which was conducted nearer home, and directed against the enemy's coast. At the beginning of the spring, the dockyards were fully employed in fitting out an armament of thirty-nine sail of the line, thirty-six frigates, and a vast number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels, the command of which was given to sir Richard Strachan. These preparations being completed, forty thousand men, under the earl of Chatham, were embarked; and the whole of this formidable force sailed, at the end of July, for the mouth of the Scheldt. On the 1st of August, Flushing was invested, and after a vigorous resistance of thirteen days, the garrison surrendered at discretion. This acquisition, however important it might be under other circumstances, was of no value in the present instance, since Antwerp, the main object of the undertaking, was now placed in a state of defence, which precluded every attempt to get possession of it. The British troops were, it is true, masters of the river, by having seized the islands of Walcheren and South Beveland; but here they were inactive, and, in a short space, the marsh miasma swept off hundreds every day. But though government was not ignorant of the dreadful ravages committed by the pestilential fever at Walcheren, it was near the end of December before the remaining victims of this ill-advised and worse conducted enterprise, quitted a spot, where death reigned with more terror than in the field of battle.

The indignation excited against the managers of this ill-fated expedition, made the people almost indifferent to the success of the British arms in other parts of the globe.

In the West Indies, at the beginning of the year, general Prevost and admiral sir Alexander Cochrane reduced the valuable island of Martinique; while, about the same time, a joint force of English and Portuguese captured the French colony of Cayenne. The city of St. Domingo was also taken without loss by the British, and restored to the Spaniards. In the month of April, captain lord Cochrane, acting under the orders of admiral Gambier, attacked, with a division of small vessels and boats, a squadron of French ships lying in Basque roads, near Rochelle, and destroyed four of them, besides damaging the rest.

In the Mediterranean, a more important enterprise was undertaken by lord Collingwood and general Stuart, against Zante, Cephalonia, and the rest of the Seven Islands, all of which, on the 2d of October, surrendered to the British flag. At the end of the month, a detachment from the same fleet, under the command of admiral Martin, fell in with a French squadron and convoy, bound from Toulon to Spain; and succeeded in driving on shore all the ships of war; but the transports escaped into the bay of Rosas, where they were afterwards either taken or destroyed by another division, under the direction of captain Hallowell.

An unpleasant misunderstanding arose this year, between the British government and that of the United States. On the retirement of Jefferson from the office of president, and the election of Madison to that station, the embargo which had been rigorously enforced by the former, was repealed, and an act of congress passed, prohibiting all intercourse with France and England, unless one or both of those nations revoked its decrees against the commerce of neutrals. The British minister, Mr. Erskine, in consequence, took upon him to declare that the orders in council were unconditionally

rescinded; into which mistake he seems to have fallen, from not properly attending to the consideration, that the interdiction which had caused so much jealousy and resentment, was simply defensive on the part of Britain, and was necessarily connected with the Berlin and Milan decrees, issued by Buonaparte. As soon, therefore, as the cabinet was apprized of this unfortunate error, it lost no time in recalling the diplomatic agent who had so committed himself; but when his successor, Mr. Jackson, arrived in America, the public resentment there broke out into a flame, and the congress even went the length of refusing to receive the despatches of the new envoy, who, in consequence, retired to New-York.

At home, other circumstances arose of a disagreeable nature, tending to weaken the government, and to distract its councils. Mr. Canning, having an earnest and laudable wish to strengthen the cabinet, urged the employment of lord Wellesley as secretary of state for the war department. This measure he repeatedly recommended to the duke of Portland, and, at the same time, accompanied the advice with some remarks on the talents of lord Castlereagh, who held the office; which, when the latter became acquainted with, he very naturally resented. A duel ensued, in which Mr. Canning was severely wounded. The resignation of the duke of Portland at this crisis, induced his majesty to make an overture to earl Grey and lord Grenville, for the purpose of forming an efficient administration. This proposition, however, though perfectly unshackled by any condition, was most ungraciously received, and, in consequence, Mr. Perceval united the post of first lord of the treasury, with that of chancellor of the exchequer; the marquis of Wellesley took the seals of the foreign office; the earl of Liverpool became minister at war; and the honourable Richard Ryder, now lord Harrowby, succeeded the latter nobleman as secretary of the home department. These changes produced little effect upon the nation, and the spirit of loyalty was never more strongly expressed than on the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, when he entered on the fiftieth year of his reign. The day was celebrated as a jubilee throughout the empire, and all descriptions of persons appeared to vie with each other in evincing their grateful sense of the blessings they enjoyed, under a monarch whose whole life had been marked by unaffected piety, a conscientious regard to the duties of his high station and an exemplary discharge of the personal and social virtues.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1810.

ON the 23d of January, 1810, the parliament assembled by commission, for the despatch of business; when the principal points of the speech, delivered in the name of the king, turned upon the late unfortunate expedition to the Scheldt; as a contrast to which, the expulsion of the French from Portugal, by general, now lord viscount, Wellington, was mentioned in strong terms of congratulation. In the debates that followed upon the usual address, amendments were proposed, implying censure upon ministers, which, however, were negatived in both houses. The leaders of the opposition directed their oratorical artillery against the Walcheren expedition; and in the commons, the motion for a full inquiry into that calamitous business was carried by a majority of nine votes. In the course of the subsequent investigation, it appeared that the earl of Chatham, though one of his majesty's ministers, had made a private communication to the king, on the subject of the enterprise, in which document he endeavoured to justify himself, at the expense of sir Richard Strachan, the naval commander. After putting this apologetic narrative into the hands of the sovereign, lord Chatham desired that it might be returned, for the purpose of his making some alterations in it, and having so done, he re-delivered it to the king, who gave it to the secretary of state. This extraordinary transaction excited a lively sensation in parliament, and the house of commons came to a resolution upon it, declaring its "regret that such a communication should have been made to his majesty without any knowledge of the other ministers, and that such conduct was

highly reprehensible, and deserving of censure." In consequence of this vote, the earl of Chatham resigned his office as master-general of the ordnance. Sir Richard Strachan, feeling himself injured by this underhand conduct, presented a memorial to the admiralty, in which he gave a very plain statement of the operations, and fully cleared the naval department of the service from the unmerited imputation that had been cast upon it. In conclusion, the gallant admiral observed, "To impute to me, or to the navy, under the name of delay, the loss of time which was passed by me in constant solicitude, and by the men in unremitting toil, is not what I should have expected from lord Chatham."

While this inquiry was going on in an open committee of the house of commons, the public, for some unassigned reason, were excluded from admission into the gallery, on the motion of Mr. Yorke; so that a complete report of the proceedings could not be obtained. This occasioned much dissatisfaction among the people in general, and, at one of the debating clubs, it was made the subject of discussion. On the 15th of February, the streets of London were placarded with posting bills, stating, that, at the British Forum, this question had been canvassed, "Which was the greater outrage on the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order of the house of commons, for the exclusion of strangers, or Mr. Windham's attack on the liberty of the press? And that it was unanimously decided, that the enforcement of the standing order ought to be censured as an insidious and ill-timed attack on the liberties of the press."

The mode adopted of exciting public attention on this occasion, evinced the insignificance of the parties concerned; yet, most unaccountably, what ought to have been treated with silent contempt, was gravely brought forward in the house, as a breach of privilege; and the printer of the paper ordered to attend at the bar. This man freed himself, by giving up his employer, one Gale Jones, a broken apothecary, who was summoned to the bar, and sent to Newgate. During these transactions, sir Francis Burdett was not present, but the next time he attended in his place, which was on the 12th of March, he deprecated, in strong language, what had been done, and moved for the discharge of Jones. This, however, under such circumstances, would have been little better than a compromise of parliamentary dignity, and the motion was negatived. Some days afterwards, there appeared in one of the most inflammatory of the weekly journals, a letter from sir Francis Burdett, addressed to his constituents, in which the baronet flatly called in question the right of the house of commons to imprison any person whatever. This attack upon the constitutional power of parliament, could not well be passed over, coming as it did from one of the representatives of the people; who, as such, was bound to assert with jealousy the rights of the legislative body to which he belonged. The latter was accordingly brought under consideration, and, on the motion of Mr. Lethbridge, the speaker demanded of sir Francis, whether he was the author of it; to which he readily answered in the affirmative. Having gone thus far, it was impossible to recede; the paper therefore was immediately declared to be libellous and scandalous; and sir Francis Burdett was voted to have been guilty of a violation of the privileges of the house. These resolutions having passed, the next consideration was, what judgment should be inflicted upon the contumacious member. Here the house was placed in a strait, for, having sent Jones to Newgate on a trifling charge, compared with that of the baronet, it would have been strange indeed, had the offence of the latter been visited with a less punishment. Some, indeed, would have passed the matter over with a reprimand; which, under other circumstances, might have been the most prudent measure, but, on a principle of justice, there existed no alternative; and, accordingly, the motion of sir Robert Salusbury, for the commitment of sir Francis Burdett to the Tower, was carried. The speaker, upon this, issued his warrant, which the sergeant-at-arms was ordered to execute. That officer, however, in the plenitude of politeness, and unwilling to be severe in the discharge of his duty, took the word of the baronet to be in readiness the next morning, and retired. But on informing the speaker of what he had done, he received a stern rebuke for not obeying his orders. The

sergeant then returned, in order to execute his commission; but was now peremptorily told by sir Francis, that he would not submit, unless compelled to do so by force.

A delay in consequence took place, for the purpose of taking legal opinion as to the course to be pursued, and, in the mean time, the baronet put his house into a state of defence; while the streets were filled with large parties of the populace, bent upon mischief. The soldiers were called out, to preserve order, which occasioned some conflicts; but at length, a detachment of the police succeeded in getting into the house, through the kitchen, and sir Francis being hurried into a coach, was carried off so rapidly, by a circuitous route, that the mob had scarcely any knowledge of his removal till he was safely lodged in the Tower. On their return through the city, the soldiers were so furiously attacked by the enraged populace, that one of them, who had been struck on the head by a brick-bat, drew out his pistol, and mortally wounded the assailant.

The western part of the metropolis was kept in a state of great alarm after this, till the end of the session, on the 21st of June, when the liberation of sir Francis and Jones followed of course. A vast assemblage of persons from all parts collected, for the purpose of forming a procession from the Tower; but, to the great mortification of these political zealots, the baronet very wisely went across the river, and returned home in a private manner. This was the only act of prudence that distinguished his conduct, for nothing could be more repugnant to the principle of sound discretion, than the wild scheme of resisting authority, by which the peace of the country was disturbed, and lives were sacrificed without the smallest plea of justification. Sir Francis had the law to appeal to if he was wronged, and he did subsequently bring his actions against the governor of the Tower, the sergeant-at-arms, and the speaker of the house of commons, in all of which he failed; so that his contest with the legislative power, to say the least of it, argued a gross want of judgment.

From these domestic troubles, our attention must now be directed to the state of the war on the continent. At the beginning of the year, the French made themselves masters of Jaen, Cordova, Ocana, and Malaga, but the latter city was not won without a severe struggle, at the end of which, many of the principal inhabitants found refuge on board the English ships of war, then lying off the harbour.

These successes induced the usurper to publish an address to the Spanish people, in which he promised them all the blessings of French protection, on their submission, but threatened them with utter extirpation in case of disobedience. This denunciation was followed up by the march of general Victor to Seville, from whence the supreme junta removed, on his approach, to the Isle of Leon, near Cadiz. The city of Seville being in no capacity to resist an assault, opened its gates to the invaders, who found in the place a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. At this critical period, a difference broke out between the provisional government and the British minister, occasioned by the refusal of the former to admit any English regiments into Cadiz: in consequence of which, his excellency declared, that, if this resolution was persisted in, his Britannic majesty would withdraw the whole of his force, naval and military, and leave the contest to be decided by the Spaniards alone. As there was too much reason to suspect the fidelity of the junta, the duke of Albuquerque, who commanded the army in Estremadura, hastened with all speed to Cadiz, which he entered on the 3d of February, and immediately formed a complete junction with the English troops, for the defence of the place. The junta was at the same time dissolved, and, until a general Cortes, or the parliament of the kingdom, should be assembled, a regency of five persons was appointed, to act in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh. On the 10th of the same month, marshal Soult sent a summons to the duke of Albuquerque, demanding the surrender of Cadiz; to which he received an answer of defiance. The preparations for the siege then began, but the work went on slowly, for the assailants were much annoyed by the Guerillas, or armed peasantry, who now, by the celerity of their movements, did more execution than regular armies. These hardy mountaineers, who were expert marksmen, and

thoroughly acquainted with all the defiles of the country, came suddenly upon the French, in their quarters, and while on their march, harassing them by night and by day; intercepting their convoys, and cutting off their foraging parties. There remained, besides, some formidable armies, under Blake, Castanos, and O'Donnell; who, improving by their former disasters, now avoided general actions, and contented themselves with making diversions, which crossed the movements of the French, and often distracted their plans. The invaders, on their part, were not inactive; and a reinforcement of eighty thousand men, under Massena, destined to act against Portugal, gave them the promise of a speedy termination of this obstinate contest. The first object of this force was, the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, which, after a formidable cannonade, and a stout resistance, surrendered at discretion, on the 10th of July. The fall of this strong fortress was followed, at the end of August, by that of Almeida, which was garrisoned by English and Portuguese, under the command of general Cox, who held out till the explosion of the principal magazine of powder compelled him to surrender on honourable terms, that were offered him by Massena. On hearing of these misfortunes, lord Wellington, who was at Guarda, thought proper to call in his divisions, and retreat towards Lisbon. The plan which he had formed, was purely of a defensive nature, and knowing well that the enemy would follow, in order to bring on a decisive battle, his lordship adopted the rigorous, but necessary course, of compelling the Portuguese to leave their homes, and retire upon the capital, that the French might be deprived of all supplies. In the middle of September, Massena was at Viseu, and the British commander on the Sierra Busaco. Here the marshal resolved upon an attack, which he carried into execution on the 27th, when the French soldiers pushed up the acclivities with determined spirit, and one division reached the summit, from whence they were precipitated by the bayonet, so that two thousand of them were left dead on the spot. Massena, however, persevered in his attempt to dislodge the allied troops, and turning their position, made a rapid march, in a circuitous direction, for Coimbra. Lord Wellington, perceiving his object, lost no time in hastening thither also, and with such celerity, as to reach the place before the French could enter it. From thence his lordship proceeded to the lines which he had previously caused to be thrown up at Torres Vedras, within ten leagues of Lisbon. Massena was equally on the alert, and, having already made a public boast that he would plant the imperial eagles on the walls of Lisbon, and drive the English into the sea, he now fancied that there was nothing to prevent him from redeeming his lofty pledge. In his advance, however, he was exceedingly mortified at finding the country depopulated, and nothing left for the accommodation of his troops. But his chagrin exceeded all bounds, when, on his arrival in front of the lines, where the British were entrenched, he found them so admirably constructed, as to render an attack too desperate an enterprise to be undertaken with the least chance of success. Nor did his mortification end here, for he now saw, that in pursuing a retreating foe, he had multiplied his own difficulties, and increased the advantages of his skilful opponent.

In this situation, Massena did all that his straitened circumstances would permit, by fixing his head-quarters at Santarem, and continuing a chain of posts along the right bank of the Tagus, as far as Upper Beira, with the view of keeping up his connexions with Spain; notwithstanding which, his supplies were scanty, and frequently intercepted, so that the troops soon began to suffer dreadfully from the want of provisions, and the continual attacks to which they were exposed. Thus were they cooped up through the greatest part of the winter, with a formidable enemy in their front, and an impoverished country in their rear; while the foe whom they durst not encounter, had the road to Lisbon at his command, and the sea open for the reception of supplies and reinforcements of every kind.

In the mean time, the Cortes assembled at Cadiz, on the 24th of September, and what was very remarkable, the elections for that representative body had been carried on, though privately of course, even in those places which were in the possession of the French. The first proceeding of this convention of the states was, to swear allegiance to the legitimate monarch

Ferdinand, and to declare that the renunciations which had taken place at Bayonne, were void, as being compulsory, and contrary to the will of the nation. The next measure was, to nominate a regency of three chiefs, for the government of the kingdom in the absence of the sovereign.

While these transactions were passing in Spain, the French ruler, contemning all respect for any law except that which emanated from his own will, was exercising his power in other quarters without opposition. At the beginning of the year, he repudiated his wife Josephine, under the pretext that it was expedient for the glory of the great nation, that the dynasty of Napoleon should be perpetuated in a regular lineage. Thus the bond of marriage was to be broken for a political purpose; and, to complete the outrage upon all moral principle, the usurper demanded, and received, the hand of Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor Francis, and the niece of the murdered Marie Antoinette. He that could thus trample at his pleasure upon divine and human institutions, was not likely to be restrained from infringing the rights of mankind by any considerations of honour or justice. Napoleon had, as we have seen, converted the republic of the United Provinces into a monarchy, for his brother Louis; but now the imperial despot thought it necessary to depose this near relative also, and to merge the kingdom of Holland in the empire. Forty thousand soldiers were accordingly sent into the country, to enforce the mandate, and, at the end of June, Louis received orders to deliver up the city of Amsterdam to the French authorities. The Hanse Towns, and all the territory from the Elbe to the Ems, were disposed of in the same way; while Hanover was not only deprived of its electoral dignity, but even of its very name, and made a part of the new kingdom of Westphalia.

In Sweden, this year, another extraordinary change took place, which terminated in furthering the views of Buonaparte. On the 29th of May, the prince of Augustenburg died suddenly; and the diet, which assembled in August, on the recommendation of Napoleon, elected marshal Bernadotte, who had been a sergeant originally in the French service, and declared him the presumptive heir to the throne. The consequence of this new revolution was a rupture with England; but as Sweden now was too much enfeebled to become a formidable enemy, this addition to the number of belligerents did not materially affect the operations of the war.

To secure the northern trade, however, it was deemed necessary to take possession of the Danish isle of Anholt, in the Categat, which service was accomplished without much difficulty. The importance and natural strength of this place may be estimated by the circumstance, that, a few months after its capture, the Danes made an attempt to retake it, with a flotilla, and near four thousand men; but were repulsed by the garrison, which consisted of no more than four hundred. In another quarter, the British were equally successful, for Murat, thinking his dominion incomplete without the attainment of Sicily, fitted out a considerable armament, and, on the 18th of September, a landing was effected near the Faro of Messina; but the invaders, being encountered by two English regiments, were put to the route, and, after losing a number of men, were obliged to retreat to their gun-boats.

In the eastern hemisphere, the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with the adjacent spice islands, were taken at the beginning of the year; and, in the course of the summer, Banda, with its dependencies, surrendered to the crew of a single frigate. In the month of July, a force of Europeans and Sepoys, sent from Madras, took possession of the Isle of Bourbon without opposition; but an attempt that was made soon after, by four frigates, to cut out of the harbour of Sud Est, in the Mauritius, three French ships of war, with their prizes, failed and all the English vessels were taken or destroyed. The enemy, however, were not suffered long to exult in this advantage; for, at the end of November, a formidable military force landed on the same island, which, on the 3d of December, surrendered to his Britannic majesty. This acquisition rewarded the captors with a rich booty, as, besides the stores found on the island, there were twenty-eight merchant ships, five frigates, and two English prizes in the harbour.

After securing this valuable conquest, three frigates were sent to Mada-

gascar, where the crews totally destroyed the forts which the French had hitherto been suffered to retain on that coast; and from whence they were enabled to commit considerable depredations on British commerce.

The domestic state of England at the close of this year, was clouded by the demise of Amelia, the youngest daughter of the king; on whose finger, in her last moments, the princess placed a ring, enclosing some of her own hair, saying, as she did it, "Remember me." This affecting incident was too much for the venerable monarch, and his mind never afterwards recovered from the shock which it occasioned. The princess died on the 2d of November, and, as the king was incapable of convening parliament in due form, the precedent of the year 1788, for the appointment of a regency, was adopted in every respect.

CHAP. XC.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1811.

THE business of the regency being settled, parliament was regularly opened by a commission, on the 22d of February, 1811; when the first subject of moment that came under consideration, was the state of Ireland, where the Catholics had formed a representative assembly, not merely for their own particular relief from the penal statutes, but for general purposes. In consequence of this alarming measure, the lord-lieutenant caused a circular letter to be sent to the sheriffs of the counties, ordering them to suppress all such meetings, and to imprison those who should be concerned in calling or attending them. This necessary proceeding on the part of the Irish government gave great offence to the members of opposition, and some warm debates ensued upon it, in both houses; when the fact came out, that the Catholic convention assumed all the forms of a parliament, and had even a standing committee of grievances, which held weekly sittings. The case, as made out by ministers, was so clear, that, when the Catholic petition, at the end of May, came before the house of commons, the motion of Mr. Grattan, that the same should be referred to a committee, was rejected by a majority of sixty-three. The fate of the petition in the lords was equally decisive, the numbers being for it sixty-two, and against it one hundred and twenty-one. In the discussion of this question, much stress was laid upon the opinions of Mr. Pitt, when it appeared very plain, from the evidence of all who were most intimately connected with him, that the more he thought on the subject, the more he was perplexed between granting the required concessions, and providing adequate securities for the Protestant religion in Ireland. This defeat did not intimidate the Catholics, neither could the vigilance of the magistracy prevent them from calling a new assembly of delegates at Dublin; in consequence of which, some arrests took place, and the acting secretary was brought to trial, but acquitted. This triumph produced other meetings, at which resolutions of a very inflammatory nature were passed, in defiance of the laws, and contempt of the executive government; after which, a general convention was agreed to be held early in the ensuing year.

The war carried on by Napoleon against British commerce had now a very alarming effect, and numerous failures took place in the mercantile world, owing to the suspension of trade, and the depreciation of credit. The gold coin was so scarce, that guineas were purchased at twenty-five shillings each, and sometimes even at a higher rate. Under these circumstances, on the recommendation of a committee of the house of commons, a vote passed for the issue of six millions in exchequer bills, to relieve such persons as could give sufficient securities for the repayment of the monies received. For the current service of the year, twelve millions were borrowed; and a vote of credit for three millions was passed. In order to strengthen the paper currency, two measures were adopted: one, making it penal to take bank of England notes under their nominal value; and the other, legalizing the tender of them for rent.

The re-appointment of the duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief, on the resignation of sir David Dundas was made the subject of com-

plaint in the lower house, by lord Milton, who moved a resolution, characterizing the measure as "highly improper and indecorous;" but the great body of members viewed the matter in a different light, and rejected the motion by a majority of two hundred and fifty-two votes.

But the subject which produced the most extraordinary sensation during this session of parliament, was the bill introduced by lord Sidmouth, to amend and explain the act of toleration. Owing to the loose and undefined terms of that statute, great numbers of the lowest and most ignorant of the people took out licenses, as dissenting teachers, at the quarter-sessions for the peace, in many districts, for the purpose of screening themselves from serving in the militia, or providing substitutes. At the time when the act of toleration was passed, the persons intended to be benefited by it, were men of respectable character, properly educated, and duly appointed to the pastoral charge in their several congregations. Latterly, however, swarms of preachers went strolling over the country, under the protection of a license from the magistrates; which gross abuse of the act was as injurious to the regular dissenters, as to the established church. To correct this mischief, and render public instruction efficient, by restricting it to persons duly qualified, the noble viscount proposed, that no license should be granted, without the exhibition of testimonials from persons of respectability, stating the qualifications of the applicants, and their appointment to some specific congregation. To all appearance, there was nothing objectionable in such a regulation, but, on the contrary, it might have been expected, that all friends to good order, whether in or out of the establishment, would have supported it. At first, little opposition was made; but, in its progress, the bill met with such a fierce resistance, that it was not deemed advisable to proceed with the measure any farther.

On the 25th of July, this long session of parliament was closed by commission, when the chancellor, in the name of the regent, congratulated both houses on the improved prospect of affairs in the peninsula; and also on the benefit that had resulted from the system recently adopted, for the annual supply of the regular army, and for the interchange of the militia regiments of Great Britain and Ireland.

From this sketch of internal politics, our attention must now be directed to a survey of military operations. The campaign in Spain began with the new year, when Suchet gained possession of Tortosa, a place so strong by nature and art, that its speedy capture excited great surprise, and some suspicion. The fall of this important post was as quickly followed by that of Olivenca; and, about the same time, the patriots sustained another severe loss, in the sudden death of the noble-minded and enterprising Romana. He was succeeded by general Mendizabel, who was soon afterwards totally defeated by Soult. But while fortune thus appeared to favour the usurpers, a gleam of hope began to dawn upon the Spaniards, and the French were doomed to experience a mortification in their turn. While Victor continued to invest Cadiz, without being able to make any impression upon its defences; the English general, sir Thomas Graham, embarked a body of troops, part of whom were Portuguese and Spaniards, and proceeding to Algesiras, landed there on the 28th of February. From thence he marched circuitously to occupy the heights of Barossa, an extensive chain overlooking the plain of Chiclana, and affording facilities for annoying the operations of the besieging army. He arrived at this ridge on the 5th of March, and the same day commenced an attack upon the rear of the French lines, in which the allies proved signally victorious, though the enemy far exceeded them in numbers. The loss on the part of the French, consisted of about three thousand, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; among whom were the two generals, Bellegarde and Rufin, the former being slain on the spot, and the latter dying soon afterwards. Having thus weakened the forces of the besiegers, and convinced them that their situation was far from being secure, the allied troops returned to Cadiz, taking with them one eagle, six pieces of cannon, and a quantity of ammunition.

At the time when this brilliant affair took place, Marshal Massena, who had lain for so many months inactive before the lines of Torres Vedras, find-

ing that his chances of driving the English into the sea were now hopeless, and that his own situation became worse every hour, thought it expedient to break up his camp at Santarem, and make his retreat into Spain. Accordingly, after spiking his heavy artillery, and committing all the devastation that lay in his power, the French general set out at the beginning of March, followed by lord Wellington, whose forces annoyed his rear excessively, while the Portuguese militia and light troops harassed his foraging and other detached parties. So hasty was the retreat of Massena, that he abandoned his sick and wounded soldiers to the mercy of an irritated population; and yet, the French, regardless of the consequences to their unfortunate countrymen, committed, throughout the whole line of their march, the most wanton and unprovoked outrages upon the persons and property of the peasantry. At the end of the month, they reached the borders, and endeavoured to establish themselves at Guarda, but, on the approach of the allies, they were obliged to make another movement, and retired to Sabugal, where another action took place, on the 3d of April, and they were compelled to cross the Agueda. Lord Wellington having thus expelled his proud opponent from Portugal, began to make preparations for the siege of Almeida; and, in the mean time, it was agreed upon between him and marshal Beresford, who commanded the Portuguese army in Estremadura, to invest Olivenza and Badajoz. Olivenza surrendered on the 15th of April, and the operations against Badajoz were carried on with great activity till the 12th of May, when the approach of marshal Soult, in great force, obliged general Beresford, who conducted the siege, to remove, and take up a position near the village of Albuera, on the bank of the river of the same name. Here the allies were furiously attacked on the morning of the 16th, by the whole army of the French, who fell with their principal force upon the Spanish division, commanded by general Blake. After a determined resistance, the assailants succeeded in gaining the heights, which gave them a commanding ascendancy over the whole line. But they were not long suffered to retain this advantageous position, being driven from thence by the British reserve, under sir Lowry Cole; while baron Alten, of the German legion, successfully repelled every attempt that was made upon the bridge and village. The enemy having sustained a prodigious loss, and finding themselves baffled at every point, recrossed the river, and were only saved from a total rout by the deficiency of cavalry on the part of the allies.

In this gallant affair, there were six nations engaged, English, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, French, and Poles. The army of Soult consisted of near thirty thousand, of which four thousand were cavalry. The allies had about the same number of infantry, but their cavalry was far inferior. The loss in killed and wounded, on the side of the French, amounted, by their own account, to nine thousand men; but that of the allies was also very severe, both in men and officers. Numbers of the enemy died on the road in their retreat to Seville; and many were cut off while ranging the country for provisions, of which they were greatly in want. The immediate consequence of this victory was, the renewal of the siege of Badajoz; but, after two assaults, in both of which the allies suffered a great loss, lord Wellington, to avoid a rencounter with the united forces of Soult and Marmont, then on the march, broke up his camp, and retired to the right bank of the Guadiana. At the end of September, the British commander made a demonstration for an attack upon Ciudad Rodrigo; but while thus engaged, Marmont, with an army of sixty thousand men, advanced in the same direction, on which lord Wellington removed towards Salamanca. In the mean time, general Hill, with a separate detachment of English and Spaniards, fell in with a French corps under general Girard, at Arroyo del Molino, when a sharp action ensued, in which the latter was defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, and all his artillery and baggage.

But if the French were unsuccessful on this side, they proved too victorious in Catalonia, where by far the most affecting transactions that distinguished this sanguinary and inhuman war, occurred during the present campaign. At the end of April, Suchet laid close siege to Tarragona, but such was the determined loyalty of the inhabitants, that all ranks and orders

pressed forward gallantly in the defence of the city; and the French were repulsed in two desperate attempts to carry the place by assault. This resolute spirit, which ought to have commanded the respect of a generous enemy, had a contrary effect on the ferocious leader of the French army, and when, at length, his soldiers succeeded in gaining an entrance, nothing but indiscriminate slaughter marked their progress. Neither age nor sex was regarded, but all persons who fell in the way of these murderous ruffians, were put to the sword, pushed into the river, or thrown over the walls. Suchet having, to use his own phraseology, inflicted this terrible example, marched through the province of Catalonia, spreading death and desolation wherever he came. In September, he entered the province of Valencia, and laid siege to Murvi edro; which fortress also surrendered to him on the 26th of October, in consequence of the defeat of general Blake, who had the boldness to attack the besiegers in their camp. Suchet, having achieved this object, next advanced towards Valencia, but was again intercepted by Blake, when another battle occurred, on the 26th of November, which ended as the former, in the discomfiture of the patriots, who lost all their artillery and baggage. The city, however, into which the remainder of Blake's army threw themselves, held out, though invested on all sides, for some months.

While events thus fluctuated in the south, the hollow murmur of war began to be heard in the north of Europe. Napoleon, bent upon annihilating British commerce, determined to try what could be effected by a naval conscription; and, accordingly, issued a decree to that effect, ostensibly to equip a fleet which had long been preparing at Antwerp. At the same time, the most rigorous measures were carried on in Holland, and at Hamburgh, against every kind of English manufacture and colonial produce. All these proceedings tended to create jealousy and discontent among those people, who depended almost solely for their support upon the advantages of foreign trade. This was more particularly the case with the Swedes and Russians, who had no means of vending their own goods, or of obtaining many of the essential articles of life, but by a reciprocal exchange of commodities with Great Britain. On this account, therefore, a war with that country was deprecated as impolitic in the first instance, and, at length, became so ruinous, that fatal consequences were apprehended from its continuance. The evil, however, was aggravated to an intolerable degree, by the rigorous enforcement of the decrees, prohibiting the reception of English merchandise in any part of the continent. It was now seen, that, however much the proud islanders might be affected by this arbitrary interdict, the powers leagued with France, or under her control, suffered infinitely more from the suspended intercourse. Under these circumstances, the contest with England languished in the Baltic to such a degree, that the fleet commanded by sir James Saumarez, instead of injuring, proved the means of protecting trade in that sea. The Swedes and Russians navigated their own waters in perfect confidence; and passed and repassed the Sound without fear of being molested by English cruisers. All this could not escape the penetration of the French ruler, or of provoking his resentment. He saw that his mandate was only obeyed where his power was dreaded; and therefore he naturally enough concluded, that an opportunity alone was wanting to enroll the emperor Alexander again among the enemies of France. Napoleon, though aware that his new system of restriction upon commerce, had, by its ruinous consequences, increased the general hatred of the maritime states against him and his military government, had not as yet learnt to profit by experience. Instead of receding from an unpopular and mischievous course, he resolved to persevere in it; and, as the Russian potentate alone stood in his way, he determined to bring him to submission. Full of this project, he made a tour through Holland, and along the northern shores of Flanders and France, for the purpose of raising a marine force on a gigantic scale. But as his main reliance lay upon his military strength, he ordered a fresh levy of one hundred and twenty thousand conscripts, for the augmentation of his armies. He was the more emboldened to make these exertions, and filled with the assurance of success, from considering the reduced state of Austria and Prussia, two powers over whom he exercised, at this period, an unlimited sway. Hence, the confede-

deration of the Rhine appeared to render France more than a match for Russia, and accordingly, in the autumn of the present year, a muster of the contingent force took place at Mentz.

While Napoleon was thus humbling the continental states, and endeavouring to ruin the only power that had uniformly been opposed to his tyranny; England was extending her dominion over the ocean. The principal sufferer by being taken under French protection, was Holland, and this year completed the catalogue of her sacrifices. On the 5th of August, an armament, under general sir Samuel Auchmuty, arrived, from Madras, on the coast of Java, where a landing was effected a few leagues to the eastward of the Dutch city of Batavia, which place surrendered immediately afterwards. In the mean time, general Janssens, the governor, retired with his forces, amounting to ten thousand men, to the strongly fortified entrenchment of Cornelis; where they were attacked early in the morning of the 26th by colonel Gillespie and colonel Gibbs, who forced the lines, and slew a vast number of the enemy, besides taking many prisoners. Janssens, with some cavalry, fled into the interior, whither he was followed by sir Samuel Auchmuty, and compelled to surrender. With this valuable conquest, fell also the islands of Madura and Banca; the capture of which completed the extinction of the commerce of the Dutch in this part of the world.

Of the few naval occurrences of this year, the most distinguished was an action fought off the coast of Dalmatia, on the 18th of March, between an English squadron of four frigates, commanded by commodore Hoste, and five French ships of superior force, and six smaller vessels. The enemy, confident of success, bore down upon the English line, in order to separate it, but failed in the attempt; and met with such a reception, that two of them struck their colours, one ran on shore, and the others dispersed. In this gallant affair, the French admiral was killed and his ship destroyed. Another of the frigates, after ceasing her fire, and surrendering, escaped, according to the custom of the French marine, and got safe into port. Another severe engagement took place in the month of May, between two squadrons of frigates, off Madagascar. The French ships, three in number, and full of soldiers, were sent out to relieve the Mauritius, but, on approaching the island, and seeing the English flag flying, they bore away under a press of sail. Captain Schomberg, with three frigates and a sloop, soon followed, and an action was brought on, which lasted for the greater part of two days, when the French commodore struck, as did another ship, but this last seized an opportunity of escaping. After accomplishing this service, the victors proceeded to Tamatava, which they retook from the French; together with one of the frigates that had been in the late engagement.

But splendid as these achievements were, and dauntless as British valour proved, whenever it came into contact with the enemy, the war of the elements occasioned the most tremendous disasters. In the Baltic, the St. George, of ninety-eight guns, admiral Reynolds, and the Defence, of seventy-four, captain Atkins, were wrecked on the coast of Jutland, where all the crews perished, except six men from the former, and eleven from the latter, ship. At the same time, the Hero, seventy-four, captain Newman, convoying a fleet in the North Sea, ran on one of the grounds off the Texel, when the whole crew suffered, and many of the merchant vessels foundered. At the beginning of the same gale, the Saldanha frigate, captain Pakenham, was lost off the northern coast of Ireland, and every person on board was drowned.

The heart of the country was much disturbed in the autumn of this year, by the serious riots which broke out in the manufacturing districts; particularly about Nottingham and Leicester. The occasion of these tumultuary proceedings was partly the decrease of employment, but principally the improvement that had taken place in the process of weaving stockings; by which manual labour was considerably abridged. Though great mischief was perpetrated in these commotions, and much depredation was committed on the property of the manufacturers, government took no steps to remedy the evil, till the following session of parliament.

Among the incidents of this year, it is proper to mention the return of the population, which was made in pursuance of the act of Mr. Rose; from

whence it appeared, that, notwithstanding the drainage produced by the war, there was an increase of above a million and a half since the census of 1801.

CHAP. XCI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1812.

ON the 7th of January, 1812, the British parliament was opened by commission; and, as it now appeared that all hopes of the royal recovery were at an end, the chancellor of the exchequer, early in the session, introduced his plan for the settlement of the household. Accordingly, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds was voted to the regent, for the space of a year; a grant of ten thousand pounds additional was made to the queen's income, and each of the princesses received an increase of nine thousand a year. It was the general expectation, that, as the period of limitation was on the point of terminating, a change in the ministry would have been formed; but this was not the case, for though an overture to that effect was made to lords Grenville and Grey, they both refused to co-operate with any of the persons then in office.

One of the first subjects, of a great political character, that engaged the attention of the legislature, was the state of the Roman Catholics, whose claims came under discussion in the house of lords, on a motion made by earl Fitzwilliam; and in the commons, by lord Morpeth. Both motions, however, were negatived by considerable majorities.

In consequence of the prevalence of frame-breaking and other riotous proceedings, throughout the manufacturing districts in the midland counties, parliament, at the beginning of the session, passed two acts for the more effectual suppression of such disorders. These additions to the penal code, however, did not pass without a vigorous opposition in both houses. Another measure proposed by ministers was also strenuously combated, and that with more success. On the motion for a grant of half a million, to cover the expenses of the barrack department, it appeared that large buildings for the guards were intended to be erected in the park of Mary-le-Bonne, which had recently fallen to the crown. The debates on this plan ran high; but though ministers gained a plurality of votes, they found it expedient to reduce the expenditure of their own accord.

While government was thus endeavouring to strengthen its popularity and interest, an event occurred, that at once threw the whole system into confusion, and suspended for a time the executive functions. On the 11th of May, as Mr. Perceval was passing through the lobby of the house of commons, to his seat, he received a pistol-shot in his left breast, which entered the heart. The consternation produced by this horrible assassination, created general alarm; but as the murderer did not attempt to escape, he was soon secured. On examination, it appeared that his name was John Bellingham, and that, having been engaged in some unfortunate mercantile speculations at Archangel, he conceived himself injured by the Russian government. On this subject he had made many applications to his majesty's ministers, abroad and at home, but without meeting with any redress; for which indeed it was easy to account, as there was nothing in his case to warrant their interference. Rankling with disappointment, Bellingham was resolved to avenge his imaginary wrongs, by putting to death one or other of the members of administration; for he had no particular animosity against the chancellor of the exchequer, with whom he had never held any communication. Unfortunately, however, that much lamented person happening to be the first that came in his way, fell a victim to his ferocious and indiscriminate thirst of blood. As the sessions at the Old Bailey came on in the following week, he was tried, convicted, and executed, justifying what he had done to the last.

Parliament, on this occasion, made an ample provision for the widow and children of the late minister, to whose personal worth, all parties united in bearing a willing testimony; but besides the claim which resulted from the private virtues of a man so prematurely and awfully cut off in the midst of his public duty, his death was considered as a sort of martyrdom by his political friends.

The disjointed state of the administration, produced by this melancholy catastrophe, induced the house of commons, on the motion of Mr. Stuart Wortley, to vote an address to the regent, praying him to take such steps as might be best calculated to form an efficient cabinet. The answer returned by his royal highness, was, that he would take the subject into his serious and immediate consideration. Accordingly, negotiations, under the royal authority, were opened with the distinguished leaders of the opposition; first through the marquis Wellesley, who, however, finding no chance of success, relinquished the office, which was then intrusted to earl Moira, with a result not at all more favourable. Lords Grenville and Grey insisted, among other things, upon a general change in the household establishment; with which proposition the prince regent was very willing to comply, but lord Moira, considering it as a degradation, refused his assent, and, by his advice, the old ministers, after having been three weeks out of place, resumed their official seats. Different attempts were made to shake their influence in parliament, but without effect; and, on the 9th of June, the earl of Liverpool was publicly announced as first lord of the treasury; and Mr. Nicholas Vansittart, as chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Harrowby was appointed president of the council; earl Bathurst, viscount Sidmouth, and lord Castlereagh, became secretaries of state; viscount Melville succeeded Mr. Yorke at the board of admiralty; and the latter gentleman was made teller of the exchequer; lord Eldon retained the office of chancellor, lord Westmoreland became privy-seal; and lord Moira, now rewarded with the garter, was appointed governor-general of India.

Soon after this arrangement, the new chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the financial plan, which had been prepared in the office of his predecessor. The supply demanded for the whole kingdom amounted to fifty-eight millions; of which sum, fifteen millions and upwards were to be raised by a loan for Great Britain; and somewhat more than four millions for Ireland. Near ten millions were funded of exchequer bills; the war taxes were taken at twenty millions and above; a vote of credit was passed for three millions; and two millions and a half were to be proposed as a loan to the India Company. The yearly taxes, and consolidated fund, supplied the remainder, and new imposts were called for, to the amount of near two millions more.

At the close of the session, Mr. Canning in the lower house, and the marquis Wellesley in the upper, moved a resolution, pledging parliament to take into consideration, early in the ensuing year, the state of the laws respecting the Catholics. This proposition was acceded to by both branches of the legislature; but with what effect will hereafter appear.

About the same time, a motion was made for an address to the regent, praying him to recall or suspend the orders in council, which had occasioned so much ill-will between England and the United States. But when the minister informed the house that it was the intention of government to adopt conciliatory measures towards America, the motion was withdrawn; and, soon afterwards, a proclamation appeared in the gazette, announcing the repeal of the obnoxious orders, as far as regarded the property of Americans, upon this condition only, that the government of the United States should also rescind or suspend its prohibitory decrees against British commerce. This measure, however, came too late, for the American president, Madison, had already prevailed upon the congress to declare war against Great Britain.

On the 30th of July, parliament closed its sitting, and, on the 29th of September, a dissolution took place.

We must now direct our attention to the military operations which were carried on during this eventful year, beginning with those in Spain. At the close of the preceding winter, the town of Tariffa in Andalusia, defended by one thousand British, under the command of colonel Skerret, and eight hundred Spaniards, was besieged by general Victor with ten thousand men. Notwithstanding this formidable force, the garrison held out bravely, and compelled the assailants to retire from before the place, on the 5th of January, leaving behind them their ammunition, artillery, and stores.

On the 8th of the same month, lord Wellington invested Ciudad Rodrigo;

which, in the course of ten days, surrendered after a desperate assault, made on five separate points, and every one attended with success. On this occasion, seventeen hundred men became prisoners of war, besides officers; but the British also sustained a great loss, in the death of general Mackinnon, who fell in the very act of cheering on his party to the breach. The number of killed and wounded, on the part of the victors, amounted to twelve hundred.

Lord Wellington having secured this important fortress, advanced towards Badajoz, which was then blockaded by general Hill and marshal Beresford. The siege was carried on with great vigour, and, on the 7th of April, the governor surrendered, though not till the assailants had gained, by storm, the principal works. The garrison lost twelve hundred out of five thousand men; and the besiegers above double the number.

The reduction of Badajoz completely disorganized the plans of the French in the peninsula, and Marmont, who had penetrated into Portugal, found it necessary to take a retrograde course; while Soult, who had advanced as far as Villa Franca, retreated with equal precipitation out of Estremadura, followed and harassed by the British cavalry, under general Cotton. Lord Wellington, with his wonted activity, followed up these advantages, by detaching general Hill to destroy the bridge of Almarez, forming the principal communication by which an army of any force could cross the Tagus. This pass was strongly fortified by new works, in addition to the castle and redoubts of Mirabeto. The whole, however, was carried by escalade, on the 19th of May, and the enemy, by destroying the bridge themselves, caused the destruction of a great number of their companions in arms, who were drowned in endeavouring to cross the stream. Marmont, on hearing of this achievement, wavered as to the line of conduct he ought to pursue. At length, having some assurance of being reinforced, he took up the resolution of fortifying the outposts of Salamanca, and there to wait the issue of a battle. Lord Wellington appeared before that place on the 16th of June, when the French commander immediately retired behind the Tormes, leaving the works which he had constructed, to be defended by a considerable force. The British, however, soon succeeded in getting possession of the fortifications, which contained a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores. Lord Wellington now pushed forward to attack the French, who hastily retreated across the Douro, destroying the bridges, to impede their pursuers, after which they concentrated all their strength at Tordesillas, where general Bonnet enlivened them by bringing up to their aid such an addition of force, as gave them now a preponderating superiority in point of numbers over the allies. Marmont, upon this, extended his right to Toro, where he repaired the bridge, and appeared as though he intended to cross at that place; but, altering his intention, he made a sudden march again upon Tordesillas, and, having passed the whole of his army over the river at that point, turned the flank of the allies at Castrogon. By this bold manœuvre, the French general re-opened his communication with the capital, and the main army in the centre; besides which, he had it in his power to choose his opportunity of venturing a general engagement, according to circumstances. For some time, he baffled all the efforts of lord Wellington to bring on a battle; and a series of movements took place on both sides, in all of which the utmost skill was displayed, as well as valour.

At length, on the 21st of July, the allied army concentrated on the Tormes; and, the same day, Marmont pushed his force over the same river, apparently with the intention of making an attempt upon Ciudad Rodrigo. For two days successively, various evolutions were practised, to divert the attention of the British commander, whose eye penetrated and circumvented them all. Marmont, at one time, threatened the left of the allied army, but, finding it too strong to be assailed with any chance of success, he made another demonstration on the right flank, which was equally formidable.

While Marmont was exerting all his tactical skill to discover a vulnerable point, where he might make a dash with success; his no less able antagonist was watching for an opportunity to execute a stroke on the French line. This favourable moment at last appeared, in the lengthening out of the flanks, and weakening the centre; which lord Wellington no sooner perceived, than

he ordered an instantaneous attack to be made on all the three points. General Pakenham began the assault on the enemy's left, and with such impetuosity, that though the French made a determined resistance, they gave way; but joined the right, which also was soon thrown into confusion; while the centre was driven from a strong position on an eminence, by general Pack. A complete disorder now ensued, and the pursuit was continued throughout the night, as well as the next day, in the early part of which the rear-guard of the French was overtaken and dispersed, the cavalry leaving the infantry, of whom three battalions surrendered themselves to the victors, who found, on the field of battle, and in the rout, eleven pieces of cannon, three eagles, and six stands of colours, with an immense quantity of stores and ammunition. Five generals, three colonels, one hundred and thirty other officers, of different ranks, were taken; besides seven thousand private soldiers. Marmont and Bonnet being both wounded, the command devolved on general Clausel, who endeavoured to make a stand on the Douro; but in vain, for when the allies approached, he made a hasty retreat upon Burgos. Such was the victory of Salamanca, which was the more glorious, as being gained over a superior numerical force, commanded by one of the first generals in the French service. The loss of the allies consisted of about seven hundred killed, and four thousand wounded. Among the former was major-general Le Marchant; and the list of the latter included lieutenant-generals Leith, Cole, and Cotton, which last was shot at inadvertently by a British soldier, but, happily, the wound had no dangerous consequence.

Lord Wellington now marched to Madrid, from whence Joseph Buonaparte made a precipitate retreat to Almanza, and, on the 12th, the allies entered the capital, where the garrison that had been left in the Reteiro shortly after surrendered prisoners of war. The French generals now saw the necessity of concentrating their scattered forces, and accordingly, Soult, on the 24th of August, broke up from before Cadiz, to form a junction with Suchet, for the recovery of Madrid; while Clausel, with the remnant of Marmont's army, marched in the direction of Burgos, which place was strengthened by new works and a numerous garrison.

In the mean time, lord Wellington quitted the capital, and proceeding first to Valladolid, which he cleared of the enemy, advanced upon Burgos, where he immediately commenced an active siege. On the 11th of October, a mine was sprung, and the breaches were immediately stormed with such effect, that some of the assailants actually entered the place, but met with such a reception, as compelled them to retreat. Fresh operations now began, and another attempt to carry the fortress by storm was about to be made, when the appearance of a French army, and the defection of the Spanish general Ballasteros, compelled lord Wellington to raise the siege, and retire, after calling in his dispersed forces, to the frontiers of Portugal, where, towards the end of November, he fixed his head-quarters at Freynada. Ballasteros, for his conduct on this occasion, which had very nearly proved the entire destruction of the Spanish cause, was arrested by order of the Cortes, and banished to the African fortress of Ceuta.

CHAP. XCII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1812.

WHILE the war thus fluctuated in Spain, scenes of a still more tremendous and eventful description were occurring in the north. At the beginning of the year, Napoleon saw that the emperor of Russia was no longer disposed to endure those arbitrary restrictions upon commerce, which the usurper, out of enmity to England, had thought proper to impose upon all the nations with whom he condescended to form an alliance. A rupture, therefore, soon became inevitable, and Alexander lost no time in preparing for the formidable conflict which he foresaw was about to take place. In addition to the army which he had already on foot, he ordered a levy of two men in every five hundred, throughout his vast dominions. Napoleon, on his side, was equally active, and, early in the spring, immense bodies of French troops

passed through Germany towards Poland; while, at the same time, the various contingents of the Rhenish confederation took the same direction. A triple league was now concluded between France, Prussia, and Austria, by virtue of which the two latter powers stipulated to send their forces also into the field, against the emperor Alexander; though obviously more under the influence of fear than from choice. The northern potentate, on his part, who had been for some time in a state of hostility with the Ottoman Porte, deemed it prudent to negotiate a peace, by which means he was enabled to bring together all his troops from that quarter, for the defence of his dominions, against the powerful combination with which they were now menaced.

On the 6th of June, Napoleon passed the Vistula, and published a manifesto, professing, but without any intention of fulfilling it, his design to restore the independence of Poland, and to place the duke of Wurtzburg on the throne. At the same time, however, he endeavoured to lure Alexander into a treaty, which the Russian monarch magnanimously declined on any other condition than that of an entire evacuation of Prussia and Poland by the French. Napoleon, indignant at this demand, immediately issued orders to march, for the purpose of passing the Niemen. "The conquered," observed he, "assume the tone of conquerors; fate drags them on, let their destinies be fulfilled." This declaration was accompanied by an address to his soldiers, which, as a curiosity, merits notice. "The second war of Poland," said he, "has commenced. The first was brought to a close at Friedland and Tilsit. Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war with England. She now violates her oaths. She refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, until the eagles of France shall have repassed the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy. Russia is dragged along by fatality! Her destinies must be accomplished! Shall she consider us as degenerate? Are we no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? Russia offers us the alternative of dishonour or war. The choice cannot admit of hesitation—let us march forward! Let us pass the Niemen! Let us carry the war into her territory. The second will be as glorious to the French armies as the first; but the peace which we shall conclude, will be its own guarantee, and put an end to that proud and haughty influence which Russia has for fifty years exercised in the affairs of Europe."

This proud boast was made on the 22d of June, and, the next day, the army passed over the Niemen, which, in that place, is navigable for large vessels. The estimate of the confederated army, according to the official account, was six hundred and forty thousand men, of whom two hundred and fifty thousand were French. Such was the vast force that now swelled the train of the modern Tamerlane, and appeared to threaten the extinction of the ancient throne of the czars. Napoleon immediately advanced to Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, and the chief town of Polish Russia; where he arrived on the 28th, and continued till the middle of the following month. In the mean time, several actions took place, and the French sustained two severe checks; the first in the attempt made by general Macdonald upon Riga, where he was repulsed; and the second in a battle fought on the 30th of July, at Polotsk, in which count Witgenstein defeated marshal Oudinot and general Wrede, who lost above ten thousand men in killed and wounded. The plan laid down by the Russians at the opening of the campaign, was to oppose the enemy at every place where an effectual stand could be made; but chiefly to harass his movements, and to distress his troops in the line of march, by cutting off the supplies, and destroying the towns and villages. In this desultory service, the Cossacks were employed to great advantage, and by their activity oftentimes threw terror even into the ranks of the moving army.

Napoleon now advanced to Smolensko, in front of which place he encountered the main Russian force, on the 17th of August, when, after a desperate conflict, the latter retreated through the city, which they set on fire, so that the French, on their arrival, found nothing but flames and ruins. Similar scenes of voluntary devastation occurred successively at Doroghoboni, Viasma, and Ghiat; which filled Buonaparte with rage, and made him vent the bitterest execrations against the perpetrators of these barbarities, as he called them.

Such spontaneous sacrifices certainly he had never met with before, either in Europe or Africa; but he did not rightly estimate the principle in which they originated, nor did he profit by them as he ought to have done, for the benefit of the numerous legions, who were dragged on by his ambition to a more horrible destiny than that which he had predicted to the Russians. The latter, who continued their retrograde steps, were now headed by Kutusoff, a veteran far advanced in life, covered with wounds received in numerous battles, and deprived of one eye. This aged warrior, however, had not lost his vigour of mind: and when Napoleon, who was no stranger to his military fame, heard of his appointment to the command, he began to be more wary and circumspect in his movements. Still, however, he determined to advance to Moscow, thinking that the possession of this ancient capital of the empire would complete his triumph, and at least furnish his troops with comfortable quarters for the winter. Kutusoff, whose force amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, threw himself on the great road leading to Moscow, and there waited for the enemy, with a fixed resolution to give him battle. On the 5th of September, the two armies came in sight of each other, and some skirmishing ensued. The next day was passed in reconnoitring, and, at five on the following morning, Napoleon, seeing the sky unclouded, said, "Behold the sun of Austerlitz!" At the same time, he issued an address to his soldiers, in which he said, "Victory depends on you; it is necessary for us; it will give us plenty, good quarters for the winter, and a speedy return to your country. Behave yourselves therefore in such a manner, that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride, and that it may say of each of you, 'He was at the great battle fought under the walls of Moscow!'"

A sharp attack now commenced on the Russian left, by the Polish prince Poniatowsky; while marshal Ney bore down on the centre, and Eugene Beauharnois made several unsuccessful attempts to carry the village of Borodino, with the redoubts which protected it. The Russians stood their ground with invincible steadfastness; and though one thousand pieces of artillery continually spread death among them, they persevered in contending against a vast superiority of numbers, till darkness alone put an end to the combat, when the French quitted the field. The loss in this sanguinary conflict was differently estimated, but Napoleon himself acknowledged that his own amounted to forty thousand in killed and wounded; while he raised that of his opponents to more than double the number.

After the battle, Kutusoff retreated beyond Moscow, the fall of which he had anticipated; and for which event he had even prepared, in a consultation with count Rostopchin, the governor, who took care to remove in time the greatest number of the helpless inhabitants, while he placed himself at the head of those who were capable of service. That nobleman had a country house at Voronova, between Borodino and Moscow, to which he set fire, and left the following paper attached to a post: "Frenchmen! I have for eight years embellished this seat, and have lived happy in the bosom of my family. The inhabitants of this state quit it at your approach, and I set fire to my house, that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen! I have abandoned to you my two houses at Moscow, with furniture worth half a million of roubles; here you will only find ashes."

The advanced guard of the French reached Moscow on the 14th; but Napoleon himself, in the pride of his heart, lingered in the suburbs, waiting with fond expectation the arrival of the magistrates, in order to receive their homage, previous to his triumphal entry into this ancient and renowned city. A Polish general, who had been sent forward to make the proper arrangements for a magnificent spectacle, returned speedily with a countenance full of terror, and hurried steps, into the presence of the proud invader. "Where are the constituted authorities of Moscow?" demanded Napoleon. "There are no constituted authorities," replied the officer; "and further, in a few hours there will be no Moscow on the face of the earth, for the fire will soon reduce it to a heap of ruins."

The haughty despot who had waded thus far in human blood, spreading desolation far and wide, and reducing millions of unhappy beings to misery,

for no other purpose but that of gorging his own insatiate thirst of conquest, passed on, with the hordes of vassals that surrounded him, to witness one of the most awful and impressive scenes that was ever beheld on the great theatre of the world. As yet, however, that part of Moscow called the Kremlin, which formed the palace of the czars, remained untouched; and here Napoleon took up his abode; but within eight-and-forty hours after his arrival, the work of destruction broke out again in various places, more furiously than before, and, as most of the houses were built of wood, the flames spread to such a degree, that the whole horizon appeared like an ocean of fire. Sixteen hundred churches, one thousand palaces, and an immense number of warehouses, were all burning at once. Napoleon did not continue to endure the conflagration, but hurried away to a small house belonging to the emperor Alexander, at the distance of about a league from Moscow; where, such was the intensity of the heat, according to his own account, that no one could long bear to hold a hand upon the wall, in the direction of the burning fiery furnace.

It was now evident that the French could not maintain their position in the heart of Russia, as had been intended; and yet their chief strangely enough continued to delay his departure from day to day, in the hope of settling a treaty, or at least of concluding an armistice. But all his overtures were unavailing, for Kutusoff peremptorily refused to enter into any negotiation with the enemy while on Russian ground. Napoleon, finding that all was over, at length yielded to the clamorous demands of his soldiers, and gave them orders to march, after plundering the ruins of Moscow of all that was worth carrying away. It was the end of October when the main army proceeded on the road to Minsk, leaving Murat and Beauharnois, with fifty thousand men, to keep the Russians in check. But this division was soon defeated by Kutusoff, and obliged to retreat with the utmost speed after the rest, fighting all the way to Viasma. An attempt was made to stop for repose at this place, but in vain, for the indefatigable Cossacks annoyed the fugitives to such a degree, that, weary and exhausted as they were, they were obliged to push forward in a body, or perish. To increase their sufferings, the frost now set in with unusual severity, and thousands lay down every night, to rise no more. Napoleon reached Smolensko on the 9th of November, and, after remaining there a week, set out for Krasnoi, followed by Davoust, who was attacked on the first day of his march, by general Milarodavich, and totally defeated, with the loss of four thousand killed, and nine thousand taken. About the same time, Ney was surprised by the Russians, and compelled to retreat, after leaving eleven thousand soldiers in the hands of the victors. Many other advantages were gained over the fugitives in rapid succession, insomuch that Napoleon hastened with the utmost despatch to Wilna, but, being closely pressed by Kutusoff, he hurried on to Warsaw, and, at the end of the year, brought to Paris the news of his own disgrace.

Such, in brief, were the circumstances of this memorable campaign; but, to particularize even half its horrors, would far exceed the limits of the present narrative. Nothing, indeed, like a parallel to the atrocities, the carnage, and the miseries, which distinguished the progress and retreat of the French in this expedition, can be found either in ancient or modern history. The invasion of Persia by Julian, may be considered as approximating the nearest to it in most particulars; especially in the rash confidence of the commander.

Some idea of the dreadful extent of suffering that took place within the course of six months, may be formed from the fact, that, out of a mass of more than half a million of human beings, who entered the Russian territory, not one-fifth part returned to relate the melancholy history of their dreadful sufferings.

CHAP. XCIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1812 to 1813.

AFTER taking a general view of the great events that occurred during this year in Europe, our attention is called to the opposite side of the Atlantic.

Such was the preponderance of the French influence over the congress of the United States, and so violent were the prejudices of Madison, the president, that all the overtures for a settlement of existing differences were treated with contempt; and the moderate party in the country, who endeavoured to prevent a war, were exposed to the most brutal outrage. On the 18th of June, the congress came to a decision for immediate hostilities, by a majority of seventy-nine votes to forty-nine; the war faction being wholly from the southern states, and the pacific from the eastern and northern parts of the union, where the people expressed their concern by a general mourning. Two objects appear to have operated on the minds of the predominant party. One was, the incitement of gaining immense riches, at the expense of British trade, by fitting out piratical cruisers, denominated privateers; and the other, the glory of adding Canada to the republic.

To achieve the latter conquest, which was thought very easy of accomplishment, a force was placed under general Hull, who marched into the country above Fort Detroit, and published an address to the provincialists, calling upon them to join him with great confidence, and in a style of gasconade, palpably copied from the proclamations of Buonaparte. His language, however, failed, and his arms were not more successful, for, in attempting to carry Fort Malden, he was repulsed; and, on hearing that general Brock was advancing, he fell back to Detroit, where, on the 16th of August, he surrendered with all his men, to the amount of two thousand five hundred; while the British and their Indian allies did not much exceed half the number.

Mortified as the American government was by this disaster, after so much parade, another effort was immediately resolved upon; and, on the 13th of October, the republican general Wadsworth made an attack on the British post of Queenstown, near the falls of Niagara. The gallant Brock hastened to relieve the place, but was killed at the commencement of the action. By this misfortune, the Americans gained a temporary possession of Queenstown; but general Sheaffe coming up soon afterwards with a reinforcement, compelled the whole of them to surrender prisoners of war.

At sea, the republican flag was somewhat more successful; and a great number of merchantmen, with valuable cargoes, fell a prey to the swarms of privateers that scoured the ocean. The American navy consisted wholly of vessels, which, though termed frigates, were, in fact, fully equal, and in some cases superior, to English sixty-four gun ships. One of these, called the Constitution, fell in with the Guerriere, captain Dacres, on the 19th of August, when an action began, which was well contested; but the vast superiority of metal on the side of the former, obliged the British commander reluctantly to strike. So much, however, was the Guerriere damaged in the engagement, that, being in a sinking state, the captors set her on fire. On the 25th of October, the English frigate Macedonian, captain Carden, was taken, after a conflict of two hours, by the United States ship of war, commodore Decatur; which vessel, though ranking as a frigate only, had, in reality, the scantling of a seventy-four, with a range of metal in proportion.

We must now resume the domestic history of Britain, where a general election took place at the end of autumn; and, on the 24th of November, the new parliament assembled, when Mr. Abbot was rechosen speaker of the house of commons. On the 30th of the same month, the prince-regent delivered his first speech from the throne, in which he took a cheering retrospect of the military events that had occurred in Spain and the north, and recommended a vigorous prosecution of the contest.

At the beginning of the session, parliament, on a recommendation from the crown, voted the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, for the relief of the sufferers in Russia; which grant was soon followed by another of half that sum to the marquis of Wellington, for his distinguished services in Spain and Portugal.

After the Christmas recess, the subject of the American war came under discussion, when both houses voted addresses in support of the conduct of government, and attributing the origin of the contest to the ascendancy of France over the policy of the United States.

At the end of February, 1813, a motion was made in the commons by Mr.

Grattan, for referring the claims of the Catholics of Ireland to a committee of the whole house. This proposition was carried by a majority of two hundred and sixty-four votes, against two hundred and twenty-four. Accordingly, on the 30th of April, the same member brought in a bill for the removal of the Catholic disabilities, with particular regulations and exceptions. In its early stages, little opposition was made to the proposed bill, but when it came into the general committee, the speaker objected to the clause which allowed Catholics to sit in parliament. A division upon this took place, and the clause being rejected, the bill was abandoned. At the beginning of the following month, the act of toleration was farther extended, for the benefit of those dissenters who deny the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

But one of the most important proceedings of this session of parliament, was the renewal of the charter of the East India Company, for the term of twenty years, taking date from April 10th, 1814. The first resolution moved by the minister on this occasion, secured to the Company all their territories north of the equator, with the exclusive trade to China; leaving the commerce of the Indian peninsula open to the public, but subject to a license from the board of directors. An ecclesiastical establishment was also settled by the new bill, for British India, consisting of a bishop and three archdeacons. The first divine placed over this eastern church, was Dr. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, a man of great learning and most exemplary piety; who, in the midst of his usefulness, was carried off by a fever at Calcutta, July 8, 1822. This excellent prelate was succeeded by Dr. Reginald Heber, the well-known author of "Palestine," a poem, and other works. By the new bill for the renewal of the East India monopoly, the dividends of the Company were restricted to ten and a half per cent. upon the stock; and the number of king's troops to be supported there, was limited to twenty thousand, unless a greater force should be required by the directors.

The financial plan of this year presented some original features, particularly in the appropriation of the compound interest arising from the stock purchased by the commissioners of the sinking fund, to general purposes. The charge for supplies was stated in the budget at seventy-two millions; and the ways and means included a loan of twenty-one millions. On the 11th of June, the treaty with Sweden was laid before parliament; when it appeared that England had become a party in the transfer of Norway to that power, as a compensation for the loss of Finland. This was a most disgraceful transaction, and the more so, as the emperor Alexander affected to be the patron of Denmark, which power was now literally robbed of the principal jewel belonging to its ancient crown. This business excited a strong sensation, both in and out of parliament, notwithstanding which, government carried its point: the Norwegians were passed over like cattle to the dominion of their inveterate enemies; the hereditary line of Sweden itself was annihilated, in favour of a low-born foreigner; and Denmark, though so nearly allied to England in blood, and by other ties, was degraded to a state of insignificance. By this treaty, Great Britain also engaged to cede Guadaloupe to Sweden, and to advance a subsidy for the support of the troops which the crown-prince should lead against the French.

On the 22d of July, parliament closed its business, and was prorogued by the prince-regent in person.

We must now enter upon the detail of military operations in Spain; where the campaign opened very auspiciously to the allies, owing to the embarrassed state of affairs in France. On the 13th of April, however, Suchet ventured to make an attack upon the British lines, in which he failed, and was compelled to make a hasty retreat in the direction of Villena. The marquis of Wellington then moved in considerable force towards Madrid, which Joseph Buonaparte again abandoned, carrying away all the pictures and valuable property that could be transported. The British quitted the capital in pursuit of the fugitives, who fled to Burgos, and from thence to Vittoria, where Jourdan, who had succeeded Soult in the command, resolved to make a stand, and face the allies. A battle was accordingly fought at that place, on the 21st of June, the French lines being attacked at three points by generals Hill, Picton, and Graham, with such promptitude and vigour, that the enemy

abandoned the field, leaving behind them one hundred and fifty-one pieces of cannon, with above four hundred waggons laden with stores, and about two thousand carriages, filled with the plunder of Madrid. The fugitives retreated in the direction of Pampeluna, and being closely pursued by the victorious British, they at last crossed the Bidassoa, and re-entered the French territory.

While things wore this auspicious appearance on one side, transactions of a less favourable or honourable character were taking place in the opposite quarter. At the end of May, general sir John Murray embarked with his force on board a squadron commanded by admiral Hallowell, for the purpose of wresting Tarragona from the French. After landing in a convenient part, and advancing his batteries against the fortress, with every prospect of a speedy accomplishment of his object, the British general was struck with a sudden panic, on hearing that Suchet was upon the march from Valencia. Without making any inquiry into the truth of the report, he gave instant orders for the re-embarkation of his troops, leaving all his artillery in the batteries, contrary to the advice of the gallant admiral, who would have brought the cannon off by means of the sailors alone, in the course of the night.

Such was the state of Spain, when Soult returned to take the command in July; boasting that he would soon expel from the French frontier, the enemies of his august master. Accordingly, on the 24th of that month, he made an attack with about forty thousand men, on the English, who were posted at Roncesvalles. In this he was successful, but soon after he ventured to engage the whole line of the allied forces, and met with a severe repulse, though both sides sustained a great loss. In the mean time, St. Sebastian, on the shore of Biscay, was besieged under the conduct of sir Thomas Graham, who, in an attempt to storm the place, was repulsed with considerable loss, on the 25th of July; but a second assault on the last day of the following month proved more successful, though at the expense of about two thousand men, in killed and wounded. But though the city was taken, the castle held out till the 18th of September, when it surrendered to a joint military and naval force. Having achieved the conquest of this important post, which was the key of Spain on that side, the marquis of Wellington proceeded, at the beginning of October, to the frontier of France, and, on the 31st of that month, reduced the strong fortress of Pampeluna. This was followed by a general attack on the French lines; which operation was conducted with such vigour and precision at all points, that the enemy abandoned their works near St. Jean de Leon, in the construction of which they had made uncommon efforts, and retreated towards Bayonne.

Having thus expelled the enemy from the Spanish territory in this direction, the marquis of Wellington determined to secure the advantage which he had gained, and to prevent the French army from returning into that kingdom by this important pass. On the 9th of December, therefore, the allied forces crossed the river Nive, and, after several desperate engagements, in which both sides lost a great number of men, the British commander succeeded in forming an encampment, and taking up his winter-quarters on French ground.

CHAP. XCIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1813.

THE star of Napoleon, which had so long dazzled his admirers, and shed a portentous glare over surrounding nations, began now to be shorn of its beams, and to assume a sickly appearance. At the commencement of the year, after the disastrous campaign in Russia, the instability of the Rhenish confederation was made obvious; and the king of Prussia proclaimed his separation from an alliance into which he had been driven by nothing but hard necessity. At the same time, his general, D'Yorck, who had borne an active part in the Russian expedition, now withdrew from his coadjutor Macdonald, near Riga, and went over to the Russian army, under Wittgenstein,

with all his force, amounting to about fifteen thousand men. In consequence of these changes, and the unfavourable aspect of affairs in the north of Germany, general Morand, who was stationed with a considerable body of troops in Swedish Pomerania, broke up from that quarter, and endeavoured to effect his retreat through an hostile country to the frontiers, but was intercepted and slain, while all his troops either fell or were made prisoners. The city of Hamburgh was now evacuated by the French, and, on the approach of the Austrians, the new king of Saxony, who still adhered to the fortune of Napoleon, abandoned Dresden, into which the conquerors entered without the smallest resistance.

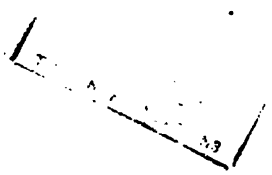
To repel the torrent that came rolling on with the greatest impetuosity, the despot of France convened the senate, who, still obsequious to his will, ordered a conscription of three hundred and fifty thousand men to be raised for his service. Having thus succeeded, notwithstanding his former sacrifices, in mustering another powerful army, Napoleon set out for Germany on the 15th of April, directing all the divisions that were to compose the great body which he intended to command in person, to assemble near Jena. In the mean time, the Russian and Prussian forces, headed by their respective sovereigns, were concentrated on the plain of Lutzen, between Leipsic and Altenburg; where, on the 2d of May, a general engagement took place, at the end of which the allies remained on the field of battle, and their antagonists retreated. This affair, however, was far from being decisive, and the French soon after pushed on to the Elbe, which they crossed, and took possession of both Leipsic and Dresden, the latter city now becoming the head-quarters of Napoleon. As the Saxons had joined the French in considerable force, the latter were enabled to make a vigorous stand against the allies, who fought with desperate resolution, particularly at Hochkirchen, where they were attacked by Napoleon with all his strength, on the 19th of May. After a long and determined conflict, the combined Russian and Prussian army retreated, though in good order. Flushed with this success, the French advanced through Silesia, and, on the 1st of June, one of their divisions entered Breslaw; while another, about the same time, took possession of Hamburgh. But, however Napoleon might be gratified by these favourable circumstances, he was not ignorant that new enemies were about to rise against him; and, therefore, to ward off the threatened danger, or at least to provide for a more effectual opposition by delay, he solicited the mediation of Austria to procure an armistice. The terms were acceded to, and negotiations for peace were entered upon at Prague; but with so little appearance of sincerity, that the term of the truce ended without any thing definitive having been concluded, in consequence of which, a farther prolongation till the 10th of August took place. The conduct of Napoleon throughout these consultations, proved so unsatisfactory to all parties, and to none more than the emperor of Austria, that on the very day after the expiration of the armistice, count Metternich, the imperial minister, delivered to the French ambassadors a formal declaration of war.

Hostilities being now resumed, it was evident that the allied powers were resolved to place no farther dependence upon the integrity of the French ruler, but to secure the peace of Europe by their own exertions. That Napoleon himself entertained little hopes of gaining any thing by his negotiations at Prague, was obvious from the activity carried on in fortifying Dresden during the truce. At the expiration of that period, he had collected within the walls of the city, a force little, if at all, short of one hundred and thirty thousand men. The first object of the allies, therefore, was to gain possession of Dresden, and, accordingly, a combined attack was made upon it on the 27th of August, but without effect; and the assailants lost a great number of men in the attempt. Encouraged by this success, Napoleon, on the day following, marched out with a most formidable train of artillery, with which he began a furious attack upon his adversaries. The battle raged the whole day with great fury; and, at the conclusion, the allies retreated to the borders of Bohemia, followed by the French, who, however, in their turn, experienced a severe repulse, and, at the same time, general Vandamme was taken, with his whole division, consisting of ten thousand men.

In the battle of Dresden fell the celebrated Moreau, who had come from America on purpose to assist in the deliverance of Europe from the tyranny which oppressed it; but, unfortunately, did not live to see its accomplishment, being mortally wounded while standing close to the emperor Alexander. The allies were far from being disheartened by the check which they had experienced before Dresden, and soon returned with an accession of force, to meet the French; while the crown-prince advanced about the same time from Pomerania, and the Austrians from Bohemia. Napoleon, thus pressed on all sides, found it expedient to quit Dresden, and to concentrate all his forces near Leipsic. On the 14th of October, the French and Saxons formed their lines about twenty-five miles from that city, and, two days afterwards, a sanguinary battle was fought between them and their opponents, which proved indecisive, and both armies, at the conclusion of the engagement, maintained their former position. At an early hour on the 18th, another general battle began, which raged with the utmost fury till the afternoon, when seventeen battalions of Westphalian and Saxon troops went off with all their cannon, and ranged themselves under the standard of the crown-prince of Sweden. This defection finished the business of the day, and at once extinguished the hopes of Napoleon, who, however, remained all night at Leipsic, from whence the king of Saxony sent a flag of truce in the morning of the 19th, to the emperor Alexander, entreating him to spare the city. This was a mere stratagem, contrived by Buonaparte to gain time, that he might, during the delay, effect his escape, in which he succeeded, though with great difficulty, as the allied sovereigns entered the place only two hours after his departure.

The king of Saxony with all his court, the garrison and rear-guard, consisting of about thirty thousand men, together with the sick and wounded, amounting to above twenty thousand more, were taken. In this battle, the loss of the French, in killed and wounded, was more than forty thousand, besides sixty-five pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of stores. Such was the rapidity with which the French retreated, that, in crossing the river Elster, the bridge broke down, and some thousands of the fugitives were either captured or perished; among which last was the Polish prince Poniatowski. The unfortunate but imbecile king of Saxony, who had so weakly clung to the shattered fortune of Napoleon, became an object of contempt at Leipsic, and, soon after, was sent with all his family and suite to Eisenach. Meanwhile, the fallen despot pursued his retrograde course with the relics of his army, which still amounted to above seventy thousand men, to Hanau, where he met with a fresh opponent in the Bavarian general Wrede. An engagement ensued, in which the allied troops were repulsed; but Napoleon, instead of making any effort to follow up this advantage, pushed on with the utmost speed to Mentz, which place he reached on the 2d of November; and from thence hurried to Paris, where he caused the senate to issue decrees for levying three hundred thousand men, besides doubling the public contributions. The necessity of some strong measures, indeed, was sufficiently manifest, for France now was completely surrounded by foes, whose strength was continually increasing, while the forces opposed to them were reducing fast in numbers.

After the battle of Leipsic, the condition of the French troops at Dresden under marshal St. Cyr, was so deplorable, that, on the 12th of November, the whole of them, with their commander, surrendered prisoners of war. About the same time, the French garrison of Stettin capitulated; the king of Wirtemberg seceded from the confederation of the Rhine; and, to crown all, the people throughout Holland hoisted the Orange flag, renounced the authority of Napoleon, and proclaimed their ancient government. In consequence of this last revolution, the hereditary prince of Orange, then in England, where he had been educated, lost no time in embarking for the coast of Holland, where he landed at the beginning of December, and, on the 3d of that month, entered Amsterdam, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, who had reason enough to rejoice at the opportunity of shaking off the iron yoke of France. At the same time, the electorate of Hanover was delivered from its bondage, and the kingdom of Westphalia no longer recognised





Scene in the great Square at Leipsic Octr 19th 1813.

Published by Henry Fisher, Caxton, London, 1838

Jerome Buonaparte for its sovereign. Denmark next joined the general alliance, and ten thousand men were placed under the command of the crown-prince of Sweden. Thus Napoleon found himself forsaken on all sides, and, instead of carrying his triumphant hordes into every part of the continent, he saw the necessity of providing for the defence of his own imperial seat, which began now to totter. The allied sovereigns, on their arrival at Frankfort, issued a manifesto, in which they proclaimed their motives and objects with equal candour and moderation. "Victory," said they, "has conducted us to the banks of the Rhine; and the first use we make of it is to offer peace. Our desire is, that France may be great and powerful, because it is in a state of greatness and strength that she forms one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. We wish France to be happy, that her commerce may revive, and the arts flourish; because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as they are free. We offer to confirm to the French an extent of territory, which, under their former kings, they never enjoyed: because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having, in its turn, experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it has fought with its wonted courage. Our desire is for such a state of peace, as, by a wise partition of strength, and by a just equilibrium, may preserve our subjects from the numerous calamities which for the last twenty years have overwhelmed Europe."

Napoleon, instead of meeting this magnanimous and generous declaration in a tone of mildness, put on an air of haughty pride and defiance. When urged, by his minister Talleyrand, to comply with the wishes of the senate, and to secure at once the peace of Europe by an immediate negotiation with the combined powers, on the liberal basis expressed in their published declaration; he threw himself into a violent passion, and complained of being thwarted, instead of being assisted, in the great projects which he had formed for the national defence. Against the legislative body, if such it might be called, he manifested his displeasure in a torrent of abuse, and, on the last day of the year, dissolved the meeting.

Among other preposterous acts committed by Napoleon at this critical period, when his all was at stake, was that of entering into a treaty with Ferdinand of Spain, whose title to the throne he condescended to acknowledge, on condition that all Spaniards who had acted under Joseph Buonaparte, should be restored to the honours and estates; that the French prisoners should be set at liberty; and the English expelled the country. With these terms Ferdinand complied; but it was easy enough to see, and Napoleon must have known, that such degrading conditions the Cortes of Spain would never sanction.

CHAP. XCV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1813.

WE must now resume our narrative of the unfortunate war in America, where neither of the contending parties had any cause for national exultation; although some actions occurred, which did honour to British valour. Anxious to wipe away the disgrace which had attended their first operations against Canada, the republicans now despatched thither another force of one thousand men, under general Winchester, who, at the beginning of January 1813, appeared before Fort Detroit. Colonel Procter, to whom the defence of that post was intrusted, had only five hundred regulars and militia, with an auxiliary body of Indians, upon whose efficiency little reliance could be placed. Notwithstanding this, the British commander marched out to face the enemy; and, after a short action, succeeded in defeating them, taking one half prisoners, with their leader, while the rest dispersed, and were cut off in their retreat by the savages.

The American congress, however, still persevered in their design to bring the two Canadian provinces within the pale of their union, and, accordingly, another expedition was undertaken in the month of April, when general Dearborn embarked on Lake Ontario, in a flotilla, commanded by commodore

Chauncey, and proceeded to attack York-Town. In this object the Americans succeeded, by the accidental explosion of a magazine in the fortress, which rendering the place no longer tenable, general Sheaffe, the commander, quitted it with the garrison, leaving the inhabitants to make the best terms they could. As a compensation for this disaster, a British force crossed the river St. Lawrence, and took possession of the American post of Ogdenburgh; and, about the same time, the indefatigable colonel Procter embarked with a body of regulars, militia and Indians, for the purpose of attacking a fort belonging to the republicans at the Rapids, on the river Miamis, which runs into the lake Erie.

While the British were engaged in the siege of this place, the American general Clay, at the head of thirteen hundred men, advanced to its relief; but though the disparity of force was considerably in favour of the republicans, especially when joined by the garrison, who sallied out on the approach of their friends, colonel Procter drew up his troops in order of battle, and completely routed the enemy with considerable slaughter. Owing, however, to the disorderly conduct of the Indian auxiliaries in scattering themselves to collect plunder, a proper advantage could not be taken of the victory, and the siege was raised, though without any loss of men or artillery.

On the 27th of May, the Americans landed in great force at Niagara, and proceeded with celerity to attack Fort George, which, being indefensible, was abandoned by the commander, colonel Vincent, who, however, did not evacuate the place without having a smart action with the invaders, after which he removed to the heights of Burlington at the head of Lake Ontario. The colonel had not long taken up this position, when he was informed that an expedition, consisting of three thousand Americans, was preparing at Stoney Creek, with a view of attacking him; on which, though his force amounted to no more than seven hundred regulars and Indians, he resolved upon the bold measure of assailing the enemy in their entrenchments. This design he carried into effect with such promptitude and vigour, that five hundred of the Americans surrendered, and the rest dispersed in all directions. In consequence of these severe checks, Dearborn thought it most prudent to lie upon the defensive for the present, and accordingly, in the middle of the month of June, he formed an entrenched camp at Fort George, where he concentrated his forces, and remained for some time inactive.

During this state of suspension, a British expedition to Lake Champlain proved successful in destroying a number of military magazines and storehouses belonging to the Americans; who, however, in their turn, gained a decided advantage on Lake Erie, over the Canadian squadron, commanded by captain Barclay, the whole of which surrendered to the republican commodore Perry. The consequence of this misfortune was the evacuation of the greater part of the Michigan territory by the British forces, who also abandoned all their posts in Upper Canada, beyond the Great River. In the autumnal season, the Americans collected a large force for the invasion of Canada, which object they attempted in different quarters at the same time.

General Hampton began the operations of the campaign in the middle of October, by penetrating into the country on the side of Montreal, and passing along the Chateauguay river, into Lower Canada, where, however, he met with such a resistance from a very inferior body of British regulars and provincialists, that he hastened back to the frontier, and retreated to his former position. The republican general Wilkinson, who had ten thousand men under his command, with whom he embarked on Lake Ontario for Montreal, was not more successful than Hampton. Sir George Prevost, the British general, aware of this movement, and apprehensive of its tendency, had taken the precaution to place a strong corps of observation on that side, and when the Americans advanced, an action occurred, in which the invaders, though vastly superior in numerical strength, met with such a reception, that they retreated, and all the forces that had been assembled with so much ostentation, hastened back precipitately to their own territory, where they took up their quarters for the winter. The British, however, still kept the field, and so late as the month of December, a body of about five hundred men, commanded by colonel Murray, proceeded by water against Fort

George, which the Americans abandoned at their approach, so precipitately, that they had not time even to demolish any of the works. From thence the colonel advanced to Fort Niagara, which was carried by escalade, the whole garrison surrendering themselves prisoners of war, with all the military stores and ammunition. Soon after this, the American general Hull mustered a considerable force to check the progress of the British; but being met by general Riall, near Buffalo, a severe contest ensued, in which the republicans were defeated, and entirely routed. The town of Buffalo and the village of Black Rock were then destroyed, and the whole American frontier devastated, by way of retaliation for the ravages which the Americans had wantonly committed in the invasion of Upper Canada, where they destroyed private houses, and burnt down whole villages, without having received the slightest provocation from the defenceless inhabitants.

On the southern side of the United States, the British blockading squadrons greatly harassed the maritime towns, particularly along the various rivers in the bay of Chesapeak. An expedition of greater magnitude was undertaken in the middle of the summer against Hampton in Virginia, where the Americans had collected a considerable force. On the 26th of June, the British general Beckwith embarked with a body of troops on board of a squadron commanded by sir George Cockburn, and proceeding up the Chesapeak, landed without being observed, and, after a smart engagement, took possession of the republican camp, batteries, and stores. Soon after this, the same squadron seized two islands on the coast of North Carolina, the attainment of which enabled the captors to carry on offensive operations against commerce in that quarter with considerable effect. The principal naval action that occurred at this period between the two maritime powers, was fought on the first of June, off the harbour of Boston; where the Shannon, captain Broke, stood close into the shore, and near the light-house, by way of challenge to the American ships of war then lying there. At length, the Chesapeak, captain Lawrence, a frigate of the largest dimensions, with a picked crew, consisting chiefly of volunteers, many of whom were dexterous marksmen, ventured out, and bore down upon the Shannon, which received and returned the fire with vigour. After exchanging several broadsides, the ships came so close to each other, that captain Broke seized the opportunity of boarding the Chesapeak, when a desperate conflict ensued, but the English sailors driving all before them, soon cleared the decks, and, having hoisted the union flag over the American colours, bore away their prize, in sight of vast crowds of people who lined the shores, in anxious expectation of a different result. The whole of this valorous achievement took up no more than fifteen minutes. Captain Broke, who was the first to board the Chesapeak, received a severe cut in the head, twenty-two of his people were killed, and fifty-six were wounded. The carnage in the American ship, however, was much greater; four lieutenants fell in the action, with sixty-five of the crew, and about one hundred were wounded, among whom was the captain, who died soon after.

The French navy, at this period, was in such a reduced state, that there was little scope for the display of British valour on the ocean. Some enterprising attacks, however, were made upon the harbours and marine batteries of the enemy, particularly in the Mediterranean. One of the principal of these naval actions was the capture of Fiume in the Adriatic, by admiral Freemantle, on the 3d of July. After attacking the batteries, a detachment of seamen and marines landed to storm the head of the mole, which was extremely formidable. The party, however, succeeded in their object, and then, following up the advantage which they had gained, pursued the governor and the garrison into the town, where nothing was taken but the stores belonging to the government, and ninety vessels in the harbour, half of which last were subsequently restored to their owners.

Our attention is now recalled to parliamentary affairs. Owing to the extraordinary state of Europe, the session began on the 4th of November, when the prince-regent made a speech in person from the throne, in which he mentioned the various connexions that had been formed to reduce the exorbitant power of France, observing, at the same time, that neither the British government nor its allies, in making peace, would require from that country

any sacrifices inconsistent with her honour, or just pretensions as a nation. In touching upon the war with America, which exclusively affected England, the regent professed his readiness to enter into discussions for the adjustment of the subsisting differences, upon principles not incompatible with the established maxims of public law, and with the maritime rights of the British empire.

One of the first objects at this early part of the session, was the proposal of a loan of twenty-two millions for current services, and to make good the treaties that had been entered into with the allied powers. This measure was so well received, that it passed, as did all the foreign subsidies, without a single vote appearing in opposition. These subsidies were, five millions to Russia and Prussia; four millions for the service in Spain and Portugal; one million to Sweden; and the same to Austria, with one hundred thousand stand of arms, and a proportionable quantity of military stores. The regular force of this country amounted to two hundred and thirty-three thousand men; but, for the purpose of supplying the annual waste, it was proposed that an additional bounty should be held out to such of the militia as offered to serve out of the kingdom. Parliament, having settled these important concerns, adjourned from the 20th of December to the 1st of March.

CHAP. XCVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1814.

THE destiny of Napoleon was now winding up fast; and Europe, which had so long suffered by his ambition, was now on the point of deliverance. At the commencement of the year, Blucher, with a combined Russian and Prussian army, crossed the Rhine; and, about the same time, baron Sacken did the same at Manheim; as also did another division of the allies, under count Langeron, at Bingen; while the Austrian general, prince Schwartzenberg, with a powerful force, entered Alsace. Thus France was invaded at different points, and, on the 25th of January, Napoleon left the capital to encounter his formidable antagonists, whose numbers were increased by the reserves which the emperor Alexander the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia, brought up in person. The first action of importance was fought on the 1st of February, at La Rothiere, where Blucher defeated the French, commanded by Napoleon, and compelled them to retreat, with the loss of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and about four thousand prisoners.

After this advantage, the allied armies continued their march towards the capital, but by different routes; Schwartzenberg advancing along the banks of the Seine, and Blucher pursuing his course by the side of the Marne. At the same time, the prince of Wirtemberg took possession of Troyes and Sens, while general D'Yorck, after defeating Macdonald, entered Chalons on the Marne and Vitry. This rapid progress alarmed Napoleon for the safety of Paris; and availing himself of the separation of the two main armies of the allies, he turned, and defeated general Alsufief, who commanded a Russian division, at Champ Aubert. This was followed by a battle with Sacken and D'Yorck, in which the French claimed the victory; but evidently without reason, as the allied forces were enabled to retain their former position. Blucher, however, was the principal object whose career it was necessary to impede, and, accordingly, on the 14th of February, a desperate combat took place at Vauchamp, at the end of which the Prussian general retreated to Bergeres, and next to Chalons, having sustained a loss of near six thousand men. On the other hand, the Russians, under Winzengerode, carried Soissons by assault, where two generals and three thousand men were made prisoners; after which the victors marched to Rheims, and, having taken possession of that city, proceeded to join Blucher.

While these operations were going on, prince Schwartzenberg approached Paris, but, being encountered by Napoleon, he made a retrograde movement to Troyes, which place he abandoned on the 23d, when the French army entered it in triumph. Here Napoleon gave a strange display of his apprehensions, as well as of his want of temper, by issuing a proclamation,

denouncing the punishment of death to all Frenchmen who should assume the white cockade, or discover any other mark of affection for the ancient government. To what extent this sanguinary menace was carried into execution, we are not informed, but the decree itself affords a proof that the will to enforce it with terror was not wanting.

While these transactions were going on in the heart of France, the crown prince of Sweden arrived at Cologne with his army, and thus the allies were enabled to get possession of several important places in the Netherlands. Their success in Holland was equally great, except at Bergen-op-Zoom, where an imprudent attempt at an escalade, made by sir Thomas Graham, failed, with a considerable loss of men in killed and wounded. In Italy, the contest between the Austrians and French was maintained with great activity. Count Bellegarde, on passing the Adige, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing that Joachim Murat, the nominal king of Naples, had offered to join the alliance against his brother-in-law, and accordingly, a treaty was agreed upon between him and the emperor of Austria. Thus Napoleon was deserted even by some of his own family; but he was soon doomed to endure a greater mortification. From the time that the allies entered France, negotiations for peace were carried on at Chatillon. The British plenipotentiary, lord Castlereagh, had several interviews with Talleyrand; but when the latter proposed a cessation of arms, with an immediate surrender of the fortresses in those countries which France was to relinquish, the demand was rejected, as being designed only to keep the allies inactive, till a sufficient force should be collected to expel them. Instead, therefore, of assenting to this proposition, the allied ministers insisted upon concluding a preliminary treaty at once. Just at this critical moment, the temporary success of the French put the sincerity of Napoleon to the test; for, in obedience to the orders of his master, Talleyrand quitted Chatillon, without taking farther notice of the proposal that had been made by the allies, who, in consequence, agreed on a plan for the settlement of a treaty, to which they required an answer by the 10th of March. But it was not till the 15th that the decision of Napoleon arrived, when a *contre-projet* was presented to the congress at Chatillon, by Caulaincourt, demanding the whole western bank of the Rhine, and part of the line of the Waal, for France; the kingdom of Italy for Eugene Beauharnois; and other foreign countries for the rest of the imperial dynasty. To such arrogant pretensions, no regard could be paid without a prostration of the allied powers at the feet of a despot, who was, in fact, at their mercy. To invigorate his demands, and intimidate the confederates, Napoleon marched in great force against Blucher, who, on his side, rather courted than shunned the battle, which was fought on the 9th of March, at Laon, and lasted the whole day; but, in the end, the French, after losing forty-eight pieces of cannon, and near ten thousand men, retreated to Soissons, which place had lately been recaptured. From thence Napoleon proceeded to Rheims, which also had been wrested from the allies by Marmont and Merlin. The success of Blucher now encouraged prince Schwartzenberg to make a forward movement; and, on the 21st, he took up a position before Arcis-sur-Aube, from whence the French were driven out with great loss by the prince-royal of Wirtemberg.

Napoleon now with his concentrated forces marched to St. Dizier, in order to get between the two main armies of the allies; but his design being discovered, it was resolved by the Austrian and Prussian generals, to unite, and advance at once upon Paris; leaving Winzengerode and Czernicheff to keep the enemy in check.

During these operations, and while the fate of Napoleon thus hung in suspense, lord Wellington was advancing from the south, and taking an important part in the war. Near Orthes, on the 25th of February, a general action was fought between the British army and the French, in which the latter were defeated with great slaughter. Numbers also now began to desert from that standard which had been so often victorious, and thus the country was left open to the invaders. On the 12th of March, a division under the command of marshal Beresford entered Bourdeaux, the inhabitants of which city immediately hoisted their ancient flag, and declared themselves the subjects of

Louis the Eighteenth. In consequence of this revolution, the duke D'Angoulême, who had married the daughter of the unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth, visited Bourdeaux, where he was received with universal joy. The marquis of Wellington next marched against Soult, who retreated before him to Tarbes, where he endeavoured to make a stand, but, on the 20th, he was expelled from that place, and his troops fled in all directions.

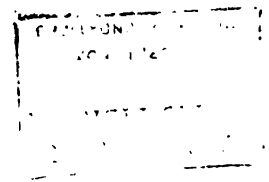
Affairs were now drawing to that point, which, in a country so distracted, was to be expected. The grand allied army, on the 27th of March, had its head-quarters at Coulomier, and, the next day, Blucher crossed the Marne at Meaux, without meeting much resistance; but Mortier, in his retreat, broke down the bridge, and exploded the powder magazine, to the great injury of the inhabitants, who were unapprised of his intention. The alarm which prevailed in the capital, as the allied army drew within a few miles of it, became very great; but though Joseph Buonaparte, who had been left in charge of the city, called upon the people to arm themselves for its defence, and assured them that the emperor was advancing with a triumphant force to their relief, the call appears to have been regarded with apathy; and the sole reliance of the usurper now rested upon the garrison, to aid which, Marmont and Mortier entered the place, with about fifty-five thousand men. The allies soon made their appearance, and posted themselves with their right towards Montmartre, and their left near the wood of Vincennes. In this exigency, Joseph Buonaparte, with the two generals, took up a position on the heights close to the city, where they placed a chain of batteries, mounted with one hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance. The allies, instead of being appalled by these formidable preparations, resolved upon an immediate attack; which was carried into execution on the 30th, when the two princes of Wirtemberg gained possession of the heights opposite to them, with all the works. The victory, however, remained in suspense for the greatest part of the day, owing to the absence of Blucher, whose advance was accidentally delayed. Notwithstanding this, the allied forces retained the advantage which they had gained; and at length, the French generals finding their numbers diminishing, and the capital in imminent danger, sent a flag of truce, with an overture to give up all the ground outside the barrier of Paris, till terms of peace should be settled. The proposition was acceded to, and the same evening, count Nesselrode, the Russian minister, entered the city. While these negotiations were going on, Joseph Buonaparte effected his escape disguise, and Maria Louisa, with her child, also quitted Paris. By the capitulation that ensued, it was agreed that the French troops should all march out the next morning with their military accoutrements, and, about noon, the allied sovereigns entered Paris, where they were welcomed with acclamations that indicated the satisfaction of the populace, in semblance at least, in the revolution which had been effected. The first step adopted by the emperor Alexander was, to publish a declaration, in which, on the part of himself and the other sovereigns, he stated explicitly, that no treaty would be entered into with Napoleon Buonaparte, or any of his family. It was intimated at the same time, that, though the allied powers respected the integrity of France, as it had existed under its ancient dynasty, they would recognize and guarantee whatever constitution the nation should adopt. On the following day, the members of the senate assembled, when a provisional government was immediately appointed, consisting of five persons, at the head of whom was Talleyrand. On the second of April, the senate passed another resolution, and decreed, that in a constitutional monarchy, the sovereign exists solely by virtue of the social compact between him and the people, for the public good. This declaration was followed by a formal charge against Napoleon Buonaparte, as a violator of the compact entered into with the nation; and, in consequence, he was declared to have forfeited the throne; the hereditary right vested in his family was abolished, and the French people, civil and military, were absolved from their obligations of fealty towards him. These resolutions having been adopted by the legislative assembly, were embodied in a proclamation, and copies immediately despatched throughout France.

When Napoleon learned that the allies had penetrated to the suburbs of Paris, he hastened with all his force to prevent the city from falling into their



Entrance of the Allied Sovereigns into Paris in 1814.

Published by Henry Fisher, Caxton, London, 1834.



hands; knowing full well that such an event would annihilate his power, and extinguish his hopes. On his arrival at Fromont, he received the disagreeable intelligence that Paris was occupied by the confederated monarchs, that his wife was a fugitive, and that the army was no longer at his command. Chagrined at this revolution, Napoleon retired to Fontainbleau, from whence he sent a deputation to the legislative assembly, offering to resign the throne in favour of his son. This proposal being treated with contempt, the tyrant fell lower still, and abjectly consented to abdicate unconditionally, for himself and his family, the crowns of France and Italy.

On this occasion, the conduct of the emperor Alexander evinced a striking contrast to that of his prostrate, but late haughty and inveterate foe. Instead of triumphing over the fallen despot, he offered him his selection of a residence, when Napoleon gladly named the isle of Elba, lying off the coast of Tuscany; and accordingly, on the 11th of April, a treaty was entered into, by virtue of which that spot was ceded to him in perpetual sovereignty, with permission for him and his spouse to retain the imperial title for life. A revenue also was settled upon Napoleon, payable out of the revenues of France. This business being arranged, he proceeded for the place of his destination, and, on the 28th of the same month, embarked on board an English frigate, which, in a few days, landed him at Elba.

But though the war was actually at an end the moment the allies entered Paris, the British army, in its advance from the southern part of the kingdom, was doomed to encounter hostilities, owing either to the malignant treachery of Napoleon, or the perfidy of Soult, in suppressing the declaration of the provisional government. On the 8th of April, the marquis of Wellington crossed the Garonne, and, two days afterwards, engaged the French army before Toulouse, which action ended in the defeat of the latter, who left three generals and sixteen hundred men in the hands of the victors. The British entered Toulouse on the 12th, and the white flag was immediately hoisted in all public places, to the great joy of the inhabitants. In the course of the day, the news of what had happened at Paris became public; but Soult affected to disbelieve the intelligence, though he then proposed an armistice. This lord Wellington refused then to grant, and marched, on the 17th, to Castelnaudray, where the proposed suspension of hostilities took place. At Bayonne also, much wanton bloodshed was occasioned by the same cause, for, on the 14th of April, the French made a sortie against the besiegers, which was attended with considerable loss to the allies: and among others who fell in this malignant attack, was major-general Hay, who commanded the outposts.

On the side of Italy, it was not to be expected that information of what had occurred in the capital could be early known; the war, therefore, continued there for some time longer, and lord William Bentinck and commodore Rowley succeeded in capturing Genoa. The Austrian general, count Bellegarde, about the same time, compelled Eugene Beauharnois to fall back upon the Adige; in which position he received intelligence of the recent proceedings in France, and, in consequence, all hostilities terminated. The king of Sardinia then returned to his capital, and the pope was publicly proclaimed at Rome.

On the 20th of April, Louis the Eighteenth, who had long resided at Hartwell, entered London in grand procession; and, the next day, partook of a splendid entertainment at Carlton House. On the 23d, the king and his family left London for Dover, where they were met by the prince-regent; and, the next morning, the illustrious guests quitted the hospitable shores of Britain, in the Royal Sovereign yacht, convoyed by the Jason frigate, bearing the royal standard, as being under the command of the duke of Clarence. After a passage of three hours, the royal party reached the road of Calais; and, on the 3d of May, Louis entered the capital, after an exile of twenty-three years.

This great revolution was followed by a definitive treaty of peace between France and the allied powers, which was signed at Paris on the 30th of the same month. By this convention, the navigation of the Rhine was declared free; the house of Orange was recognised in its sovereignty of the Nether-

lands; the German states were united in a federal league; and the independence of Switzerland was secured; the greatest portion of Italy was divided into distinct states, but a considerable part was assigned to Austria; Malta and its dependencies were allotted to Great Britain, which power also retained Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Isle of France. In other respects, the treaty of Paris differed little from former conventions, only Louis the Eighteenth engaged to unite his efforts with those of the British government for the abolition of the slave-trade. Among other political changes produced by this revolution, may be mentioned the advancement of the electorate of Hanover, and the Netherlands, including the Seven United Provinces, to the rank of kingdoms, so that the republican system in Europe was now reduced to a few minor states only. By a separate treaty with the latter power, concluded in August, England retained the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, resigning all other conquests, made by her during the war, to their former masters.

In the mean time, Ferdinand of Spain, for whose cause so much blood had been spilt, entered his kingdom, where he immediately manifested his bigotry and ingratitude, by a revival of the inquisition, and an abrogation of the constitution, as it had been adjusted by the Cortes, which assembly was declared illegal, and dissolved.

CHAP. XCVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1814.

Though the British parliament re-assembled on the 1st of March, another adjournment immediately took place till the 27th; when the financial plan of the chancellor of the exchequer was brought forward, from which it appeared, that seventy-five millions and a half were wanted for the public service. This extraordinary sum was granted, and, to meet it, loans in aid of the usual mode of taxation, to the amount of forty millions and a half, were adopted. Towards the close of the session, which ended on the 30th of July, the great hero of the age, now created duke of Wellington, first took his seat in the house of lords, and, about the same time, his gallant companions in arms, Beresford, Hill, Cotton, Hope, and Graham, were elevated to the peerage. A parliamentary grant of ten thousand a year, and three hundred thousand pounds for the purchase of an estate to uphold the ducal title of Wellington, similar to what had been done in the case of the immortal Marlborough, also passed during the present session.

Another legislative provision, which excited much attention, on account of the circumstances connected with it, was the grant of fifty thousand a year to the princess of Wales, though afterwards, by the advice of her political friends, the sum was reduced to thirty-five thousand. The occasion which gave rise to this settlement, was a complaint addressed by the princess to the speaker of the house of commons, stating the treatment she had experienced, in being deterred from appearing at the queen's drawing-room, by the declaration of her royal husband, who said "he would never meet her either in public or private." Such an application had never before been made to parliament; but though it was impossible for the house to interfere in a concern of this nature, considerable discussion was produced by the subject, when, to get rid of it, ministers brought forward the proposition for a settlement; and, soon after, her royal highness left the kingdom.

At the beginning of June, the English capital was rendered a scene of brilliant gaiety, by the arrival of the emperor Alexander, with his sister the duchess of Oldenburg, the king of Prussia, and his two sons, prince Blucher, the Hetman Platoff, prince Metternich, prince Hardenberg, and a long train of other distinguished personages. During their stay of near a month, splendid entertainments were given to these illustrious guests, by the prince-regent and his ministers, the city of London, the university of Oxford, and some of the principal nobility. On the 20th of June, the peace was publicly proclaimed, and, on the 7th of the following month, being the day of general thanksgiving, the prince-regent, with the two houses of parliament,

went to St. Paul's cathedral in grand procession, where an appropriate sermon was preached by Dr. Law, then bishop of Chester, and now of Bath and Wells.

Having taken this view of domestic incidents, our attention must now be directed to the western hemisphere, where the noise of war yet continued. At the opening of the present year, the overture made by the British government to appoint commissioners, who should meet those of the United States, in any part of the continent, for the adjustment of differences between the two powers, was acceded to, and Gottenburg was fixed upon for the convention; but afterwards the negotiations were removed to Ghent, as a more convenient place for all parties.

In the mean time, however, the military and naval operations continued on both sides. Early in February, the American general Wilkinson evacuated his position on the borders of Lower Canada, and, after destroying the works, removed to Burlington and Plattsburg, where he soon afterwards encountered a British force, and was defeated with considerable loss. At the beginning of May, an expedition, under sir James Yeo and general Drummond, succeeded in reducing Fort Oswego on lake Ontario; but these advantages were rendered almost nugatory by the pusillanimous conduct of sir George Prevost, the British commander-in-chief. The republicans, availing themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the inactivity of this officer, became the assailants; and, after capturing Fort Erie, ventured to attack the British lines at Chippawa, which they carried, and forced general Riall to retreat upon Fort George. Here, however, he was soon joined by general Drummond, and then the Americans were defeated in their turn, and driven to Fort Erie. In these operations the commander-in-chief took no part; and even when reinforced with twelve thousand chosen troops from Europe, his want of energy threw a damp on every part of the service, and proved the source of the most mortifying disasters. On the arrival of the above force, sir George marched at their head towards Lake Champlain, with the professed object of laying siege to Plattsburg. The place was weak, the works were in an unfinished state, and the garrison consisted of country recruits and militia. Notwithstanding all this, the British general approached slowly, as if he dreaded a formidable enemy on each side of him; but meeting with no opposition, he, at the beginning of September, reached the place of destination. It was now expected that orders for an immedate assault would be issued; but the cautious general saw dangers where none were to be found, and magnified into insuperable obstacles the most trifling impediments. His first excuse for not commencing an attack, was the want of a naval force; but, within a few days, this objection was removed by the appearance of commodore Downie, who at once began his operations, naturally looking for a co-operation on the land side. To his great chagrin, however, he was compelled to endure the combat without support, and fell in the midst of the action. The squadron continued the fight after the loss of their brave commander; till, overpowered by numbers, every ship was either destroyed or taken. Even then the military force was more than adequate to the reduction of the fortress; but though the soldiers clamorously demanded leave to assail it, the general, after firing a few pieces, broke up from before the place, and withdrew, leaving behind him a great quantity of stores.

As a slight compensation for this scandalous stain upon the national honour, general Drummond, without any support from the commander-in-chief, drove the republicans out of the Niagara district, and compelled them to abandon Fort Erie. Soon afterwards sir George Prevost was ordered home, to give an account of his conduct; but his death put an end to the investigation.

In other parts of the American continent, the operations of the British were of a more decided character. A joint military and naval expedition to the bay of Fundy, conducted by colonel John, and captain Barrie, was successful in the destruction of a great number of posts and vessels; besides which, three small islands at Passamaquoddy were taken possession of, and put into a state of defence.

But the principal transaction of the war was the capture of Washington, which object was undertaken in the middle of August by admiral sir Alex-

under Cochrane and general Ross. Previous to the operation, admiral Cockburn proceeded up the Patuxent river, to destroy a flotilla that lay there. The American commander perceiving no chance of escape, set fire to the vessels; and thus his own ship and fifteen large gun-boats were blown up. The troops having landed, advanced to Bladensburg, where they were encountered by an army much superior in numbers, and well strengthened by a line of batteries. Not at all daunted by these formidable preparations, the British rushed on, and carried all before them at the point of the bayonet; then following the fugitives into the city, soon succeeded in silencing the fire that opened upon them from the Capitol and other buildings. As soon as the other divisions came up, the public works were set on fire, and nothing but private property was respected. While this work of destruction was going on, another branch of the naval force demolished Fort Washington, on the Potowmac river; after which, Alexandria became an easy conquest, where the victors found a vast quantity of valuable stores, with twenty-one sail of shipping, full laden, which they brought away to the fleet in the Chesapeak. Encouraged by these various successes, admiral Cochrane and general Ross resolved to make an attempt upon Baltimore, one of the principal commercial cities belonging to the United States. Accordingly, on the 12th of September, the troops disembarked about eighteen miles from that place, and proceeded along a narrow neck of land which divided two rivers. Here they were opposed by a body of riflemen, who retreated into the neighbouring wood, but still kept up a galling fire; and as general Ross was leading on his men to repel the attack, he received a shot in the breast, and died almost immediately. Colonel Broke then took the command, who, as he advanced, discovered near six thousand Americans drawn up behind a strong barricade. This hostile force opened at once a powerful fire of musketry upon the invaders; but finding that it had not the effect of throwing them into confusion, the whole body of republicans fled, leaving a number behind them, both in killed and wounded.

On the next day, the British proceeded within two miles of Baltimore, which, though strongly fortified, and defended by near fifteen thousand men, would have been attacked, had not the admiral found that all entrance into the harbour was prevented by the sinking of vessels, and the arrangement of gun-boats, flanked by batteries. Upon this, it was deemed prudent to give up the meditated attempt, and to re-embark the troops, which object was effected without difficulty; the Americans evincing no inclination to impede their retreat.

Another unfortunate expedition after this was undertaken by sir Edward Pakenham, against New Orleans, in Louisiana. On the arrival of the British forces, it was found that the enemy had been apprised of their approach, for the Mississippi was strengthened by heavy batteries, in such a manner, on both sides, as to render an advance extremely critical. An attack, however, on the right bank was resolved upon, and it was conducted by the commander in person, who fell at the onset; as also did major-general Gibbs, for want of support. An awful pause now ensued, during which a consultation was held with admiral Cochrane, when, as so much time had been lost, it was determined to draw off the troops, whose retreat the enemy did not molest.

At this time, though unknown to the belligerents, the commissioners at Ghent had come to a friendly conclusion, and, on the 24th of December a treaty of peace and amity was signed between Great Britain and the United States.

This pacification surprised the political world by its total omission of the claim to search, impressment of British seamen found in American ships, and the pretensions of neutral states; which were the three points that formed the original grounds of the war. Instead, however, of touching upon all or any one of these important articles, the treaty was confined to the question of boundaries, the retention or cession of places captured during hostilities, and the subject of the slave-trade, on which last article the American government professed its readiness to co-operate with Britain in an abolition of the traffic.

At this period, India was also the scene of warfare. On the north side of

the province of Oude, extends the hilly country of Nepaul, inhabited by a race of desperate freebooters, called Goorkas, whose frequent incursions had often given trouble to the Bengal government. These people, at length, after having been divided into small tribes, became united, and consequently more formidable, under a chief named Umeer Sing, who displayed no common powers as a warrior and politician. The predatory inroads committed by his subjects upon the territory of the English, were now so often repeated, and injurious, that lord Moira resolved to send a respectable force to reduce the maranders to order. Accordingly, two bodies of troops, one commanded by general Gillespie, and the other by colonel Ochterlony, entered that part of Nepaul lying to the west of the Ganges, at different points, with a view of co-operating in an attack upon the enemy's strong fortress of Kalunga, standing on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain. Gillespie, with his usual celerity, came within sight of his object, towards the end of October, and immediately sent forward a detachment against the place; but the officer returned for answer, that it was impracticable. The general, however, who had seldom engaged in any service without carrying it, resolved to lead the attack in person, and he so far accomplished his purpose, as to penetrate into the works; but while waving his sword, and cheering on his men, he was shot through the heart, and instantly expired. This disaster had such a disheartening effect on the troops, that the next senior officer ordered a retreat, and the whole, with their artillery, returned to the camp. Some time after, however, colonel Ochterlony brought the chief to action, and defeated him; in consequence of which, peace was concluded, and a large accession of territory came into the possession of the Company.

CHAP. XCVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1815.

THE new year was ushered in by an extension of the military order of the Bath, for the purpose of rewarding those officers in the army and navy, who had conspicuously distinguished themselves during the war. Accordingly, the order was now divided into three classes: the first limited in number to seventy-two members, denominated knights grand crosses; the second, of knights commanders, having precedence over all knights batchelors in the united kingdom; and the third, of companions of the order, ranking below knights, and above esquires.

On the 9th of February, the two houses of parliament met, after a long recess; but nothing of importance occurred till the 17th, when Mr. Robinson brought forward a series of resolutions, the object of which was to relieve the landholders and agriculturists, by preventing the importation of foreign grain, while the price of a quarter remained under eighty shillings, with the exception of what was grown in our North American colonies, which might be introduced when the price was sixty-seven shillings a quarter. A measure tending to keep up the price of so essential an article of life as corn, upon the rate of which most other descriptions of food depend, could not pass without exciting a strong sensation in the public feeling. Numerous petitions were poured into the house of commons against any alteration of the corn laws; but these applications were disregarded, the agricultural interests prevailed, and a bill, founded upon the offensive resolutions, was hurried on with unusual rapidity, and, on the 23d of March, it received the royal assent. During its progress, riots of a most alarming kind broke out in the metropolis, and the military were called out to assist the civil power; by which means some lives were lost, but not until several houses, particularly that of Mr. Robinson, had been attacked by the mob. In the midst of this agitation, lord Castlereagh, who had been for a long time at the congress of Vienna, arrived, and, on his appearance in the senate, the most vehement language was urged by the leading members of opposition, respecting his diplomatic conduct, though no documents on which any charges could be grounded, had as yet been laid before parliament, or were even moved for by the persons who assumed the character of public accusers. The minister

vindicated himself, and the powers with whom he had lately been employed to negotiate, in a very able manner, and most satisfactorily explained the honourable views of the allies, in regard to the minor states, upon whose rights they were said to have trespassed. But these discussions were soon put an end to by an explosion, which alarmed all Europe with the preparations for a new war.

When the confederated princes permitted Napoleon to choose for himself a place of residence, they overlooked the circumstances of France, and the character of her late chief. A nation which for so many years had been completely military, was not likely to become reconciled, all at once, to a pacific government; and even although the greater part of the population might be desirous of a tranquil life, there were elements enough spread over the country, of which an enterprising adventurer might take advantage, to raise new disturbances. There was nothing in the whole history of Buonaparte to warrant the confidence reposed in him; or to induce a belief that he would sit quietly contented within the narrow limits of an isle, from whence he could contemplate every hour the scenes of his recent glory. A small naval squadron was indeed kept up, to watch his movements; but if such a precaution was necessary, it became the more expedient that the force should have been adequate to its object, and the vigilance exercised commensurate with the danger to be apprehended. Napoleon knew well that he was guarded, and this alone was enough to keep up his hopes of a restoration. That he still had his agents in France, who were by no means idle in his service, is certain; for signs, words, and articles of dress, allusive to the exile of Elba, were prevalent, not only among the soldiers, especially the disbanded ones, but even among the citizens of Paris, who had been so long demoralized by the revolution and its consequences, that the attempt of a religious sovereign, even in example only, to bring about a reformation, was considered as a restriction of the public liberty. Napoleon, who knew the French people better than their lawful monarch appears to have done, resolved to seize the first opportunity that should present itself, of recovering the throne he had lost. The first step he took was to draw into his island, by degrees, several persons who were attached to his interests. Having procured a number of these strangers, his next object was to prevent the fact from creating jealousy, and his preparations from becoming public. For this purpose he prohibited all access to Elba, on account, as he pretended, of the misrepresentations which had been spread abroad, respecting him, by various travellers, particularly Englishmen. By these artifices, he was enabled to further his scheme without impediment, and to carry it into execution before the least suspicion of his design was entertained, either in France or on the continent opposite to Elba. Taking advantage of the absence of sir Neil Campbell, the British superintendant, Napoleon, on the 26th of February, embarked at Porto Ferrajo, with about eleven hundred men; and, on the 1st of March, landed at Cannes in Provence. No disposition was manifested in that part of the country to espouse his cause; and on the contrary, a party sent by him against Antibes, was repulsed. Buonaparte, however, being well aware that every chance of success depended upon the celerity of his movements, hastened forward, proceeding by Sisteron and Gap, across the mountains towards Grenoble, the garrison of which place joined him to a man. From thence he advanced to Lyons, where he experienced the same success; and the count d'Artois, now king of France, who then commanded the place, had some difficulty in effecting his escape, accompanied by marshal Macdonald. Having thus secured the second city in the kingdom, Napoleon remained there two or three days, during which he published a decree, annulling all that had been done in his absence, dissolving the legislative bodies, and ordering a general assembly to be convoked at Paris, in the month of May, for the settlement of the constitution, and the coronation of the empress and king of Rome. The intelligence of this invasion did not reach the capital till the 5th, where it produced great consternation; and a royal ordinance, declaring Buonaparte a rebel and a traitor. The national guards were called out, and large bodies of troops were stationed at different places. At this critical moment, marshal Ney waited upon the king,

and offered to take the command of the forces against Napoleon, pledging his honour that he would do his utmost to bring him prisoner in an iron cage. In consequence of this, fifteen thousand men were placed under his command, at the head of whom he set forwards, but had scarcely quitted Paris, before he mounted the tri-coloured cockade, and induced his soldiers to do the same, telling them that the reign of the Bourbons was at an end, and that the legitimate monarch of France was about to reascend the throne. The news of this treachery acted like an electrical shock; and it being now vident that no dependence was to be placed upon the army, Louis the Eighteenth quitted Paris on the evening of the 19th, followed by the rest of the royal family, and marshals Berthier, Macdonald, Marmont, and Mortier who still adhered to their oaths of allegiance. The fugitives took the road to Lisle; but afterwards the king removed to Ghent, there to wait the issue of this strange revolution in his affairs.

On the 20th, Napoleon entered Paris, where he immediately formed a new administration, and drew up a circular letter addressed to the sovereigns of Europe, announcing his return to the French throne, and the departure of the Bourbons; professing his intention to abide by the late treaty, and to content himself with the ancient territories of the kingdom. As a farther lure, evidently meant to impose upon the English nation, he passed one decree for abolishing the slave-trade, and another in favour of a free press.

In the mean time, the allied potentates issued a manifesto, declaring that "Napoleon Buonaparte, by violating the convention which put him in possession of Elba, had placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as the enemy of the world, he had justly become liable to public vengeance." This denunciation was followed up by suitable acts for the expulsion of the usurper; and immense numbers of troops were ordered to be put in motion by the two emperors, and the king of Prussia, which England covenanted to support by proper subsidies. On the other hand, Napoleon was not idle; for, in a short space, he did wonders, by throwing up new works all round Paris, mounted with four hundred pieces of cannon, to prevent another entrance of the allies into that city. Besides this he made preparations for inundating the neighbouring country in case of emergency, and declared the whole line of frontier to be in a state of siege. The imposing fete of the Champ de Maï, however, did not take place till the 1st of June, when the constitution of the empire was sworn to by all present with great pomp, and, after a long oration delivered by Napoleon in person, the eagles were distributed to the battalions, who pledged themselves to defend them with their blood. The hour was now fast approaching to put this declaration to the test, nor had the usurper any reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the infatuated men who adhered inflexibly to his fortune. At this time, two bodies of English and Prussian troops were stationed in Flanders; the one under the duke of Wellington, and the other under Blucher. As it was of the utmost consequence to Napoleon's interests to defeat one or both of these armies, before the arrival of the Russians and Austrians, he pushed the choicest of his forces with the utmost expedition into the Netherlands, and, on the 15th of June, made so vigorous an attack upon the Prussians, who were posted on the Sambre, that they retreated, and abandoned Charleroi. Blucher, on being apprized of this movement, and of the arrival of Buonaparte, drew in all his divisions, gave information to the duke of Wellington, and established himself in a position at Sombref, with a fixed resolution to fight a great battle, though the enemy was vastly superior in numbers. Napoleon was equally determined, and resolved to attack both armies on the same day. Accordingly, while Ney with the left wing was ordered to engage the British and their Belgian allies, he marched in person, with the right and centre, against the Prussians.

The action began on the morning of the 16th, near the village of Ligny, which the Prussians occupied, and it lasted till the evening, when the intrepid Blucher was constrained by an overwhelming force, and the want of assistance, to retire upon Wavre, leaving fifteen pieces of cannon in the hands of the victors, and a great number of dead on the field. The veteran himself had a narrow escape for his life. A charge led by him had failed,

and while retreating, the horse that he rode was shot, and fell upon him, by which accident he was stunned, and entangled under the dead animal. In this state his aid-du-camp alighted to share his fate; but the French cavalry passed over them without noticing either. Another charge of the Prussians succeeded, and the French being driven back by the same way, again passed the field-marshal and his faithful attendant, without stopping or injuring them. As soon as they were gone, the general was extricated from his perilous situation, and, mounting the horse of a dragoon, rejoined his army.

While the Prussians were thus engaged, the British and Belgians were attacked with equal vigour at Quatre Bras, a farm-house on the high-road to Brussels; which position the duke of Wellington occupied as most favourable for effecting a junction with, and of giving support to, Blucher in case of need. In this design, however, he was disappointed, and when the force which he had stationed there became the object of attack, the English cavalry and artillery had not arrived; so that the infantry under general Picton, and the Germans commanded by the duke of Brunswick, had to sustain repeated charges without the adequate means of resistance. Notwithstanding this they performed prodigies of valour, and at length compelled their assailants to retreat; but not without sustaining a great loss, particularly in the duke of Brunswick, who fell in the heat of the battle.

The duke of Wellington, in the course of the evening, retired first to Genappe, and next to the village of Waterloo, near which stands a hill called Mont St. Jean, on which he stationed his force, consisting of sixty-seven thousand men. It is remarkable that this very spot had struck the attention of the duke in the preceding year, when passing through Flanders to Paris; on which occasion he said, that if ever it should be his fortune to fight a battle for the defence of Brussels, this was the place he should choose. The time was now come to verify the military prediction; and, after a night of incessant rain, during the whole of which the troops lay under arms, the morning of the 18th opened with the prospect of a tremendous conflict, for Napoleon brought on his entire force, in full confidence of annihilating the English. At an early hour, his advanced guard took up the post of La Belle Alliance, in the rear of the heights occupied by their opponents, along which the French divisions ranged themselves, as they came on, with the greatest celerity. At this time, the right wing of the British extended to a ravine, between which and the centre lay a house and garden, called Hougumont, which they occupied in force. The left of the centre rested upon a farm called La Haye Sainte; and beyond it lay, but at a considerable distance, the position of the Prussians. The battle began about ten, by a furious assault upon Hougumont, which place was defended by a division of the guards, who repelled every attempt made to dislodge them, with the most determined resolution; and, at length, the French retired, after losing above two thousand men. The post of La Haye Sainte next became the object of attack, in which the enemy proved more successful, though not without meeting a desperate resistance from the Hanoverians, who maintained their ground till all their ammunition was expended.

Elated by this momentary advantage, the enemy pushed on immense columns of horse and foot, supported by eighty pieces of artillery, in order to force the centre. Here a terrible conflict ensued; and the division commanded by sir Thomas Picton, forming itself into a compact square, presented such an appearance, that the French, after firing a volley, which killed the brave commander, hastily retreated. Another charge was afterwards made upon the Highlanders, who at first fell into disorder, but, being supported, re-advanced, and compelled their antagonists to a precipitate flight. In this quarter, the Scots Greys were particularly distinguished by deeds of heroism, in nearly destroying a body of infantry, and routing a corps of cuirassiers. In this sanguinary combat fell sir William Ponsonby, with several other valuable officers. While the battle continued to rage with unabated fury, and the arrival of the Prussians was looked for with the most intense anxiety, Napoleon ordered up his guards, consisting of fifteen thousand men, together with a strong body of reserve, to advance against the ridge on which the British were posted. These chosen troops, the flower of the French army, came on with surprising

confidence, but just as they reached the summit, a detachment of the guards gave them such a reception, that they were thrown into disorder; which the duke of Wellington perceiving, seized the opportunity, and as at that crisis the Prussians, under Bulow, made their appearance, he ordered a general assault to be made by his whole line. The word of command was no sooner issued, than it was as promptly obeyed; and the effect upon the French was electric, for they fell back instantly, and thereby threw their whole army into confusion. According to the account published by themselves, a complete panic spread through the field of battle; the troops threw themselves into the greatest disorder upon the line of communication, soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed together upon that point; so that even the old guard, which was in reserve, caught the infection, and was hurried along by the torrent. In an instant the entire army presented nothing but a tumultuary mass; all the soldiers were mixed together; and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The very squadrons drawn up by the side of the emperor were overthrown and disorganized by this overwhelming force; leaving the park of reserve, and the baggage, in the hands of the enemy.

Napoleon, when he saw his favourite guards recoil, began to be dismayed; and his agitation increased, till, at length, instead of making a personal effort to gain either victory or a glorious grave, he exclaimed, "It's all over," and quitted the field.

On the spot which he had left, Blucher and Wellington soon afterwards met, and having mutually congratulated each other, parted, the one to take care of his wearied soldiers, and the other to pursue the fugitives, who fled through Charleroi, followed close at the heels by the Prussians. The road presented the appearance of an immense wreck, being covered with cannon, waggons, baggage, and arms of all kinds. At Genappe, the carriage of Napoleon was taken, with his hat and sword in it, so narrowly did he escape falling into the hands of his pursuers.

This great victory was not achieved without an immense loss of life; and few battles, in the modern history of war, have returned so sanguinary a list. Two British generals and four colonels fell in the field; and nine generals and five colonels were among the wounded. The total loss on their side, exclusive of the Prussians, exceeded 13,000 men, but that of the French must have been treble the number, for above 20,000 were found dead in the field, and many perished in the retreat.

Yet, when Buonaparte reached Paris, where he brought the news of his disaster, he coolly told his ministers that his army was annihilated, and that they must assist him in raising another. Messages to the same effect were sent to the two chambers, who, instead of acceding to the demand of the usurper, insisted upon his abdication. Lucien, his brother, advised him to assume the dictatorial authority; but he hesitated, and, in the mean time, the legislative bodies having some intimation of the design, decreed that any attempt to dissolve them, or to abrogate their authority, should be considered and punished as high treason. Napoleon, upon this, published a declaration, in which he resigned the throne to his son. A provisional government was now appointed, and commissioners were despatched to acquaint the allied sovereigns with the change that had taken place; but as the generals on the frontiers would not let the messengers pass, they were obliged to return to Paris. Here all was bustle; the national guards were called out; the lines were strengthened with new works; and Grouchy was ordered to assume the command.

While this spirit was manifested by the associated Jacobins, who dreaded the sovereign whom they had so lately betrayed, and could no longer support the fallen tyrant; Wellington and Blucher advanced by rapid strides towards the capital. The former marched by Bavay, Cateau, Cambresis, and Nesle, on the right; and the latter by Beaumont, Guise, La Fere, and Noyon, on the left.

Grouchy, though closely pressed, succeeded in crossing the Marne, and conducted his army to the capital; which increased the force there to near 50,000 regular troops, besides the national guards, and some new levies. The works round the city were also strengthened; but the allies, by a skilful manœuvre, soon rendered them of no avail. As the British army approached, the Prus-

sians, who had hitherto formed the left, hastened by a flank movement to the right, crossed the Seine at St. Germain, and pursued their route along the side of that river. They were strongly but ineffectually opposed, on the 2d of July, at St. Cloud, and though again attacked the next day, they repulsed the assailants, who sustained a considerable loss. Meanwhile a communication had been established with the British army, by a bridge thrown across the river at Argenteuil, and another corps moved upon the left towards the Pont de Neuilly. The enemy, finding the capital thus exposed on its vulnerable side, proposed an armistice, for the purpose of entering into negotiations; which was acceded to, and, on the same evening, a military convention was agreed to between the duke of Wellington and prince Blucher on the one part, and marshal Davoust on the other, by which it was stipulated that the French army should evacuate Paris within three days, with its arms, cannon, military chest, and property of every kind, and retire behind the Loire. The convention also guaranteed the safety of property, public and private, and stipulated that no person should be molested on account of his conduct or political opinions. This convention was declared to be common to all the allied armies, provided it should be ratified by the respective sovereigns; and ten days' notice was to be given in case of a rupture on either side. The French army having withdrawn agreeable to the conditions, the British and Prussians entered Paris on the 6th; two days afterwards Louis XVIII. made his public entry; and, on the 10th, the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia arrived. The first act of the king was to dissolve the two chambers, which till the last moment were engaged in turbulent discussions, denouncing vengeance against all violators of the independence of France, and protesting against receiving any monarch who would not subscribe to articles of their framing.

At this second visitation of Paris, the Prussians were with great difficulty restrained from taking ample vengeance on the place, for the evils which their country had suffered under French domination. Blucher demanded a contribution of one hundred millions of francs, and planted cannon on the bridges to enforce the requisition; but, through the interference of Louis with the allied sovereigns, the sum was reduced to eight millions.

While these transactions were taking place, Buonaparte having applied in vain, through M. Otto, to the duke of Wellington, and the British government, for passports to America, prevailed upon the provisional government to place at his disposal two armed vessels at Rochefort. Thither he repaired on the 3d of July, but finding that the port was closely blockaded by an English squadron, he came to the resolution of surrendering himself, and accordingly went on board the Bellerophon, captain Maitland. While in this ship, he addressed a letter to the prince-regent, in which he compared himself to Themistocles, and claimed the "protection of his royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of his enemies." To this application no answer was returned, and, on the 7th of August, Napoleon was transferred to the Northumberland, for the purpose of being conveyed, with some of his attendants, to the island of St. Helena, where he died on the 5th of May, 1821.

With regard to France, it would have been preposterous, after exhibiting such a complete dereliction of principle, to suffer her to retain the means of again disturbing the whole civilized world. The abuse of that leniency which had been manifested in the former conquest, laid the victors under a necessity of adopting measures of restraint, and even of humiliation, towards a power, upon whose integrity, in the observance of covenants, no reliance was to be placed. The French might be mortified, but they had no right to complain, when the allied powers insisted upon a restoration of those monuments of antiquity and art, of which, at various times, other countries had been robbed, in order to enrich the museum, and to adorn the public edifices, of Paris. But the pride of these people was destined to suffer still more, in the cession to the allies of the most important fortresses along the frontiers; and the dismantling of the works of Huninguen. Seventeen of the principal towns on the borders of Flanders, Champagne, Lorraine, and Alsace, were to be occupied for five years, by 150,000 of the allied troops, for whose maintenance

France was laid under contribution; besides being assessed in the sum of seven hundred millions of francs, or £29,166,666 sterling, to be paid in the course of five years.

These were measures of a retributive nature, which the allied powers could not avoid enforcing, without injury to their own subjects, who had suffered incalculably by the recent effort to replunge all Europe in an interminable war.

But justice required other sacrifices, by way of example; though such was the demoralized state of the country, that it was not an easy matter to make a selection, where treason was general. Labedoyere, the first officer who had renounced his allegiance, and joined the usurper, was, however, on that account, considered as a delinquent deserving of judgment. The next, but by far the greatest offender, was Ney, who had betrayed his sovereign with circumstances of the blackest hypocrisy. After the battle of Waterloo, this man retired into Switzerland, but was given up at the demand of the French government, and sent to prison. Of his guilt there could be no doubt, yet it was with difficulty that a court-martial could be formed for his trial. It was alleged on his behalf, that he came under the protection of that clause in the convention, by which the allied generals pledged themselves to the protection of all persons then in Paris, without any exception. An appeal being made by Ney to the ministers of the great allied powers, the duke of Wellington, as one of them, properly stated, that the article in question was purely military, and was never intended, nor could be applied to political or civil cases, with which the British and Prussian commanders had no right to meddle. After some delay the trial was proceeded with, the traitor was doomed to die, and, on the morning after the sentence, he received the meed which he deserved.

Lavalette, another of the adherents of the usurper, was tried for holding a correspondence with him previous to his landing, and for having taken possession of the post-office, by which means the king's proclamation was prevented from being circulated. These charges were fully proved, and he was sentenced to die; but before his appeal to the court of cassation could be determined, he effected his escape in the clothes of his wife. As it afterwards appeared that he was assisted in his plans by sir Robert Wilson, captain Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce, those persons were all put on their trial by the French government, and punished with only three months' imprisonment.

Thus it clearly appeared that the project of Napoleon had been concerted for some time with various persons in France; and it was also ascertained that the usurper had his agents in other quarters. Joachim Murat proved one of the most active and enterprising of these adherents; for though in the preceding change he abandoned his brother-in-law, he kept up a correspondence with him at Elba, and promised him his assistance in recovering the throne of France. He was as good as his word, for when it was known that Napoleon had entered Lyons, Murat commenced military operations in Italy; calling upon the inhabitants to shake off the Austrian yoke, and to join him in celebrating a *Champ de Mai*. But his revolutionary measures failed, and he retired to Toulon, from whence he proceeded to Corsica, where he collected a few desperate characters, with whom, at the beginning of October, he embarked for Calabria; but, on attempting to raise an insurrection there, he was attacked, defeated, and made prisoner. Soon afterwards, orders came from Naples for a court-martial to try him as a brigand; and his execution immediately followed the conviction and sentence.

In the West Indies also, attempts were made to re-establish the authority of Buonaparte; but with no better success than in Europe. When the news of what had occurred in France reached Martinique, the garrison declared in favour of Napoleon, which induced sir James Leith, who commanded the British troops in the Leeward Islands, to send a force thither for the support of the governor and loyal inhabitants. This prompt measure completely succeeded, and the people of Martinique, out of gratitude, established a decree admitting British vessels into their harbours on the same footing as those of France.

At Guadaloupe, the revolutionary spirit had a still more formidable appearance, being sanctioned by Linois the governor, and Boyer the general; when, however, the British forces arrived, these traitorous chiefs had not courage enough to stand an assault, but surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent home to be treated according to their deserts.

CHAP. XCIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1815 to 1817.

PREVIOUS to the battle of Waterloo, an air of despondency was assumed, either real or affected, by the leaders of opposition in the British parliament; whose speeches tended to reconcile the people to the new revolution that had taken place in France. Fortunately, their sophistry was as weak as their numbers were few; and England, by her perseverance, had the glory of establishing the peace of Europe upon a permanent foundation. On the 24th of June, the prince-regent sent a message to both houses, announcing his desire of manifesting a sense of the signal and splendid achievement of the duke of Wellington; and recommending such additional provision for that illustrious commander, as would shew the gratitude so justly due to him by the nation for his most transcendent services. Votes of thanks accordingly followed to the duke, as well as to the officers and men under his command, and also to prince Blucher and the Prussian army.

At the same time, a grant of two hundred thousand pounds to the duke of Wellington, passed through parliament, and received the royal assent. Nor was this illustrious commander neglected by foreign powers, for the king of the Netherlands bestowed upon him the domain on which the great action was fought, with the title of Prince of Waterloo.

On the 4th of July, the house of commons passed unanimously a vote of thanks to the duke of York, for his continued, effectual, and unremitting exertions in raising the military character of the country to such a distinguished rank amongst the nations of the world. Such was the brilliancy with which this session ended; and, on the 12th of the same month, the prince-regent delivered a speech from the throne, full of animation in the review of past events, and expressive of a determination to continue his exertions until he should be enabled, in conjunction with his allies, to complete those arrangements which were necessary to ensure the peace and security of Europe.

While the British parliament was honouring and rewarding the victors of Waterloo, the nation at large displayed the utmost generosity towards the sufferers in that battle. Such, indeed, was the grateful and patriotic feeling of the people on this occasion, that, in a short time, half a million was raised by voluntary contribution, for the relief of the disabled soldiers, and the maintenance of the widows and families of the slain.

The remainder of the year was in a great measure occupied by the allied powers in arranging the articles of peace, and settling their respective boundaries, as far as the same had been affected by recent events. At the beginning of November, a treaty was signed between Russia and Great Britain, by which it was stipulated that Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa-Maura, Cerigo, Ithaca, and Paxo, with their dependencies, should become a free and independent sovereignty, with the title of the United States of the Ionian Islands, under the protection of his Britannic majesty.

On the 1st of February, 1816, the parliament re-assembled by commission; and, the day following, it was announced by the chancellor of the exchequer, that it was his intention to propose the continuation of the war taxes, including of course that upon property, for two or three years, in order to pay off arrears. This declaration immediately produced a general emotion throughout the kingdom; and the city of London having taken the lead in petitioning against the offensive impost, set an example, which was soon followed by a great number of provincial towns. This excitement had such an effect, that the minister failed in carrying his proposition: but if the people triumphed on this occasion, it was at their own expense; for as government was deprived

of a revenue which bore exclusively upon the wealthier part of the community, recourse was necessarily had to a continuance of the assessed taxes, and other modes, which pressed heavily upon the inferior classes of life.

On the 14th of March, lord Liverpool in the upper, and lord Castlereagh in the lower, house, delivered a message from the prince-regent, stating, that his consent had been given to a marriage between the princess Charlotte of Wales, and his serene highness prince Leopold George Frederic of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld; and recommending that a suitable provision should be made for them on the occasion. Accordingly, a vote passed the house of commons, fixing the establishment of the royal couple at £60,000 a year, £10,000 of which was to constitute the privy purse of the princess. It was further stated, that if the prince died first, the widow should enjoy the full settlement; but that if the reverse took place, the income of the prince, on the demise of his august partner, should be £50,000 a year. £60,000 was further voted as an outfit. The marriage was solemnized on the 2d of May; and two months afterwards, the princess Mary was led to the altar by her cousin, the duke of Gloucester.

The attention of parliament, during this session, was chiefly engaged upon financial subjects, and the regulation of the civil list. One important measure now carried into effect, was the consolidation of the debts and revenues of Ireland with those of Great Britain, in conformity to that article of the Union, which provided, that whenever the debt of the former should be to that of the latter in the proportion of two to fifteen, the legislature should interfere, and reduce the two exchequers into one. On the 2d of July, the parliamentary session ended with a speech from the throne, in which the prince-regent observed, with respect to the distresses of the agricultural and manufacturing classes, "that as they arose from temporary causes, he trusted they would be materially relieved by the progressive improvement of public credit, and by the reduction which was taking place in the burdens of the people."

To alleviate, in some measure, the sufferings which the labouring part of the community endured, through the stagnation of trade, a meeting was held in London, at the end of July, when a large subscription, which amounted to fifty thousand pounds, was entered into, headed by the royal family, the merchants, and the Bank of England. Another, for the particular relief of the weavers of Spital-fields, was soon afterwards formed, and produced a sum very little short of the former. But while the benevolent thus associated for the purpose of relieving the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, men of an opposite character exerted themselves in endeavouring to aggravate the misery, by collecting mixed crowds of people together, under the pretext of consulting upon the means of redressing their common grievances, and petitioning government. These disorderly assemblies, as a natural consequence, produced riots in different parts of the kingdom. In some places, the civil authority being insufficient to restore order, the magistrates were under the necessity of calling in military aid, by which means some of the ringleaders were secured, and brought to condign punishment. In London, towards the close of the year, things began to assume a very fearful aspect. On the 15th of November, a meeting convened by public advertisement, took place in Spa-fields, where one Henry Hunt, who had distinguished himself at Bristol and other places, as a political orator, harangued the populace with great vehemence, on their supposed wrongs, attributing all the privations which they endured to the government. A petition to the prince-regent was then brought forward, calling upon him to assemble parliament immediately; after which the people dispersed, without doing, at that time, any particular mischief. On the 2d of December, another meeting was convoked in the same place, when from fifteen to twenty thousand assembled; among whom were many disbanded seamen. In addition to Hunt, a young apothecary, named Watson, harangued the populace from a waggon, and, at the end of his speech, descended, calling upon his hearers to follow him; which some hundreds of them did, without knowing whither or for what end. Bending their course to the city, they increased in numbers as they proceeded, and pursuing their way through Smithfield to Snow-hill, commenced an attack upon the shop

of a gunsmith, near St. Sepulchre's church. While employed in carrying off fire-arms, a tradesman who happened to be passing, ventured to remonstrate with them on their conduct; which presumption so irritated Watson the leader, that he levelled a pistol at him, and wounded him severely. After this exploit, the rioters directed their steps to the Bank, but finding the gates closed, they crossed over to the royal exchange, where the lord-mayor had the precaution to shut the doors, and took some of them into custody. The main body, however, hastened forwards, and, in the Minories, plundered the shops of two more gunsmiths, from which they carried off, not only small arms, but two brass pieces of ordnance. On their return westward, the insurgents were met by a party of the horse-guards, who dispersed them without resistance. One of the most active of these desperate characters was soon afterwards tried and executed, opposite to the gunsmith's shop where the first outrage was committed; but Watson, though a reward of five hundred pounds was offered for his apprehension, remained concealed in the house of a tailor in Somers-Town, and, at the end of about five weeks, got off to America, in the disguise of a quaker.

The conduct of ministers at this crisis, incurred, and deservedly, very strong animadversions; for it was obviously their duty, after the first meeting, of the illegality of which there could be no doubt, to have prevented the second; or if not, they ought to have adopted some measures for the security of the metropolis, instead of leaving it, as they did, exposed to the ravages of a licentious mob.

Our attention is now called to scenes of a different description, in which British valour and humanity proved eminently conspicuous. The reduced condition of the European powers in the Mediterranean, having increased the audacity of the powers of Barbary to an insufferable degree, it was resolved by the British government to send such a naval force thither as should bring these marauders to submission. Admiral lord Exmouth was appointed to command this squadron, which, at the end of March, appeared off Algiers. Here a negotiation was immediately entered into with the dey, who consented release all the European slaves upon certain terms, and to avoid hostilities with Sardinia for the future. From thence the fleet proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, at both which places the admiral obtained the free liberation of the Sardinian captives, and the total abolition of slavery. He then returned to Algiers, and there made a fresh demand of the dey, that he should concur with the other states in putting an entire end to slavery in his dominions. The dey demurred at this requisition, and proposed a delay of six months, till he should receive the advice and sanction of the grand signior on the subject. This was granted, and the admiral returned to England. He had, however, scarcely left the African coast, when the barbarians proceeded to acts of outrage on the Europeans, particularly at Bona, a port in the territory of Algiers, which was much resorted to for the sake of the coral fishery; and where, at this time, above two hundred vessels lay under the protection of the British flag. Here, such of the Christians as happened to be on shore, were suddenly attacked by about four thousand Algerines, who murdered sixty, and threw nine hundred in irons, with threats of putting them also to death the next day. By the spirited interference of the British consul, however, this menace was not carried into execution; and, soon afterwards, the prisoners were sent on board their respective ships. When the intelligence of this outrage reached England, orders were instantly given for the return of lord Exmouth to the Mediterranean, where he was to be joined by a Dutch and Neapolitan force. As the dey either expected an attack, or was apprized of the armament by some of his agents, he lost no time in putting the place into a strong state of defence. Accordingly, about forty thousand men were brought down from the interior, and all the troops were called in from distant garrisons; which forces, together with the slaves, and a great portion of the population, were employed incessantly in erecting batteries, and fitting up gun-boats with mortars.

As the English admiral had reason to fear that the life of the consul was in danger, he sent forward the Prometheus, captain Dashwood, to bring him and his family away. But before that ship arrived, the dey had thrown the

consul into a dungeon, and he now made the boat's crew of the frigate prisoners. Captain Dashwood, however, waited upon the dey in person, and, by that means, succeeded in effecting the escape of the consul's lady and daughter in disguise; but the other child was left to be brought off in a basket by the surgeon. Unfortunately, the infant, by its cry, alarmed the guards, and the surgeon, with his party, became captives. The dey, however, sent off the child to the ship the following morning, and, as this was a solitary instance of his humanity, the admiral thought it worthy of record.

On the 27th of August, lord Exmouth sent a flag of truce to the dey, with the demands of the British government: but, as no answer was returned, the ships bore up, and having anchored close to the Mole, commenced a furious cannonade, which was as warmly returned, for above six hours, when the batteries were silenced, and all the vessels in the harbour, together with the arsenals and storehouses, were completely destroyed. Having accomplished this service, the squadron warped out of the reach of the burning magazines and shipping till the next morning, when the dey, dreading a renewal of the attack, or rather compelled by his own people, assented to the proposed articles of peace, which were, the abolition for ever of Christian slavery; the immediate delivery of all captives in his dominions; the repayment of such monies as he had received for the redemption of slaves since the beginning of the year; reparation to the British consul for all his losses; and a public apology to the same officer in the presence of the court. Above one thousand Christians were emancipated on this occasion, and conveyed to their native shores; besides which, near four hundred thousand dollars, that had been obtained by the dey as ransom money, were sent freely, without deduction, by the victors, to the Neapolitan and Sardinian governments, from whom the same had been originally wrested. The loss of the conquerors in this bombardment was very severe, amounting, in killed and wounded, to near one thousand men, but that of the Algerines and Turks was incalculable. The conduct of Great Britain, in this instance, exhibited a striking contrast to that of the United States, which power, about the same time, sent a fleet to demand of Naples five millions of ducats, as a compensation for property confiscated six years before, through fraud and violence, by Murat. The king, however, who certainly had no concern in the acts complained of, spiritedly refused, and made such an appeal to the great powers of Europe, that the Americans thought proper to lower their tone, and to be content with receiving back three ships which Murat had seized.

At the beginning of the present year, an insurrection of the negroes took place in the island of Barbadoes, which seemed to threaten the utter extinction of the white population. The introduction of a bill into parliament, for a registry of the slaves throughout the West Indies, led these infatuated people into a belief that the government intended to set them free, and that their masters kept them in bondage by force. Under this impression, on the night of Easter-day, the slaves rose in several parts of the island, and set fire to the plantations. Martial law was immediately proclaimed, but order was not restored till several of the insurgents were executed.

CHAP. C.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1817 to 1818.

PARLIAMENT met on the 28th of January, 1817, and one of the first objects noticed by the prince-regent in his speech, was the defalcation of the revenue, which was attributed to temporary causes; but without specifying any in particular. A prominent one was, the repeal of the property tax, the arrears of which, compared with those of the former years, amounted to near three millions. In allusion to the domestic state of the kingdom, his royal highness said, "Deeply as I lament the pressure of these evils upon this country, I am sensible that they are of a nature not to admit of an immediate remedy; but whilst I observe, with peculiar satisfaction, the fortitude with which so many privations have been borne, and the active benevolence which has been employed to mitigate them, I am persuaded that the great sources of our

natural prosperity are essentially unimpaired: and I entertain a confident expectation, that the native energy of the country will, at no distant period, surmount all the difficulties in which we are involved."

In his passage to the house of lords, the prince met with no interruption from the populace, but, by the time he entered the park at his return, the mob had assembled in vast numbers, and symptoms of disaffection became very violent. The life-guards were assailed with mud, and the glass on one side of the royal carriage was broken, either by stones, or, as was supposed, by bullets shot from an air-gun. The prince, on his arrival at St. James's, despatched the duke of Montrose to communicate the particulars of the outrage to lord Sidmouth, as secretary of state for the home department, in order that measures might be taken for preserving the peace of the metropolis. His lordship, after giving the necessary orders for this purpose, returned to the house of peers, where the duke of Montrose, and lord James Murray, who were in the state carriage with the prince, underwent an examination; after which, a message was sent by the lords, desiring a conference with the commons. The result of this was a joint address of the two houses to the prince, expressive of their "abhorrence and indignation at the outrage offered to his royal highness, and beseeching him to direct immediate proceedings, for the purpose of detecting, and bringing to justice, the guilty persons." A reward of one thousand pounds was offered for the apprehension of the offenders, but though one individual was taken up on suspicion, and admitted to bail, none of the perpetrators of the assault were actually discovered.

On the 3d of February, lord Sidmouth in the upper, and lord Castlereagh in the lower house, delivered a message from the prince, stating, "that he had ordered various papers and documents to be laid before them, containing information of certain meetings, practices, and combinations, in the metropolis, and different parts of the kingdom, tending to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects, to endanger the public tranquillity, to bring into hatred and contempt the government of the country, and to overturn the whole system of our laws and constitution."

The papers being referred to secret committees, produced two reports, both agreeing in substance, and presenting an alarming picture of the progress of revolutionary societies, ostensibly having for their object a reform of parliament, but, in effect, aiming at the total overthrow of all existing establishments, and the equal division of property. It appeared that these societies, which were very widely extended, acted under the influence of a committee called Conservative, which directed the operations of the whole. The levelling doctrines of these renovators were systematically and industriously disseminated amongst mechanics and manufacturers, discharged soldiers and sailors, and labourers of all descriptions. They were inculcated at frequent meetings, by speakers who made the distresses of the times topics of excitement and inflammation; and they were circulated with incredible activity, in cheap, and often gratuitous publications.

So completely organized was this system, that a delegated body conceived the project, and endeavoured to realize the means of raising a general insurrection. The preliminary step to this object was, by the individual exertion of the members of the committee, to foment the discontents of the metropolis and its vicinity. The next was, to set fire to the barracks in the night, and, at the same time, to seize or destroy the bridges, and take possession of the Tower. This last scheme, however, the conspirators, upon deliberation, relinquished, thinking it more prudent to ascertain previously what force they could muster, for which purpose it was agreed to convene a public meeting. Spa-fields was selected as the most eligible spot; and though the first attempt failed, it was clear that the same designs still continued to be prosecuted with confidence of success.

In the country there was a widely diffused ramification of societies, designated Hampden clubs, holding connexion with an association of the same name in London. The communication between these affiliated bodies was carried on by delegates, and the greatest number of them appeared to be in the manufacturing districts of the midland counties. The members consisted for the most part of the lower order of artisans, who looked for nothing

short of a revolution. It was a universal practice in these societies, to require from the members a small weekly subscription for the support of the missionaries, and the purchase of seditious publications. The effects were such as might naturally be expected from a combination on the principles of insubordination. The habits and manners of the associators were changed, they already calculated upon the share of land which each was to possess; and pointed out the destruction of the churches as the necessary consequence of their success. To ensure this, preparations were in progress in several places, for providing arms; and the demand upon gunsmiths exceeded all former example.

Upon this report, ministers deemed themselves justified in proposing to the legislature, the suspension of the habeas corpus act till the 1st of July; a bill for the more effectual prevention of seditious meetings; another for the security of the prince-regent; and a third for rendering more penal the seduction of soldiers from their allegiance. Though these measures were warmly contested, and gave rise to very animated debates, they were carried through both houses with great rapidity, and by powerful majorities.

On the 7th of February, lord Castlereagh submitted to the house of commons, an exposition of the financial state of the empire, in which, contrary to the old mode of exhibiting distinct estimates, he gave a connected view of the general expenditure. Upon the whole, the gross saving for the year, as compared with the preceding one, amounted to six millions and a half. But the most striking feature in this luminous statement, was the voluntary sacrifice of £50,000 a year, out of his immediate revenue, by the prince-regent, who, it was observed, calculated on supporting the dignity of the throne, not by his personal appearance, but by securing the happiness of the people; being determined to share their privations, as he had enjoyed their triumphs and their glory. In imitation of this illustrious example, the principal servants of the crown also resolved to make some sacrifice to the public emergencies. Nor should the conduct of the marquis of Camden be passed over, who gave up all the emoluments of his tellership in the exchequer, for the benefit of the nation.

At the end of April, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward a plan, which passed into an act, for the issuing of one million and a half in exchequer bills for Great Britain, and £250,000 for Ireland, to be applied to the completion of public works, fisheries, and other purposes, as the means of employing the poor, and relieving the parishes.

In the following month, Mr. Grattan introduced his annual motion, for a committee, to take into consideration the state of the Roman Catholics; which produced the usual arguments on both sides of the question. But though the measure was ably advocated by lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, it was negatived by 245 to 221. In the upper house, a similar motion, made by lord Donoughmore, experienced a more decided opposition, and was rejected by a majority of ninety votes.

On the 30th of May, Mr. Charles Abbot, who had filled the chair as speaker of the house of commons, with great dignity and independence, fifteen years, resigned his situation on account of his health; and was succeeded by Mr. Charles Manners Sutton. Soon afterwards, Mr. Abbot was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Colchester, and the house, in remuneration of his distinguished services, voted him a pension of £4000 for life, with a reversion of £3000 per annum for his eldest son.

On the 3d of June, a message was communicated to both houses, with the information that the prince-regent had ordered papers to be laid before them, respecting certain affiliated societies, combined for seditious and treasonable purposes, in different parts of the kingdom. Accordingly, secret committees were appointed for the examination of this mass of documentary evidence; and from their reports, it appeared, that the recent measures adopted by parliament had only altered the plans of the disaffected, and made them more cautious in their proceedings. A general rising, however, seems to have been resolved upon, and the town of Nottingham was chosen as the headquarters, where the insurgents were to assemble in small parties, armed, as they could make it convenient, either by purchase or force.

Upon this report, a prolongation of the suspension of the habeas corpus act, to the 1st of March, 1818, was moved in both houses, and carried, after long and animated debates; in which ministers were severely censured for having had recourse to the agency of a spy, to gain information respecting the projects of the conspirators.

On the 30th of June, an affecting circumstance occurred in the house of commons; where Mr. Ponsonby, during the discussion of the navy estimates, fell down in a fit, in consequence of which an adjournment took place, and, within a few days afterwards, he died.

At the close of the session, Mr. Wilberforce in the lower, and lord Grenville in the upper house, exposed the enormities still committed, chiefly by the Portuguese and Spaniards, in the prosecution of the slave-trade; by which means the abolition of that traffic on the part of the British nation was rendered nugatory, and even injurious, to the unhappy Africans. An address, therefore, was moved by both houses to the prince-regent, recommending an effective concert with the great powers of Europe on this subject.

On the 12th of July, parliament was prorogued with a speech from the throne, at the conclusion of which, his royal highness said, "I cannot allow you to separate, without recommending to you, that upon your return to your several counties, you should use your utmost endeavours to defeat all attempts to corrupt and mislead the lower classes of the community; and that you should lose no opportunity of inculcating amongst them, that spirit of concord and obedience to the laws, which is not less essential to their happiness as individuals, than it is indispensable to the general welfare and prosperity of the kingdom."

The propriety of this advice was evinced by the agitated state of the kingdom, and the partial efforts made in various places to excite commotions. As early as February some persons were arrested in the metropolis, and committed by the privy-council to the Tower, on the charge of high-treason. At the beginning of June, the elder Watson, the principal of this band, was brought to his trial, separately, in the court of king's bench, but, through a defect of evidence, a verdict of acquittal was pronounced; in consequence of which, the other prisoners were discharged.

At Manchester, a meeting was held in March, for the ostensible purpose of getting up a petition to the prince-regent; and it was resolved that the populace should proceed to London, and present it themselves. The magistrates, however, interfered, and, instead of suffering the body to march as was intended, they took the delegates into custody, and sent them up to the secretary of state, who, by virtue of the recent acts for the conservation of order, caused them to be committed to prison. In other parts of the country, things wore a still more frightful aspect, and, on the 9th of June, an insurrection broke out near Nottingham, which had all the appearance of an incipient rebellion. The rioters, under the direction of one Jeremiah Brandreth, commonly called "the Nottingham Captain," marched in some force, and compelled the people, wherever they came, to give up their arms. At one farm they met with resistance, on which Brandreth deliberately shot the man; which act he afterwards pretended to justify on military principles. The insurgents, however, were soon subdued; but though thirty-five of them were brought to trial at Derby, only three of the ringleaders suffered the judgment they deserved.

Among the other domestic incidents of the year, may be noticed the completion of that magnificent structure, which, in commemoration of the most splendid event of the period of its erection, was designated the Waterloo Bridge. The 18th of June, on which the great battle occurred, being selected for the ceremonial, the prince-regent, and other illustrious personages, went from Whitehall in barges, through the centre arch, after which they formed a grand cavalcade, on the Surrey shore, and, having passed over the bridge, to the Middlesex side, took water again, and returned as before. During the procession, there was a discharge of two hundred and two guns, being the number of cannon captured in the great victory which gave peace to Europe.

Another incident, of a less splendid nature, that engaged momentary attention during this summer, was the return of lord Amherst to Portsmouth, on

the 17th of August, from an unfruitful and very mortifying embassy to China. This was the second mission to that country in the course of the present reign. The first was conducted in 1793, by earl Macartney, who, at least, supported the dignity of the crown which he represented, in a becoming manner, and did something for science, by penetrating through a considerable part of that great country. But the minister who was next despatched for the purpose of opening a friendly and commercial connexion with the Chinese government, gave umbrage to that jealous power at his first arrival, and, in consequence was dismissed in so very uncourteous a manner, that it is not likely any more diplomatic visits will ever be paid by British noblemen to the head of the celestial empire.

Whatever might be the mortification produced in the public mind by this unfortunate mission, the sense of it was soon swallowed up in the consternation occasioned by the death of the princess Charlotte of Wales. This sudden and fearful blow to the hopes of the nation, occurred on the 6th of November, almost immediately after the delivery of a still-born child. Never, perhaps, was a calamity of this nature so deeply felt, and certainly none was ever more generally lamented, than this sudden dissolution of a princess whose marriage had so lately excited universal pleasure, and whose conduct in that state had given no less satisfaction. On the 19th, the obsequies took place in the royal dormitory at Windsor; and such was the effect produced by this melancholy event, that it seemed as if every family in the kingdom had been deprived of one of its nearest relations.

On the 27th of January, 1818, the British parliament was opened by commission, when the lord chancellor, in the speech delivered to the two houses, observed, in regard to the recent calamity, that, "under the awful dispensation of Providence, it was a soothing consolation to the prince-regent's heart, to receive from all descriptions of his majesty's subjects, the most cordial assurances, both of the just sense of the loss which they had sustained, and of their sympathy with his parental sorrow: and, that amidst his own sufferings, his royal highness had not been unmindful of the effect which this sad event must have on the interests and future prospects of the kingdom."

The first object to which the attention of parliament was directed, was the immediate repeal of the habeas corpus suspension act, which was followed by a report in each house from a committee of secrecy, appointed to consider the state of the country. After taking a review of the disturbances that had arisen, and pointed out the causes of them, the committees expressed their satisfaction at the restoration of tranquillity, and an entire approbation of the conduct of government. Upon these reports were founded bills, indemnifying all who had been concerned in the arrest or detention of persons suspected of treasonable practices. These bills, though strenuously opposed, were carried by large majorities.

Another subject which came under the consideration of the legislature this session, was the state of the ecclesiastical establishment, when, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, a grant of one million was made for the building of new churches. In addition to this parliamentary bounty, a large subscription was entered into by public-spirited individuals, for the same laudable object.

The projected marriages of the dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, to the princesses of Saxe Meiningen, Saxe Leinengen, and Hesse Cassel, produced a motion in the house of commons, for an additional grant of £10,000 a year to the first of the royal personages, and £6000 a year to each of the other two; as also to the duke of Cumberland. The first proposition was negatived, and the duke of Clarence was put upon the same footing with his brothers; in consequence of which his royal highness refused the modified grant altogether. The proposal for the duke of Cumberland was also rejected, but his duchess was included in the reversionary provision of £6000 a year, as settled on the intended consorts of the royal dukes. The spirited princess, however, as soon as she was made acquainted with the resolution of the house, refused to accept of what had been denied to her husband, whose interest she regarded as her own.

Another royal marriage, which took place at this time, was that of the prin-

cess Elizabeth, his majesty's third daughter, to the hereditary prince of Hesse Homberg; but ministers made no application to parliament for a grant to her royal highness, who soon afterwards quitted the kingdom to reside abroad.

In the course of this session, a treaty which had been concluded between England and Spain, respecting the abolition of the slave-trade, was laid before the house of commons. This covenant stipulated, on the part of Spain, that the African trade to the north of the equator, should cease on the 30th of May, 1820; while England consented to pay Ferdinand the sum of £400,000, as a compensation for the losses sustained by his subjects, in consequence of captures made previous to the ratification of the treaty.

On the 10th of June, the prince-regent in person closed the session, and immediately afterwards parliament was dissolved.

At the beginning of November, the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, where it was settled that all the foreign troops should evacuate the French territory, on or before the last day of the same month.

But while Europe was thus reposing in tranquillity, the East Indies exhibited new scenes of warfare. An armed banditti, named Pindarrees, consisting chiefly of disbanded soldiers of different tribes, having committed depredations within the dominions of the company, it was found necessary to send a force against them; but while the troops were thus engaged, the Mahrattas rendered assistance to the marauders, and the peishwa, as well as the rajah of Berar, and the chieftain Holkar, ventured to appear in open hostility to the British government. The peishwa, however, was soon reduced, and deprived both of his capital and sovereignty; the rajah was glad to make peace with the loss of part of his dominions; Holkar, after a sharp conflict, submitted to the conditions imposed upon him by the conquerors; and the Pindarrees having sustained several defeats, and been driven from every lurking-place, were compelled to abandon their predatory courses, and settle in the districts allotted them for the purposes of agriculture and honest labour.

In England, the year closed with another instance of royal mortality, in the death of her majesty, queen Charlotte, at Kew, after a long and tedious illness, on the 7th of November; and, on the 1st of December, her remains were deposited in the sepulchre which her august consort, now unconscious of his loss, had caused to be erected for his family, at Windsor.

The character of this excellent woman, who, for the space of near sixty years, upheld the dignity of the English court by her virtue, and edified the whole nation by her example, may be summed up in a few words. She was devout without enthusiasm. Her piety appeared conspicuous and uniform through a long life of great splendour, but many trials; in all of which she so conducted herself, as to disarm the malicious by her prudence, and confound the slanderer by her purity.

CHAP. CI.

GEORGE III. (CONCLUDED.)—A. D. 1819 to 1820.

ON the 14th of January, 1819, the new parliament assembled for preparatory business; when the right honourable Charles Manners Sutton was unanimously re-elected speaker of the house of commons. On the 21st, the session was opened in due form, by commission, and the chancellor, on behalf of the prince-regent, delivered a speech, of which the principal points were, the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle; the reduction of the naval and military establishments; the successes of the British arms in the East; the conclusion of a commercial treaty with America; and the prosperous state of the country.

The usual addresses were then moved and carried, with little remark, and no opposition.

One of the first measures that came under discussion in the commons, was the settlement of the royal household; and the proposition to place the duke of York, with a salary of £10,000 a year, in the immediate charge of the king's person. This resolution was strenuously contested in its progress through

both houses; and after moving, ineffectually, that the allowance should be taken from the privy purse, an amendment was proposed, though with no better success, to reduce the grant to £5000 a year. But while ministers felt it their duty to keep the private fortune of the king untouched, upon constitutional and legal grounds; they spontaneously lowered the expenditure of the Windsor establishment, from one hundred thousand to fifty thousand a year.

Among the legislative proceedings of a more general nature, one of the principal was the appointment of a committee, to investigate that part of the criminal code which relates to the punishment of death. The subject had been brought forward in the former parliament by sir Samuel Romilly, on whose death it was taken up by sir James Mackintosh, who, on the 1st of March, carried his motion, for a committee, in opposition to ministers, who endeavoured to defeat it, by moving for an examination into the state of the gaols, and other places of confinement, but without any definite object. The sense of the house, however, went strongly on the other side, and, in aid of it, some petitions were offered, particularly one from the Quakers, which was presented by Mr. Wilberforce. As yet, indeed, comparatively little has been done towards the expurgation of the statute book in this respect; nor, perhaps, is it so easy a matter to determine what should be abrogated, or what ameliorated, in a country where the crown may soften the rigour of justice, but cannot punish the most atrocious criminal.

A committee of secrecy having been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Bank, Mr. Peel, who was at the head of it, made a special report on the 5th of April, and, at the same time, obtained leave to bring in a bill, to restrain that establishment from issuing gold for notes under five pounds. A large coinage had lately taken place in France, three-fourths of the bullion for which, there was reason to believe, had been derived from England. Besides, it was evident that whenever the period should arrive for the removal of the restrictions, it would be necessary for the Bank to be possessed of a considerable quantity of bullion, to answer any exigency. For these reasons the bill was brought in, and carried through both houses with great rapidity.

On the 3d of May, Mr. Grattan, in a very luminous speech, urged the consideration of the Catholic claims, which motion was so powerfully supported in a very full house, that it was lost only by a majority of two, the numbers being, for the proposed committee, 241, and against it, 243.

After what had been advanced on the highest authority, respecting the reduction of the national expenditure, and of the improved state of the country, the people naturally felt great surprise at the financial scheme produced towards the close of the session, by the chancellor of the exchequer. Instead of a relief from existing burdens, they were now required to bear an additional weight of taxation in the articles of malt, British spirits, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, tea, and pepper, making in all, three millions; the alleged object of which was stated to be, the providing a surplus of revenue for contingencies. To effect this purpose, a contract was entered into for a loan of twelve millions, and it was proposed also to apply thirteen millions and a half of the sinking fund, to cover the exigencies of the year. The plan, in its general principle and particular details, was vigorously opposed; notwithstanding which, the whole of it, with scarcely any modifications, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent.

During this session of parliament, new powers were granted to the Board of Longitude, for the encouragement of attempts to prosecute discoveries within the Arctic circle. One of the first measures adopted by the admiralty after the peace, was, the employment of two vessels, under the command of captain Ross and lieutenant Parry, on a voyage to explore Baffin's bay, with a view to ascertain whether any inlet existed, communicating with the Pacific ocean. Though the enterprise failed in that direction, the question of the north-western passage remained undecided; and as circumstances seemed to hold out a prospect of success in other quarters, government was induced to offer additional rewards by way of stimulating the exertions of new adventurers.

Accordingly, captain Parry, who had been second in the former voyage, was now made principal commander of a fresh expedition, which, on the 11th

of May, left England, to traverse the polar seas. This enterprise was attended with more important results than the former; and, after passing the Coppermine River, an island was discovered, to which the name of Melville was given. Here the ships wintered, and, at the end of the following summer, returned home safe.

While these efforts were making for the promotion of science, the internal state of the kingdom became subject to disgraceful convulsions. At the end of June, a meeting was held near Birmingham, where about fifteen thousand people assembled, for the purpose of electing a person to represent them in parliament, with the title of Legislatorial Attorney. Their choice fell upon sir Charles Wolesley, a baronet of that neighbourhood, who was weak enough to give his consent, and to promise that he would attend the house of commons in person, and demand his seat. This pledge, however, he was prevented from redeeming, by a warrant for his apprehension, to answer the serious charge of sedition, on which he was ultimately convicted, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. At the same time, one Harrison, a dissenting teacher, received the like judgment, for being an active partisan in this strange procedure.

Various other meetings of a similar character took place in the manufacturing districts; but that at Manchester, on the 16th of August, was attended with the most serious consequences. For some time previous, considerable anxiety had been excited in the public mind; as it was known that immense preparations were making by the political reformers, to appear in great force at the place announced for the rendezvous, which was a large open piece of ground, called Peter's-field. About noon, the first body arrived, carrying two banners, with the inscriptions, "Annual Parliaments," "Universal suffrage," and "No Corn Laws." Numerous other bands followed from the different towns in the neighbourhood, all with flags, some of which were inscribed "Liberty or Death." In this motley assemblage were two clubs of female reformers, who also had streamers, one of which bore this curious motto: "Let us die like men, and not be sold like slaves." Between one and two o'clock, the noted demagogue, Hunt, ascended the platform; but his harangue was interrupted by the yeomanry cavalry, who rode up quickly to the spot, which produced great confusion, and many attempted to run away. After a moment's pause, the yeomanry drew their swords, and took Hunt, with his companion Johnson, into custody. While this was going on, some of the cavalry cut at the banners with their sabres, which occasioned so much disorder, that four persons were killed, and forty-four wounded. On surrounding the hustings, a shower of brick-bats and paving-stones was hurled at the yeomanry, several of whom were struck, and one so severely, that his skull was fractured. In the course of the afternoon, several persons were apprehended, and some of them, with Hunt, were sent off to Lancaster Castle, on a charge of conspiring to alter the laws by force and violence. Their trials took place the next assizes, at York; when Hunt and three others were found guilty, and sentenced to different periods of imprisonment. Hunt, as the principal, was ordered to be confined in Ilchester gaol for two years and a half.

This affair excited a great emotion throughout the kingdom, especially in London, where a counrt of common council was held, to take into consideration the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry cavalry of Manchester; the result of which was, an address to the prince-regent, calling for an immediate and effectual inquiry into the outrages that had been committed, and to cause the guilty perpetrators thereof to be brought to signal and condign punishment.

In reply to this extraordinary demand, which went to prejudge and condemn men without trial, his royal highness gave the remonstrants a dignified rebuke: "With the circumstances which preceded the late meeting at Manchester," said he, "you must be unacquainted; and of those which attended it, you appear to have been incorrectly informed. If, however, the laws were really violated on that occasion, by those to whom it immediately belonged to assist in the execution of them, the tribunals of this country are open to afford redress; but to institute an extra-judicial inquiry, under such circumstances as the present, would be manifestly inconsistent with the clearest principles of public justice."

Other meetings for reform afterwards took place in Yorkshire, and different parts of the kingdom; but without any public commotion. The perturbed spirit of the times, however, seeming to call for some restrictive measures, parliament was convoked at an earlier period than usual, and the prince-regent, in his passage to the house, as well as in his return from it, on the 23d of November, was grossly insulted by the populace.

The speech from the throne turned wholly upon the agitated state of the country, and the prevalence of seditious doctrines, which had led to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity, and the peaceful habits of the industrious part of the community. In conclusion, his royal highness recommended to the wisdom of parliament, the adoption of vigorous measures, for the preservation of the constitution, and the repression of tumultuary assemblies.

Accordingly, sundry bills were brought forward by ministers: one against the authors and publishers of blasphemous and seditious libels, who, for a second offence, were rendered liable to fine, imprisonment, or transportation. The second was, to prevent the publication of dangerous tracts, by subjecting them to a stamp duty. By a third act, all meetings for training or drilling persons in the military art, without legal permission, were prohibited. A fourth bill gave authority to magistrates to seize fire-arms in private houses, upon suspicion that the same were kept for unlawful purposes. Another statute had for its object the prevention of political meetings, by subjecting them to the control of the magistrates in the first instance, and prohibiting all persons from being present, who did not belong to the parish where the same should be convoked.

Such were the additional barriers which government deemed most advisable in the critical situation of affairs, to provide for the defence of the constitution. The proposed measures, however, were vehemently attacked in both houses, as being not only subversive of the freedom of the press, but inimical to the rights of the subject, and at direct variance with the fundamental principles of English law and policy. Notwithstanding these arguments, and the protests which accompanied them, ministers succeeded in gaining a parliamentary sanction to the obnoxious bills, which, in due course, received the royal assent.

While the legislature was thus employed in strengthening the state, and checking the spirit of innovation, the public mind was greatly shocked by the death of his majesty's fourth son, Edward, duke of Kent, at Sidmouth, on the 23d of January, 1820. The illness which proved fatal to this excellent prince, was an inflammation of the lungs, the consequence of a cold caught by sitting in wet boots after a long walk. He was in his fifty-third year, and left by his duchess, who was the youngest daughter of the late reigning duke of Saxe Cobourg, an infant child, only eight months old, named Alexandrina Victoria, born in Kensington palace, May 24, 1819. The duke of Kent had gone through much service, especially in British America, the West Indies, and Gibraltar, of which last fortress, at the time of his death, he was governor. In private life, his virtues endeared him to all who were acquainted with him, and the zeal which he displayed for the promotion of every charitable design, rendered him exceedingly popular. On the 12th of February, his remains were deposited, with peculiar circumstances of sorrowful ceremony, in the family vault in the collegiate church of Windsor.

During the preparation for the interment of this estimable branch of the royal stock, the venerable monarch closed his mortal course, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign. But this event could not be said to come by surprise upon the public, as the increasing debility of the royal patient had been regularly announced by the bulletins of the medical attendants, for some months before the dissolution, which took place on the evening of the 29th of January. The duke of York was present at the last awful moment, and in his arms, the aged sovereign, without a sigh or a struggle, breathed his last. On the 15th of the following month, the royal obsequies were performed with due solemnity, in St. George's chapel, at Windsor.

Thus terminated a reign, equally unexampled in the English annals for its

length and its vicissitudes; but the last nine years of it, though uncommonly brilliant and glorious, were clouded to him who had borne so distinguished a part in the affairs of Europe; and whose firmness, amidst the revolutionary tempest, was the main cause of that triumph which he had not the happiness to enjoy.

All parties have been compelled by the force of truth, to bear testimony to the domestic virtues of the late king. The voice of faction, in endeavouring to depreciate his political principles, and to cast obloquy upon his public conduct as a monarch, never once dared to impeach his integrity, to call in question the uprightness of his motives, or to throw a stigma upon his private character.

He was temperate in his mode of living; affable to persons of every description; indefatigable in business; and patriotic even in his favourite amusements. As a husband and parent, he set an illustrious example to the nation; and his attachment to the great interests of religion, was manifested in the discharge of every duty, whether exclusively appertaining to his high station, or belonging to the ordinary relations of life. In all respects, urbanity, moderation, and tenderness, distinguished his government; and when he made a stand against innovations, it was upon such grounds, that those persons who were most affected by his scruples, revered the monarch for his sacred regard to the conscientious principles which influenced his conduct. Notwithstanding the stupendous shocks and changes, which, in so long a period, Britain experienced, the proofs are upon record, and the evidence is every where apparent, that she never stood so high in arts, literature, and science, or in arms, commerce, and honour, as in the reign of GEORGE THE GOOD.

CHAP. CIV.

GEORGE IV.—A. D. 1820 to 1821.

As soon as the intelligence of the royal demise reached London, the privy-council met, to whom his majesty made the following declaration:

"I have directed that you should be assembled here, in order that I may discharge the painful duty of announcing to you the death of the king, my beloved father.

"It is impossible for me adequately to express the state of my feelings upon this melancholy occasion, but I have the consolation of knowing, that the severe calamity with which his majesty has been afflicted for so many years, has never effaced from the minds of his subjects, the impressions created by his many virtues; and his example will, I am persuaded, live for ever in the grateful remembrance of his country.

"Called upon, in consequence of his majesty's indisposition, to exercise the prerogatives of the crown on his behalf, it was the first wish of my heart to be allowed to restore into his hands the powers with which I was intrusted. It has pleased almighty God to determine otherwise; and I have not been insensible to the advantages which I have derived from administering, in my dear father's name, the government of this realm.

"The support which I have received from parliament and the country, in times the most eventful, and under the most arduous circumstances, could alone inspire me with that confidence which my present situation demands.

"The experience of the past, will, I trust, satisfy all classes of my people, that it will ever be my most anxious endeavour to promote their prosperity and happiness; to maintain, unimpaired, the religion, laws, and liberties, of the kingdom."

On Monday, the 31st, the ceremony of proclaiming his majesty, George the Fourth, took place with the customary formalities, and at the usual places.

The next public measure of importance was a communication of a royal message to the peers, by the earl of Liverpool, on the 17th of February, as follows:

"The king is persuaded that the house of lords deeply participates in the grief and affliction of his majesty, for the loss which his majesty and the

nation have sustained, by the lamentable death of the king, his father. This melancholy event imposing upon his majesty the necessity of summoning, within a limited period, a new parliament, the king has taken into consideration the present state of public business, and is of opinion, that it will be, in all respects, most conducive to the public interest and convenience, to call the new parliament without delay. The king, therefore, recommends to the house of lords, to concur in such measures as may be found indispensably necessary to provide for the exigencies of the public service, during the interval which must elapse between the termination of the present session, and the opening of a new parliament."

A similar message was brought down to the house of commons by lord Castlereagh, and, on the 29th, parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

At this time the capital was thrown into a state of great alarm, in consequence of the discovery of a conspiracy, which had for its object, the assassination of the whole body of his majesty's ministers, while assembled, on the 23d, at the house of the earl of Harrowby, in Mansfield-street. Private information of the design being received by the civil power, Mr. Birnie, one of the magistrates of Bow-street, with twelve of the patrol, proceeded about eight o'clock to Cato-street, in the Edgware-road, where, in a loft over some coach-houses, the conspirators were found in close deliberation. The only approach to this den was by a ladder, which Ruthven the officer mounted first, followed by the others. On opening the door, about thirty men were seen, all armed, or engaged in preparing themselves for hostile operations. On the tables lay a large quantity of weapons and ammunition of various kinds, as swords, bayonets, pistols, and hand-grenades. When Ruthven entered, he exclaimed, "We are peace-officers! Lay down your arms." A scene of dreadful confusion ensued; the leader of the confederates advanced with a drawn sword of unusual length, which he plunged into the body of Smithers, the officer, who fell, and died instantly. The lights were now extinguished, and a desperate struggle ensued, in which some of the officers were severely wounded. At this moment, captain Fitzclarence, with a detachment of the guards, arrived; when one of the ruffians presented a pistol to his breast, but, while in the act of pulling the trigger, sergeant Legge rushed forward, and thereby saved the life of his commanding officer, though he nearly lost his own, the ball tearing the sleeve of his coat from the wrist to the elbow, without wounding him. In the darkness, several of the conspirators, among whom was Thistlewood, the murderer of Smithers, escaped; but nine were taken, and conducted to Bow-street, under a strong military escort. After undergoing an examination, the banditti were placed in safe custody, till a further inquiry should be made into this horrible affair.

The next morning, an extraordinary gazette was published, offering a reward of one thousand pounds for the apprehension of Thistlewood, who was taken the same day, by Bishop and other police officers, at an obscure house in Moorfields. Further arrests also took place, and, after an examination before the privy-council, Arthur Thistlewood, Richard Brunt, a shoemaker, William Davidson, a mulatto, and cabinet-maker, James Ings, a butcher, James Wilson, a carpenter, Richard Tidd, a boot-maker, John Harrison, a soldier, and John Monument, a shoe-maker, were committed to the Tower, for high-treason; and six others to the house of correction, in Cold-Bath Fields.

The trials began on the 17th of April, at the Old Bailey, before the lord-chief-justice Abbot, when Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, Tidd, and Davidson, were all found guilty, and received the judgment usual in cases of treason; which sentence was put in execution on the 21st, amidst an immense crowd of spectators. The principal witnesses were some of the confederates, who turned king's evidence; and from their statement, which was corroborated in every particular, it appeared, that these desperadoes having obtained information that a cabinet dinner was about to be given by lord Harrowby, formed the resolution of going thither in small parties, well armed, and, on obtaining entrance, which, at such a time, would have been attended with no difficulty, they were to seize the servants, and, in the confusion, despatch the whole company. While this murderous business was going on there, other bands

of conspirators were to be employed in setting fire to the barracks, and committing such acts of outrage throughout the metropolis, as would be conducive to a general rising.

After their conviction, the unhappy wretches behaved in a most hardened manner, and all of them, except the black, died without the least compunction, or expression of religious feeling.

As, about the same time, the most serious riots took place in various parts of the kingdom, it was naturally surmised that the conspiracy in London was connected with a more extensive plan of operation; but of this no positive evidence appeared in the investigation of the case. In the course of the summer, a special commission was appointed for the trials of rioters in Scotland, when twenty-two men were convicted of high-treason, at Stirling, and others at Glasgow; but only three out of the whole number suffered the full penalty of the law.

On the 27th of April, the first parliament of the new reign was opened by the king in person, who, in addressing the house of commons, said, "The first object to which your attention will be directed, is the provision to be made for the support of the civil government, and of the honour and dignity of the crown. I leave entirely at your disposal, my interest in the hereditary revenues; and I cannot deny myself the gratification of declaring, that, so far from desiring any arrangement which might lead to the imposition of new burdens upon my people, or even might diminish, on my account, the amount of the reductions incident to my accession to the throne, I can have no wish, under circumstances like the present, that any addition whatever should be made to the settlement adopted by parliament in the year 1816."

The remainder of the royal speech was chiefly occupied with noticing the late acts of insurrection, the distress of the labouring classes, and the necessity of protecting the loyal, peaceable, and industrious part of the community, against the practices of turbulence and intimidation, by which the pressure of that distress was incalculably aggravated.

On the 2d of May, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, to consider that part of the speech which related to the civil list, when three resolutions were proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer; granting his majesty £865,000 on account of Great Britain; the second, granting £270,000 for England alone; and the third, for carrying the proceeds of the hereditary revenues to the consolidated fund. These resolutions were then received without oppposition; but, in the further discussions of the subject, two propositions were brought forward by Mr. Brougham and lord John Russel; one, for taking from the crown the droits of the admiralty, and other revenues; and the second, for the abrogation of various offices in the royal establishment. Both motions, however, were negatived; and the original resolutions were carried into effect.

In the house of lords, on the 26th of May, the marquis of Lansdowne moved for, and obtained, the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the practicability of extending our foreign trade, by taking off those restrictions which shackle commerce, and injure the revenue. About the same time, Mr. Sumner, in the lower house, was equally successful, in moving for a committee to inquire into the state of the corn laws. The division, however, in favour of this motion, proved so different from what was expected, that ministers contrived to neutralize the measure, by carrying a proposition which restricted the committee in such a manner as to render its appointment of no effect.

But this concern, and most others, soon appeared to lose all interest in the public mind, which became agitated to an extraordinary degree, by the arrival of the queen at St. Omer's, on the 1st of June. From thence she despatched three letters, one to the earl of Liverpool, another to lord Melville, and the third to the duke of York. The first contained a demand that a palace should be provided for her residence; the second, that a royal yacht should be sent to Calais to receive her on board; and the third was a mere protest against the manner in which she had been treated. That ministers were alarmed on this occasion, appeared evident, by their immediately sending over lord Hutchinson, with a proposal of fifty thousand a year to her majesty, on condition that she

should neither visit England, nor assume the title of queen. Mr. Brougham, however, contrived to get the start of the ministerial agent, and, having had an interview with her majesty, the overture of lord Hutchinson was rejected. The queen instantly proceeded to Calais, and, on the sixth, arrived in London. As soon as his majesty was apprized of this untoward event, he sent a message the same day to the house of lords, informing them that he was impelled, by what had happened, to lay before them certain papers respecting the conduct of the queen while abroad, and which he recommended to their immediate consideration. After the usual address for this communication, the earl of Liverpool moved that the papers should be referred to a secret committee of fifteen lords, to examine and report upon them as they might think fit.

A similar communication being made to the lower house, was met by a message from the queen, who complained loudly of the proceedings that had been adopted, particularly the omission of her name in the Liturgy, the refusal of a palace, the employment of secret agents to pry into her affairs, and the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents privately prepared, as she said, by her adversaries.

After this appeal had been read, lord Castlereagh entered into a review of the case, and concluded by moving that the papers which were laid on the table should be referred to a secret committee, to consider the matter thereof, and to report thereon to the house.

This motion was warmly contested by Mr. Brougham, who entreated the house to make a pause, and save the country from the calamities that might otherwise fall upon it. In consequence of this, an adjournment took place, at the suggestion of Mr. Wilberforce, and, in the mean time, great exertions were made to prevent a disagreeable exposure, by some settlement satisfactory to all parties. The negotiation, however, though protracted from the 8th to the 22d of June, had an unfavourable result; and, on that day, Mr. Wilberforce, who was actuated by the most laudable desire to avert an inquiry, which he feared would be injurious to the public morals, moved a resolution, that, "when such advances had been made towards an amicable arrangement of the present unhappy differences, her majesty, by forbearing to press the adoption of any farther propositions, would entitle herself to the grateful acknowledgments of the house of commons, and spare it the painful necessity of those public discussions, which, whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings, disappointing to the hopes of parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire."

This resolution being carried, a deputation, consisting of the mover, Mr. Stuart Wortley, sir Thomas Ackland, and Mr. Bankes, waited upon her majesty with it; but the conciliatory measure failed to produce the desired effect, for the royal personage concluded a long and laboured answer, which was read by Mr. Brougham, in these remarkable words, "As an accused and injured queen, I owe it to the king, to myself, and to all my fellow subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual."

The house of lords, in the mean time, proceeded to ballot for a committee, to examine the documents that had been submitted to their consideration; but, before they proceeded to business, the queen made a formal protest against a secret inquiry, as contrary to every principle of justice and law. In support of this, counsel were heard at the bar; but, as the committee could not be considered in the light of judges, the investigation was suffered to go on, and a report was made, which stated, that there existed such charges against the queen, as called for a legislative proceeding.

Upon this, the earl of Liverpool, on the 5th of July, presented a bill of pains and penalties, to deprive Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, his majesty's consort, of the title of queen, and of all the prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions, appertaining to her in that capacity; and for the dissolution of the marriage between his majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth. The ground for this proceeding was the charge of a licentious, disgraceful, and

of conspirators were to be employed in setting fire to the barracks, and committing such acts of outrage throughout the metropolis, as would be conducive to a general rising.

After their conviction, the unhappy wretches behaved in a most hardened manner, and all of them, except the black, died without the least compunction, or expression of religious feeling.

As, about the same time, the most serious riots took place in various parts of the kingdom, it was naturally surmised that the conspiracy in London was connected with a more extensive plan of operation; but of this no positive evidence appeared in the investigation of the case. In the course of the summer, a special commission was appointed for the trials of rioters in Scotland, when twenty-two men were convicted of high-treason, at Stirling, and others at Glasgow; but only three out of the whole number suffered the full penalty of the law.

On the 27th of April, the first parliament of the new reign was opened by the king in person, who, in addressing the house of commons, said, "The first object to which your attention will be directed, is the provision to be made for the support of the civil government, and of the honour and dignity of the crown. I leave entirely at your disposal, my interest in the hereditary revenues; and I cannot deny myself the gratification of declaring, that, so far from desiring any arrangement which might lead to the imposition of new burdens upon my people, or even might diminish, on my account, the amount of the reductions incident to my accession to the throne, I can have no wish, under circumstances like the present, that any addition whatever should be made to the settlement adopted by parliament in the year 1816."

The remainder of the royal speech was chiefly occupied with noticing the late acts of insurrection, the distress of the labouring classes, and the necessity of protecting the loyal, peaceable, and industrious part of the community, against the practices of turbulence and intimidation, by which the pressure of that distress was incalculably aggravated.

On the 2d of May, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, to consider that part of the speech which related to the civil list, when three resolutions were proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer; granting his majesty £865,000 on account of Great Britain; the second, granting £270,000 for England alone; and the third, for carrying the proceeds of the hereditary revenues to the consolidated fund. These resolutions were then received without oppposition; but, in the further discussions of the subject, two propositions were brought forward by Mr. Brougham and lord John Russel; one, for taking from the crown the droits of the admiralty, and other revenues; and the second, for the abrogation of various offices in the royal establishment. Both motions, however, were negatived; and the original resolutions were carried into effect.

In the house of lords, on the 26th of May, the marquis of Lansdowne moved for, and obtained, the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the practicability of extending our foreign trade, by taking off those restrictions which shackle commerce, and injure the revenue. About the same time, Mr. Sumner, in the lower house, was equally successful, in moving for a committee to inquire into the state of the corn laws. The division, however, in favour of this motion, proved so different from what was expected, that ministers contrived to neutralize the measure, by carrying a proposition which restricted the committee in such a manner as to render its appointment of no effect.

But this concern, and most others, soon appeared to lose all interest in the public mind, which became agitated to an extraordinary degree, by the arrival of the queen at St. Omer's, on the 1st of June. From thence she despatched three letters, one to the earl of Liverpool, another to lord Melville, and the third to the duke of York. The first contained a demand that a palace should be provided for her residence; the second, that a royal yacht should be sent to Calais to receive her on board; and the third was a mere protest against the manner in which she had been treated. That ministers were alarmed on this occasion, appeared evident, by their immediately sending over lord Hutchinson, with a proposal of fifty thousand a year to her majesty, on condition that she

should neither visit England, nor assume the title of queen. Mr. Brougham, however, contrived to get the start of the ministerial agent, and, having had an interview with her majesty, the overture of lord Hutchinson was rejected. The queen instantly proceeded to Calais, and, on the sixth, arrived in London. As soon as his majesty was apprized of this untoward event, he sent a message the same day to the house of lords, informing them that he was impelled, by what had happened, to lay before them certain papers respecting the conduct of the queen while abroad, and which he recommended to their immediate consideration. After the usual address for this communication, the earl of Liverpool moved that the papers should be referred to a secret committee of fifteen lords, to examine and report upon them as they might think fit.

A similar communication being made to the lower house, was met by a message from the queen, who complained loudly of the proceedings that had been adopted, particularly the omission of her name in the Liturgy, the refusal of a palace, the employment of secret agents to pry into her affairs, and the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents privately prepared, as she said, by her adversaries.

After this appeal had been read, lord Castlereagh entered into a review of the case, and concluded by moving that the papers which were laid on the table should be referred to a secret committee, to consider the matter thereof, and to report thereon to the house.

This motion was warmly contested by Mr. Brougham, who entreated the house to make a pause, and save the country from the calamities that might otherwise fall upon it. In consequence of this, an adjournment took place, at the suggestion of Mr. Wilberforce, and, in the mean time, great exertions were made to prevent a disagreeable exposure, by some settlement satisfactory to all parties. The negotiation, however, though protracted from the 8th to the 22d of June, had an unfavourable result; and, on that day, Mr. Wilberforce, who was actuated by the most laudable desire to avert an inquiry, which he feared would be injurious to the public morals, moved a resolution, that, "when such advances had been made towards an amicable arrangement of the present unhappy differences, her majesty, by forbearing to press the adoption of any farther propositions, would entitle herself to the grateful acknowledgments of the house of commons, and spare it the painful necessity of those public discussions, which, whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings, disappointing to the hopes of parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire."

This resolution being carried, a deputation, consisting of the mover, Mr. Stuart Wortley, sir Thomas Ackland, and Mr. Bankes, waited upon her majesty with it; but the conciliatory measure failed to produce the desired effect, for the royal personage concluded a long and laboured answer, which was read by Mr. Brougham, in these remarkable words, "As an accused and injured queen, I owe it to the king, to myself, and to all my fellow subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual."

The house of lords, in the mean time, proceeded to ballot for a committee, to examine the documents that had been submitted to their consideration; but, before they proceeded to business, the queen made a formal protest against a secret inquiry, as contrary to every principle of justice and law. In support of this, counsel were heard at the bar; but, as the committee could not be considered in the light of judges, the investigation was suffered to go on, and a report was made, which stated, that there existed such charges against the queen, as called for a legislative proceeding.

Upon this, the earl of Liverpool, on the 5th of July, presented a bill of pains and penalties, to deprive Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, his majesty's consort, of the title of queen, and of all the prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions, appertaining to her in that capacity; and for the dissolution of the marriage between his majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth. The ground for this proceeding was the charge of a licentious, disgraceful, and

adulterous intercourse with one Bartolomeo Bergami, or Pergami, a menial servant of the queen in Italy.

The bill being read the first time as a matter of form, application was made on behalf of the accused, to be heard by counsel in that stage of the business, which was refused, as also was another demand, of the list of witnesses to be produced against her. On the 10th, the second reading of the bill, or, in other words, the commencement of the investigation, was fixed for the 17th of August; and, as it had been intended to celebrate the coronation on the 1st of the same month, that solemnity was put off indefinitely by proclamation.

The whole country, but particularly the metropolis, was now in an alarming state of ferment; which increased as the foreign witnesses arrived, some of whom were exceedingly ill treated on their landing.

The house of lords was appropriately fitted up for the trial, every precaution was adopted to secure the public peace, and strong barriers were erected in the vicinity to keep off the populace. Two days previous to the time appointed for this great inquiry, the peers met to make the preliminary arrangements, and to attend the call of members. Early on Thursday, the 17th, the civil and military forces were collected, to preserve order, which was the more necessary, for the crowd formed one compact and unbroken mass, extending in every direction, as far as the eye, even at a considerable elevation, could possibly reach. A little after nine o'clock, the lords began to assemble, and, in their passage, the feelings of the mob were very strongly expressed. The arrival of the queen at half past ten, excited a general emotion; and her entrance into the house of lords was announced by an universal shout of triumph and defiance. Two days were taken up principally in arguments; and, on the 19th, the attorney-general opened the case with a statement of the charges, during which proceeding, the queen, who had hitherto attended regularly, did not make her appearance. On the 21st, the attorney-general concluded his recapitulation, and the queen again came to the house, but, on the production of the first witness, named Theodore Majocchi, who had been one of her domestics abroad, she uttered an exclamation of surprise, and instantly flew out of the house.

The testimony of this man shewed that many indecent familiarities had passed between the queen and Bergami; but it fell short of proving the main charge of a criminal intercourse. This evidence was followed by that of a more respectable and decisive witness, the master and owner of a vessel, in which her majesty and suite went to the coast of Syria. In that voyage, scenes occurred, which, to say the least of them, had a most suspicious appearance. Various persons, totally unconnected with, and unknown to, each other, gave plain narratives of similar transactions which they had beheld; but the strongest evidence of all was that of Barbara Krauts, the chamber-maid of an inn at Carlsruhe, who gave her testimony in a manner which made a powerful impression upon the house. The examination of witnesses for the prosecution continued till the 7th of September, when the case closed on that side, with a summary of the whole evidence by the solicitor-general. An adjournment then took place till the 3d of October, on which day Mr. Brougham entered upon the defence, followed by Mr. Williams, who called a number of persons, English and foreigners, to disprove what had been advanced by the witnesses for the crown, or to undervalue the credit of their testimony. The defensive evidence, however, was, in substance, nakedly negative; and the main body of facts, which had been distinctly stated, and positively sworn to, remained untouched. After an elaborate speech from Mr. Denman, the attorney-general replied, in a review of the whole case; and the legal proceedings having closed on the 29th of October, the house adjourned to the 2d of the following month. The lord-chancellor gave his opinion first upon the subject, and, at considerable length, stated his reason for coming to the conclusion that the charge of an adulterous intercourse had been abundantly proved. In this judgment the dukes of Northumberland, Newcastle, Montrose, and Athol, the earls of Liverpool, Donoughmore, lords Grenville, Redesdale, Lauderdale, and other peers, concurred; while the duke of Somerset, the duke of Bedford, the marquis of Lansdowne, earl Grosvenor, and lords Erskine and Rosslyn, warmly expressed themselves of an opposite

opinion. There were other peers again, who, though they believed the queen guilty, would not give a vote to that effect; because the public voice was in her favour. The motion for the second reading was carried, on the 9th, by a majority of twenty-eight votes, and the day following, her majesty sent a protest to the lords, in which she complained that "her prosecutors had presumed to sit in judgment upon the question between the queen and themselves; that peers had given their voices against her, who had heard the whole evidence for the charge, and absented themselves during her defence; and that others had come to the discussion from the secret committee, with minds biassed by a mass of slanders, which her enemies had not dared to bring forward to the light." The queen concluded this singular remonstrance with the following awful appeal, "She now most deliberately, and before God, asserts, that she is wholly innocent of the crime laid to her charge; and she waits, with unabated confidence, the final result of this unparalleled investigation."

As the verdict had in fact been pronounced upon the substantial matter of charge, such a defiance would, in any other instance, have been at once voted a contempt; and in that view it was regarded by some of the peers, whose honour was directly attacked in the protest. The result, however, shews the amazing influence of public opinion over the national counsels; for the highest court in the kingdom, whose judicial proceedings were here directly impugned by the party accused, did not venture to resent the attack, or vote it a breach of privilege. What followed was not less extraordinary, for when the bill came to be discussed in its details, there was a division respecting the clause for a divorce, which was opposed by some of the bishops, on religious grounds, as they alleged: though, where adultery is once clearly proved, it should seem that, by the divine law, the separation becomes a necessary consequence. To scruples of conscience, great deference is always due, yet in the present instance, it is wonderful how they, who could bring themselves to vote the queen guilty, should have entertained any doubt on the subject of punishment, when the very code by which they professed to be guided, had made the judgment clear and peremptory. As many of the temporal lords concurred with the spiritual in objecting to the divorce, while they admitted that the crime was proved, the ultimate majority was reduced to nine votes only.

On this conflict of sentiment, not upon the merits of the question, but the measure of visiting it, government felt indignant; and the prime-minister, after declaring that, had the majority remained steady, without any vacillation or defection, the bill should have been transmitted to the other house of parliament, threw it up, by postponing the third reading to that day six months.

This unaccountable termination of the trial was celebrated as a triumph, and even regarded as an acquittal; though nothing could be more evident, than that the abandonment of the bill, after it had been carried by no trifling number of votes, amidst a great political contention, was a mere matter of prudence and expediency. The victory, therefore, however great it might be as a party question, was not one in which the friends of virtue could rejoice, without a heavy abatement, and feelings of painful regret.

While this momentous inquiry was going on, the royal family sustained a loss in the death of the truly amiable duchess of York; who died, after a long illness, at Oatlands, on the 6th of August, and, agreeably to her own desire, was buried privately in the parish church adjoining.

On the 23d of November, parliament was prorogued by commission.

CHAP. CIII.

GEORGE IV.—A. D. 1820 to 1821.

WHILE Great Britain was agitated by a subject of domestic interest, other countries were in a state of political ferment, which gave indications of new revolutions. Spain exhibited a spirit of liberty and reform, that seemed to augur a speedy and beneficial change of her whole internal system; particularly when the king met the cortes in person, and swore to abide by the consti-

tution. Portugal caught the same flame, and the insurrection, though military, terminated without bloodshed, in the convocation of a national parliament, and the establishment of a regency during the absence of the king, who was at Rio Janeiro.

In the mean time, Naples became the seat of disorder, and the whole military force of the kingdom broke out into open mutiny; demanding a free constitution, and a representative government. After some consultation, and a few ineffectual attempts to reduce the insurgents to their duty, the conditions were assented to, the Spanish constitution was proclaimed, and the king, with the heir apparent, took an oath to observe it inviolably. But though thus far every thing had an auspicious appearance, the aspect of affairs soon altered, and assumed the frightful and ferocious features which disfigured the early stages of the French revolution. On the very day that the constitution was ratified at Naples, some of the refractory regiments broke out into a fresh mutiny, and endeavoured to leave the city, to occupy posts in the neighbourhood. The attempt to reduce them brought on a conflict, and the streets of Naples presented the appearance of a field of battle. The insurgents were at last overcome; but from this time the whole kingdom was in a state of agitation; and in Sicily, a great portion of the population rose in arms, to shake off their dependence on the Neapolitan government.

Order was at length restored, but not without bloodshed; and several of the principal nobility lost their lives in the contest. These convulsions, with the known fact that a society, called Carbonari, had been organized, and branched out through many parts of the south of Europe, for the purpose of effecting similar movements, in order to overthrow all monarchical governments, induced the emperor of Austria to assemble a strong force on the side of Italy, to keep down the rising spirit of innovation. A congress was also held, first at Troppau in Silesia, and next at Laybach, where the two emperors, and several ambassadors from the other allied powers, assembled to consult upon the proper measures to be adopted in this critical situation of affairs. At Troppau, the sovereigns caused a declaration to be issued, in which they declared that the same principles that united the great powers of the continent, to deliver the world from the military despotism of an individual who had risen out of one revolution, impelled them to act with equal force against the new revolutionary power which had just developed itself. They concluded, however, with saying, that they had no view to conquest, nor intended to violate the independence of other states. They desired only to maintain tranquillity, to protect Europe from the scourge of new revolutions, and to prevent them as far as possible.

Hither the king of the Two Sicilies was invited; but, on his arrival, he found that it was the fixed resolution of the allied sovereigns, not to suffer the continuance of the new order of things at Naples, and that the parliament there must be either dissolved by his authority or the force of arms. This declaration was no sooner made known, than it produced such a violent emotion among the Neapolitan legislators, that, without duly estimating their strength, they issued a declaration of war against Austria. Upon this, the imperial troops, in three divisions, marched into the kingdom, and, after defeating the patriotic general Pepe, at Rieti, on the 7th of February, 1821, concluded a convention at Capua, by which the old order of things was restored, and the king resumed his authority.

On the 23d of January, the British parliament was opened by the king in person, who began his speech with noticing the recent occurrences in Italy, and expressing the "resolution which he had formed, of making it his great object to secure the continuance of peace." Another feature of the royal speech, was the recommendation of a provision for the queen, and the whole concluded with urging "the necessity of promoting and maintaining a due obedience to the laws, and instilling into all classes a respect for lawful authority, and the established constitutions of the country."

The speech passed off without much discussion, nor did the address meet with any opposition; and though some lords glanced slightly at the conduct of the allied sovereigns towards Naples, ministers thought it prudent to observe a strict silence on the subject. In both houses, considerable debates

took place, respecting the omission of the queen's name in the liturgy. Many members contended strenuously, that, by the common and statute law, the queen-consort had rights and privileges independent of the king; of which that of having her name inserted in the public formulary of worship, was one. For this last assertion, the act of uniformity was cited; but when examined, it will be found that the statute in question is of a general nature, without any specific regulation. The agitation of the question, however, had the effect of producing a vast number of petitions to parliament, in behalf of the queen's claims; notwithstanding which, ministers stood firmer in this point than they did in the recent business, and when the alleged right came to be embodied in a positive motion, before the house of commons, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and twenty.

On the 31st of January, lord Castlereagh moved that the house should go into a committee, on that part of the king's speech which recommended a provision for the queen. Mr. Brougham then read a message from her majesty, in which she declared that she would accept of no provision, until her name should be inserted in the liturgy. Upon this, the minister coolly and sarcastically observed, that her majesty might do as she pleased; and that if parliament passed the grant which he should have the honour to propose, it was her undoubted right to take or reject it, as she thought proper. The house accordingly went into a committee, when the sum of fifty thousand pounds a year was moved for and granted, though some members would have reduced the allowance to thirty thousand. Nothing farther occurred on the subject; and the scruples of the royal personage were completely removed, when the resolution was carried. On the 5th of February, the marquis of Tavistock brought forward a motion, tending to fix a parliamentary censure upon ministers, for their conduct towards the queen. After a long discussion, the debate was adjourned till the next day, when the motion was negatived by a majority of one hundred and forty-six, there being for it one hundred and seventy-eight, and against it three hundred and twenty-four.

At the beginning of March, Mr. Plunket introduced a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, which received the support of Mr. Canning, and was carried by a majority of eleven votes. Various amendments were moved to modify the measure, among which, one to exclude Catholics from parliament was rejected; as also was another, to withhold from them seats on the judicial bench, and in the privy-council. When, however, the bill went up to the lords, it was disposed of altogether by a negation of one hundred and fifty-nine to one hundred and twenty.

At the close of this session, a grant of six thousand a year, with eighteen thousand pounds for arrears, was granted to the duke of Clarence.

On the 11th of July, parliament was prorogued by commission; when the lord chancellor urged the necessity of "enforcing obedience to the laws, and of promoting harmony and concord amongst all descriptions of his majesty's subjects."

Public curiosity was now intensely excited by the approaching grand ceremonial, the like of which had not been witnessed in England for the space of sixty years. From the forward state of the preparations, it was generally expected that the coronation would take place some time in May; and the queen, entertaining the same belief, wrote to the earl of Liverpool, demanding to be present at the solemnity. To this she received the reply, "that as his majesty had determined the queen should form no part of the ceremonial of his coronation, it was his royal pleasure that she should not be present." On the 9th of June, the public anxiety was set at rest, as far as regarded the time of the intended ceremony, by the issuing of two proclamations, one, appointing Thursday, the 19th of July, for the performance of the coronation, and the other, calling upon those who had not preferred their claims of service, to appear in the proper court for that purpose.

The queen, upon this, transmitted three memorials to the king, asserting her legal right to participate in the honours of the coronation, and demanding that the necessary arrangements should be made, and the particulars communicated to her majesty. In order to remove all doubts upon the subject, these papers were referred to the privy-council, before whom Mr. Brougham and

Mr. Denman asserted the claims of the queen at great length, and with considerable ability. They were replied to by the attorney and solicitor general; after which the council drew up a report, stating, that, as the queens-consort of this realm are not entitled of right to be crowned at all, the specific demand of her majesty, as set forth in her memorials, was unsupported by any legal claim.

Unsatisfied with this decision, the queen published a long and spirited protest against it; the conclusion of which plainly evinced a masterly hand, and one habituated to vigorous composition. "If this decision," the royal personage observed, "is to furnish a precedent for future times, it can have no other effect, than to fortify oppression with the forms of law, and to give to injustice the sanction of authority. The protection of the subject, from the highest to the lowest, is not only the true, but the only legitimate object of all power; and no act of power can be legitimate, which is not founded on those principles of eternal justice, without which, law is but the mask of tyranny, and power the instrument of despotism."

As the queen still persisted in her demand to be present at the ceremonial, and expressed her determination to attend, for the purpose of gaining admission, considerable alarm prevailed, lest her appearance should occasion some public disturbance. When the morning came, every one was anxious to learn what course this extraordinary woman intended to pursue, but numbers, fearful of what might happen, kept away from the scene of splendour, much to the loss of those persons who had incurred a heavy expense, in erecting scaffolds and seats for the accommodation of spectators. At the early hour of six, the queen left her house, and proceeded to the abbey, where she demanded admittance, but, being refused at every door, she entered her carriage again, and returned home in a state of great agitation; which was increased by the public expression of disapprobation at her strange conduct. Fortunately, nothing else occurred to mar the joy of the scene; and the procession to and from the abbey, as well as the entertainment in the Hall, surpassed in grandeur whatever has been related in the English chronicles of the coronations of our kings. In the evening, there was a brilliant illumination of the public offices, theatres, and many private houses; besides which, the public were amused with magnificent fireworks and pageantry in the parks. Some disposition for riotous proceedings was, indeed, manifested when the night set in; but, after demolishing the windows of several of the nobility, the appearance of the soldiery had a prompt effect in restoring order, and dispersing the mob.

On the following day, the queen, in a spirit of infatuation, for which it is difficult to account, sent a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, informing his grace that she desired to be crowned, before the arrangements in the abbey were removed; and requiring the primate to perform the office. To this unaccountable application, only one answer could be given, that the archbishop had it not in his power to take part in any such ceremony, except in obedience to the orders of his sovereign.

While preparations were making for the coronation of the British monarch, intelligence arrived of the death of Napoleon Buonaparte, at St. Helena, on the 5th of May. Thus terminated, in a remote spot, almost severed from the whole civilized world, the man before whom, a few years before, armies trembled, and nations bowed down with awe. Yet, such is the worthlessness of fame, the news of his death made little impression upon the minds of those who heard it; and even in France, where the same people who had been wont to repeat his name with enthusiasm, now received the account of his departure unmoved; and many of his most ardent admirers contented themselves with saying, that, to have preserved his character, he ought not to have closed his eyes on a barren rock, but wearing the imperial diadem in the field of Waterloo.

On the 31st of July, the king of Great Britain left his palace to visit Ireland, where he landed on the 11th of the following month, amidst the acclamations of an immense assemblage of people, who hailed with rapture the only British monarch that had ever set foot on their shores with a pacific object. At his arrival there, however, the king received the intelligence of the death

of the queen, which event occurred at Brandenburgh House, near Fulham, on the 7th of that month. The disorder of which her majesty died, was an inflammation in the bowels; but though her pains were excessively acute, she retained her senses to the last, and, after settling her affairs by will, directed that her mortal remains should be conveyed to Brunswick, and there interred by the side of her father and brother. This was complied with; but the removal of the body, on the 14th, was attended with most disgraceful circumstances. To avoid confusion, it was intended that the route to Harwich should be along the New Road, by the way of Islington; but when the time came, the mob, which was immense, disputed the message at Kensington, and ordered the cavalcade to proceed through the city. After considerable resistance, during which a conflict arose between the military and the populace, trees and carts were thrown across the road, and at Cumberland-gate, Hyde Park corner, the battle became so serious, that the horse-guards were obliged to fire in their own defence, after having borne repeated attacks, by which many of the men and officers were wounded with stones and other missiles. In this contest, one of the crowd was killed. The procession now passed along towards Paddington, but on its arrival at Tottenham-Court-Road, another blockade took place, and, in consequence, the train was forced down Drury-lane, where, no farther impediment being offered, the cavalcade went peaceably through the city, to Romford, and from thence to the place of embarkation. On the 24th, the royal corpse reached Brunswick, and the same evening the interment took place, one hundred young ladies, dressed in white, scattering flowers as the procession passed on to the family vault.

This event, as a matter of etiquette, prevented the king from making his grand entry into Dublin till the 17th, when that imposing ceremony occurred, with every circumstance of splendour, and totally free from confusion or accident. On the 23d, his majesty honoured the lord-mayor of that city with a visit; and, on the 5th of the following month, he embarked at Dunleary, for England; but the weather being very boisterous, the squadron was obliged to put back again. On the 8th, it put once more to sea, and, after two ineffectual efforts to weather the Land's End, his majesty landed at Milford, and proceeded to London, where he arrived on the 15th, in perfect health, though he had undergone considerable fatigue, and not a little danger.

Animated by a laudable desire of visiting his hereditary dominions, the king, on the 24th of the same month, embarked at Ramsgate; and, having landed at Calais, proceeded through Lisle to Minden, and, on the 9th, the palace of Herrenhausen received the first visit from one of its sovereign princes for the space of near seventy years. Two days afterwards, the king made his public entry into the city of Hanover, on horseback, amidst a salute of one hundred and one guns, and the incessant rejoicings of the multitudes that thronged the streets. On the 30th, he left Hanover, and proceeded to Cassel, from whence he returned by the way of Cologne, Brussels, and Bruges, to Calais, where he embarked for Ramsgate and, in the evening of the 8th of November, arrived at Carlton-House.

CHAP. CIV.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1821 to 1823

THE enthusiastic joy expressed by the people of Ireland, when his majesty visited that country in the summer, kindled the pleasing hope in all loyal minds, that a new face of things would appear there; and that, instead of the refractory spirit which had so long prevailed among the lower classes, habits of industry and social order would be substituted for those of violence and rapine. Unfortunately, the flattering expectation soon vanished, and the old practice of breaking open houses in search of arms, together with the manufacturing of pikes, and the formation of affiliated bands, cemented together by oaths of the most seditious tendency, too plainly indicated that strong measures were necessary to prevent a new rebellion. The first step adopted by government was of a conciliatory nature, in sending over the marquis Wellesley as lord-lieutenant, thinking that the popularity of that nobleman

might have some effect in bringing his deluded countrymen to a sense of their duty.

But it was soon found that no palliatives could tranquillize those who were prone to rebellion; and that, therefore, to secure the safety of the well-disposed and honest inhabitants from the attacks of lawless and daring ruffians, combined for plunder, military force, with full power to act as occasion might require, became indispensable. Accordingly, immediately after the meeting of parliament, on the 5th of February 1822, the marquis of Londonderry proposed the revival of the insurrection act, and the suspension of the habeas corpus for the limited period of six months. So urgent was the necessity for these measures, that the first bill was read twice in the house of commons in one day, and passed the next. In justification of this rapidity, it was stated that the rebellion had already spread with alarming swiftness; and that one house, wherein were sixteen persons, had been recently surrounded by two thousand men, and set on fire, for the purpose of destroying the inhabitants, few of whom escaped.

Most of the enormities were committed in the night, and, therefore, the insurrection act assigned to the discretion of the magistrates the power of sentencing to transportation, upon summary conviction, all persons found out of their houses at any time from sunset to sunrise, without being able satisfactorily to account for the occasion of it. This bill, at the close of the session, was further prolonged till the following year.

However severe this might seem, it was called for by the necessity of the case, in a country where not a family could retire to rest with any degree of confidence, as the midnight hour was the time when murderous banditti issued from their haunts, to plunder and destroy the honest and industrious part of society. By a rigorous enforcement of the laws, the evil was somewhat abated in the spring; but then followed another frightful visitation, the natural consequence of that disorganized state of things, where one portion of the community regards the other as its enemy. Famine now succeeded the ravages of rebellion; and thousands perished daily by absolute want or disease. In this deplorable calamity, an appeal was made to English benevolence; nor was it made in vain, for, without being prejudiced against the sufferers, by the atrocities which in a great measure had contributed to the general distress, the humane and charitable, of all denominations, associated throughout the kingdom to relieve their brethren. The subscriptions were aided by a parliamentary grant of fifty thousand pounds, and parochial collections were made for the same purpose, by the royal authority.

But though the infatuated people had experienced so much misery, and received bounty to an immense extent, the autumnal season brought with it a repetition of the old disturbances. Murder, robbery, and the wilful burning of dwelling-houses, barns, and granaries, marked a character of wanton and barbarous ferocity, resembling what has often been painted by the historians of the dark ages; but, for the existence of which, the moralist finds it difficult to discover any adequate cause in the nineteenth century. The distress of the country at this time was great; but it was an affliction not confined to one part of the empire; and yet, though the peasantry in England suffered heavily, no insurrections or disorders broke out among them. To alleviate the existing distresses, the marquis of Londonderry, on the 15th of February, brought forward, in the lower house, a remedy; the substance of which was, the repeal of the annual malt tax, and a proposition for advancing, by way of loan, exchequer bills to the amount of four millions. On the motion of his lordship, the agricultural committee was also revived, and the report underwent a protracted discussion; the conclusion of which was, that, after repealing the existing duties upon imported corn, the following resolution passed, "That the ports should not be opened until the home price of wheat reached to eighty shillings the quarter; that when the price declined to seventy shillings, the ports should be closed; that, for the first three months after the opening of the ports, foreign wheat should pay a duty of seventeen shillings, and, after that period, a duty of twelve shillings." Such was the boon granted to the landed, in preference to the manufacturing and commercial, interests.

Another measure of financial importance, which distinguished this session,

was the redemption of the navy five per cents, with a permission to the proprietors to transfer their shares into the four per cents, upon certain conditions. The public were further benefited by the abolition of the office of the second post-master general; and the reduction of the admiralty board from five to three junior members.

The backneyed subject of the Catholic claims came forward this year in a new shape, though substantially the same as in former instances. Mr. Canning, the author of this modification, introduced on the last day of April, a motion for leave to bring in a bill to admit Roman Catholic peers into the house of lords. In a most able and eloquent speech, he forcibly urged the justice and policy of this restoration of their rights, to some of the most noble and loyal families in the empire; a right possessed by them for more than a century after the Reformation, and of which they had been deprived in the reign of Charles the Second, in consequence of the alarm and indignation excited by the pretended popish plot of Titus Oates and his confederates.

Mr. Canning, on this occasion, very adroitly disclaimed the intention of meddling with the general question of Catholic emancipation; and yet it was evident enough to every one, that this was his real object; for, in the event of his motion being carried, that measure must have inevitably followed. The resolution went through the house of commons, by a majority of five members, but was rejected in the lords on the 21st of June, by one hundred and seventy-one votes to one hundred and twenty-nine.

On the 6th of August parliament was prorogued by the king in person, whose speech was principally directed to the state of Ireland, and his approbation of the measures which had been adopted for the relief of the suffering people of that part of the united kingdom. "I have the satisfaction," said his majesty, "of knowing that these exertions have been justly appreciated in Ireland; and I entertain a sincere belief that the benevolence and sympathy so conspicuously manifested upon the present occasion, will essentially promote the object which I have ever had at heart—that of cementing the connexion between every part of the empire, and uniting in brotherly love and affection all classes and descriptions of my subjects."

Another royal progress now took place, and on the 10th his majesty embarked at Greenwich for Scotland, where he arrived on the 14th, and landed at Leith the next day, when a grand procession was formed to escort the sovereign into the ancient city of Edinburgh.

But the pleasure derived from a visit to his northern capital, was speedily damped by the intelligence of the death of one of his principal and most esteemed servants. Previous to his departure, the king had observed some symptoms of disturbed intellect in the marquis of Londonderry, and noticed the circumstance, with concern, to those who were most in his confidence. The duke of Wellington made the same discovery, and, when about to set out for the continent, desired his physician to wait upon the marquis, to prevent what his grace seems to have sagaciously foreboded. In the letter which the duke wrote to the doctor, he says, "It appears that he has been overworked during the session, and that his mind is overpowered for the moment, and labours under a delusion. I stated the impression made upon me, in the interview I have just had with him. I told him that this was my impression, and I think it is his own, and he will probably communicate it to you. But, lest he should not, I tell you what I think; begging you never to mention, to any body, what I have told you."

After this friendly solicitude, it is to be regretted that more care was not taken to act upon the advice which the noble writer suggested. Instead of this, the marquis was suffered to go down to his seat at North Cray, in Kent; where, early in the morning of the 12th, he terminated his life by an act of suicide. His remains were interred in Westminster abbey, on the 20th, with great solemnity; and though few public men had been more the subject of obloquy when alive, all parties concurred in lamenting his dissolution, and bearing testimony to his private virtues, as well as to his pre-eminent talents. As a proof of his integrity, it was well observed, that he laboured for thirty years in the service of his country, ruined a robust constitution, broke a lofty spirit, destroyed a noble understanding, and met an untimely death, without

adding one shilling to his patrimonial fortune, out of the treasury of his country.

Deeply affected by the loss of this eminent statesman, under such distressing circumstances, the king left Scotland, on the 29th of the same month, and, three days afterwards, relanded at Greenwich.

The year closed with a gloomy aspect, nor perhaps were the councils of Britain ever more critically poised, in regard to the line of conduct necessary to be pursued, under the existing circumstances and agitated state of the continent.

In one quarter, the Turkish empire was menaced with dismemberment, by the insurrection of the Greeks, who had, for ages, been groaning under the most barbarous of despots, to whom they owed no obedience, except what might be required by dire necessity. For some time past, these people had been gradually advancing in knowledge, while their oppressors remained stationary in barbarism. The consequence was natural; the Greeks burst their bonds, and asserted that independence which they had long lost, but to which they possessed every legitimate right. To England they turned a supplicating look for assistance; but as the congress of Christian sovereigns at Verona gave to them the appellation of rebels, an open avowal of their cause would probably have involved this country in a war with one or other of those powers, as well as with the Porte. That aid, however, which the British government, from motives of policy, was constrained to withhold, the feelings of the people eagerly supplied. Thus, by the liberal exertions of individuals, the cause of freedom and humanity has been enabled to make an effectual stand against a powerful combination of tyranny, and, although the conflict is not yet decided, of its eventual success there can be no reasonable doubt.

Another case which pressed still stronger, at this time, upon the sympathy of the English nation, than that of the Greeks, was the conduct of the French government towards the Spaniards, who were engaged in regenerating their constitution. That the civil war, which then raged in the peninsula, should have excited an alarm among the neighbouring powers, was perfectly natural; and, considering the danger that had already accrued from the promulgation of revolutionary principles, there was nothing unreasonable in the assembling of a strong force on the frontiers of France. But it soon became obvious, that the accumulation of troops on the side of the Lower Pyrenees had a more extended object than the preservation of tranquillity. The Constitutionalists, or patriotic party, of Spain, being aware of this, made great exertions for a vigorous resistance, and, as a measure of precaution, the Cortes removed with the court to Seville. In the mean time, the three allied monarchs at Verona published an extraordinary manifesto, in which they declared, that, as Spain was a prey to disorders and convulsions of every kind, they had ordered their respective legations to leave the country.

England, however, was so far from taking any part in the arbitrary proceedings of the congress, that when the duke of Wellington, who attended there as the representative of his sovereign, became apprized of the hostile intentions meditated against Spain, he withdrew, and would take no further part in the conferences.

In this critical posture stood the affairs of Europe, when the British parliament was opened, by commission, on the 4th of February, 1823. The speech delivered on that momentous occasion, though cautiously worded, sufficiently indicated the line of neutrality which the cabinet intended to pursue. It commenced with saying, that, "Faithful to the principles which his majesty had promulgated to the world as the rule of his conduct, he had declined being a party to any proceedings at Verona, which could be deemed an interference in the internal concerns of Spain." After this, it was stated, that "his majesty had since used, and continued to use, his most anxious endeavours and good offices, to allay the irritation between the French and Spanish governments; and to avert, if possible, the calamity of war from those countries." The other points in the speech touched upon the pending discussions with the court of Madrid, respecting the depredations committed on British commerce in the Spanish West Indies; the measures adopted at

Verona, for effecting a general abolition of the slave-trade, and the necessity of improving the state of the people of Ireland.

Although the address was not opposed in either house, some bitter invectives were uttered against the confederated princes at Verona, nor did ministers escape censure for their alleged want of energy, in resisting the haughty pretensions of the allied potentates. These reproaches and complaints were heightened, when the documents connected with the negotiations at Verona were produced; but though motions tending to fasten a stigma upon government were brought forward in both branches of the senate, they fell to the ground under overwhelming majorities. The benefit of the system of moderation was acknowledged by all, except a small number of violent partisans; and it was not a little remarkable, that the very persons who now clamoured the most loudly for war, were the same persons, that, on every former occasion, had uniformly urged the expediency of our remaining passive in all continental disputes.

That the neutral policy now adopted was most conducive to the national welfare and prosperity, was proved to a demonstration in the annual exposition of the state of the finances, and the declaration of the chancellor of the exchequer, that it was his intention to take off above two millions from the public burdens, besides repealing the whole of the assessed taxes in Ireland. In addition to this statement, a plan was introduced and carried, for the reduction of the national debt, by creating a sinking fund, in the appropriation of five millions a year, at an accumulating interest.

Mr. Goulbourn having, in the preceding session, obtained leave to bring in a bill for the amelioration of the tithe system in Ireland, was forestalled by the indefatigable Mr. Hume, who came forward with a sweeping proposition, to take away all the ecclesiastical possessions in that kingdom, and place them at the disposal of parliament. Though this scheme was rejected, it received the support of sixty-two members, among whom were some lawyers, whose studies ought to have taught them that the principle which they sanctioned, went to undermine the security of all the property in the kingdom, whether belonging to the clergy or the laity.

Two days after the failure of this project, which, in equity, rivalled the measures of the long parliament, or those of Henry the Eighth, Mr. Goulbourn brought forward his plan, which now consisted of two bills; one provisional, and the other temporary. The former gave to the payer of tithes the advantage of a triennial valuation, the estimators being appointed respectively by the parish and the incumbent. The other bill was intended to effect a commutation of tithes for land, by valuing the one as soon as an equivalent could be found for them; then effecting the purchase by government, and settling it upon the church. After making the exchange, the tithes were to continue until the debt originally contracted to government should be discharged. Though this measure was encumbered with difficulties, and experienced some opposition both in and out of parliament, it passed into a law.

The king having been graciously pleased to present to the public the valuable library, collected by his august father at a vast expense, it was resolved that the sum of forty thousand pounds should be applied to the enlargement of the British Museum, for the purpose of receiving this royal donation. Some, however, were of opinion, in which many will concur, that the interests of literature would have been better answered, in the erection of an edifice exclusively set apart as a library, and wholly unconnected with the national repository of miscellaneous curiosities.

Much time was taken up in the middle of the session, by an investigation, which, on account of the circumstances that gave rise to it, and the manner of conducting it, excited more attention than the subject deserved. One night in the preceding winter, a riot broke out at the Dublin theatre, where the lord-lieutenant, who was present, appeared to be the object of resentment, and some missiles were thrown at him in his box. For this outrage several persons were apprehended, and the attorney-general proceeded against them ex-officio; but the bills were thrown out by the grand jury, notwithstanding which, the same law officer renewed the prosecution, and the parties were thus put upon their trial twice for the same offence. The public disapproba-

tion being loudly expressed at this stretch of power, the attorney-general, to justify himself, threw a charge upon the sheriff of Dublin, of having packed an Orange jury, to secure the acquittal of the prisoners. Upon this, the sheriff and jury complained to the house of commons, and demanded to be heard in their defence. Several witnesses were accordingly examined at the bar, all of whom concurred in negativing what had been advanced by the law officer of the crown. Among these, one of the most prominent was alderman King, of Dublin, who being closely pressed to divulge the oath taken by the members of the Orange society, declined doing so on the plea of conscience. For this, some of the members were desirous of committing him to prison, and treated the scruple as an insult to the house; but the good sense of the majority prevailed over political casuistry, and the business terminated with little credit to those by whom it had been agitated.

On the 15th of July parliament was prorogued by commission, when the chancellor, in the name of the sovereign, concluded a remarkably short speech in these terms, "Deeply as his majesty still regrets the failure of his earnest endeavours to prevent the interruption of the peace of Europe, it affords him the greatest consolation, that the principles upon which he has acted, and the policy which he has determined to pursue, have been marked with your warm and cordial concurrence, as consonant with the interests, and satisfactory to the feelings, of the people."

The attention of all Europe was now fixed upon the events passing in the Peninsula. On the 2d of April, the duke of Angouleme, who commanded the French forces at Bayonne, addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards, announcing his immediate entrance into their country, at the head of one hundred thousand men, not as an enemy, but as a friend, to deliver the king from captivity, raise the altar, and rescue the people from the domination of a few ambitious demagogues, who were preparing slavery and ruin for Spain, under the name of liberty.

The French army marched in three divisions, and on the 24th of May the duke of Angouleme made his entry into Madrid without opposition. In the mean time, a formal declaration of war was published at Seville, in the name of the king; whose signature was also affixed to a manifesto, calling upon every Spaniard to defend his country. These documents contained the supererogatory declaration, that his Catholic majesty was a free agent, and had suffered no violence; an assertion which was more likely to heighten, than allay, suspicion. That it was untrue, appeared shortly after; for when the cortes, who thought themselves insecure at Seville, demanded whether the king was willing to set out for Cadiz, and he evinced a repugnance to the measure, they decreed that he was in a state of mental insanity, and consequently, as he was incapable of conducting affairs, a regency must be appointed in his stead. Ferdinand was then sent off to Cadiz, under a strong guard, followed by the Cortes; who, on their arrival, with marvellous consistency, restored the king again to the exercise of his functions, and carried on the government in his name as before. The French army was not long in making its appearance, and immediately commenced a close blockade of the city, particularly on the sea side, it being well understood that the constitutionalists, if driven to extremities, intended to remove with their royal captive to America. While these operations were going on before Cadiz, a regency was established in the name of Ferdinand, at Madrid; but the members of this provisional government acted in so arbitrary and cruel a manner towards the patriots who came under their power, that the duke of Angouleme issued a decree, prohibiting them from imprisoning any Spaniard without authority from the French commanders. The prince further ordered the release of all persons who had been imprisoned on political charges alone, especially soldiers, and gave them liberty to return to their families.

Cadiz was so closely pressed, that the Cortes, finding the cause hopeless, delivered up the king on the 1st of October, and two days afterwards the French troops entered the place; when the royalists avenged themselves on their fallen countrymen with brutal revenge, hunting them out of their retreats like bloodhounds, and assassinating all whom they discovered. A counter revolution, at the same time, was effected in Portugal, but it was not dis-

figured by such sanguinary scenes as those which disgraced their neighbours, and polluted the restoration of the arbitrary throne of Ferdinand.

Thus two nations, which once extended their power over remote regions of vast magnitude, were now a prey to anarchy; while the colonies in South America, that formerly obeyed and enriched them, were becoming the seats of new empires. Amidst these changes, the march of Great Britain was steady, dignified, and prosperous. She too had suffered dismemberment, and sustained political tempests; but, while the stability of her institutions remained fixed, the national spirit was invigorated, new sources of wealth were opened by industry, and the circle of knowledge was enlarged by expansive and daring inquiry. On the 18th of October, Captain Parry arrived at the admiralty, from his second Polar enterprise, in search of a north-west passage; having, in 1821, explored Repulse Bay, where the ships remained locked up in the ice all the winter, without seeing the least traces of a human habitation. The following year was occupied in pursuing the attempt to the northward, after which the expedition again wintered in that dreary region, enclosed in a compact field of ice, from the 23d of November 1822, to the 11th of August 1823; when, by a sudden gale, the whole area of this tremendous chaos was put in motion, and the ships were extricated from their imprisonment. Undaunted by these perilous adventures and disappointments, the same eminent navigator soon after embarked on a third expedition; and, at the same time, a correspondent one by land, having the same object, was despatched under the direction of Captain Franklin.

CHAP. CV.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—A. D. 1824—1825.

THE parliament was opened by commission, on the 3d of February 1824; when the chancellor, on the behalf of his majesty, delivered a speech, rendered remarkable for the luminous view which it took of the flourishing state of the country. Trade and commerce were represented as extending themselves widely, both at home and abroad; every branch of manufacture was on the increase; the revenue not only sustained public credit, and proved the unimpaired productiveness of the national resources, but evinced a diffusion of comfort among the people; agriculture was also asserted to be recovering fast from the depressed state under which it had laboured, and, by the steady operation of natural causes, was gradually resuming its important station among the great interests of the country.

Ireland was, moreover, said to exhibit indications of amendment; but the continued endeavours of the legislature, to secure the welfare of that part of the united kingdom, were strongly recommended. With respect to foreign relations, it was observed, that the negociations which his majesty's ambassador had so long carried on at Constantinople, for the arrangement of differences between Russia and the Porte, were drawing to a favourable termination; that a convention had been concluded with the emperor of Austria, for the settlement of the pecuniary claims of this country upon the court of Vienna; and that, in regard to Spain, his majesty was every day more satisfied with the strict neutrality which he had observed in that contest. With respect to the provinces of America, which had declared their separation from Spain, his majesty's conduct was stated to be open and consistent; and his opinions had been frankly avowed to the court of Madrid and other powers. Consuls were appointed to reside, in consequence, at the ports and other places of those provinces, for the protection of the trade of British subjects; and, as to further measures, his majesty reserved to himself an unfettered discretion, to be exercised as circumstances might require.

In conclusion, the attention of parliament was called to the moral improvement of the negroes in the West Indies; but with the salutary caution, that the subject should be treated calmly and deliberately, as one that was perplexed with difficulties which no sudden effect could disentangle. It was justly and pointedly observed, that, "in the correction of a long-standing and

complicated system, involving the fortunes and safety of large classes of his majesty's subjects, that course of proceeding was alone likely to attain practical good, and to avoid aggravation of evil, in which due regard was paid to considerations of justice, and in which caution tempered zeal."

The usual addresses passed, without the proposal of any amendments, and the only animadversions to which the royal speech gave occasion, were a few remarks levelled against the ministers, on the line of policy which they had observed towards Spain.

On the 23d, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his financial statement, for the present and two succeeding years. After congratulating the house of commons upon the progressive prosperity of the revenue, he paid some compliments to the emperor of Austria, for having spontaneously liquidated a considerable portion of the debt which had been incurred during the late war. This portion, which the minister characterized, aptly enough, as a "God-send," afforded, he said, an opportunity for fulfilling the intention of parliament, in favour of the interests of religion, and therefore he should propose, in the first place, £500,000 for the erection of churches. His next proposition was a grant of £300,000, to be paid for the repair of Windsor castle, the completion of the king's library, and the purchase of Mr. Angerstein's pictures, which last were, he said, valued at £57,000, and would lay the foundation of a national gallery of paintings, worthy of the taste and wealth of England. Having stated these contingent expenses, he calculated, that, at the end of three years, there would be a clear surplus of four millions and upwards; the whole of which he proposed employing in the remission of taxes, to the amount of one million for each year.

The present reductions were to be on rum, the London Coal duty, the duties on imported and exported wool, and the silk duties. The minister further declared his intention of abolishing the whole system of bounties, beginning with those on the whale and herring fisheries, and upon coarse linens, with a gradual reduction of those on other linens, at the rate of ten per cent. per annum. The great object of the present motion, however, was the liquidation of the four per cents., giving notice to the holders, that, if they did not accept stock at three-and-a-half, as an equivalent, they should be paid off in October following; but that those who would accept the commutation, should be entitled to an indulgence of five years. The whole amount of four per cents. outstanding, were rated at seventy-five millions, which he proposed to pay off, or commute, yearly.

Resolutions, founded on the details for reducing the interests on the four per cents., were then read and agreed to; but, in the further stages of this financial measure, petitions were presented against some parts of it, by the linen, wool, and silk manufacturers; to remove whose objections, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced a few modifications into his plan, which was ultimately carried into effect.

The important question of the state of the black population in the West Indies, came under discussion in the middle of March, when Mr. Canning stated the regulations which government had thought necessary to adopt, for the treatment and improvement of the negroes: first, the use of the whip to be utterly abolished, in regard to female slaves; secondly, the whip to be no longer borne by the driver in the field, nor employed as a summary punishment; to be wholly laid aside as a stimulus to labour, and resorted to only as a chastisement for misbehaviour, proved and recorded. Thirdly, that ample provision should be made for the religious instruction of the negroes, by the appointment of two bishops, one in Jamaica, and the other in Barbadoes, with regular clergy under them. Fourthly, that marriage should be encouraged, families never to be separated, the property of the slave to be protected by positive law; and that banks should be established for the reception of the earnings of the slave, and for the security of the same from the grasp of the master. Sixthly, the testimony of slaves, under certain limitations, depending on personal character, to be received in all civil cases, except when the masters' immediate interests are concerned, and in all criminal cases, except when the life of a white person is involved. Seventhly, the slave who shall have acquired a certain sum of money, to have the purchasing of his own

manumission, or that of his wife or child; by which means the father may become the instrument of liberty to his offspring.

Mr. Canning having submitted the general outline of the plan then in progress for the amelioration of the negroes, throughout our western colonies, moved for, and obtained, leave to bring in a bill, making the slave-trade piracy.

Another measure which evinced the liberality of the executive government and parliament, was the passing of bills, for the restoration, in blood, of the representatives of the Scotch lords who had been attainted, after the two rebellions of the years 1715 and 1745; and also for the reversal of the attainder of the earl of Stafford, in the reign of Charles the Second.

Towards the close of the session, some animated debates arose in the house of commons, respecting the treatment of Mr. John Smith, a preacher of the London Missionary Society; who had been sentenced to death by a court-martial at Demerara, on the charge of being concerned in the revolt of the negroes there. Though the sentence was not carried into effect, the missionary died in prison, which made many regard him as a martyr. The case was argued with great warmth, on legal grounds, by Dr. Lushington, who claimed for all classes of his majesty's subjects, at Demerara, the protection of English justice. In opposition to this species of reasoning, it appeared that the colony, being originally Dutch, retained its old laws: and therefore, as every settler there became amenable to them, the question, whether the proceedings in the present instance were just or not, could only be determined by examining the case according to its merits, and the local circumstances under which it occurred. The motion for an inquiry only tended to increase the difficulty, without forwarding the ends of justice, and therefore it was negatived by a majority of forty-six.

On the 25th of June, the king prorogued parliament with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed his warm acknowledgments for the diligence and assiduity with which the two houses had applied themselves to the several objects of public interest that had been submitted to their consideration. He congratulated them on the general and increasing prosperity of the country; and only regretted the painful necessity which subsisted, of renewing, for a further period, measures of extraordinary precaution in Ireland. The inquiries that had been instituted into the evils unhappily existing there, were highly approved: and the expediency of pursuing them in another session, was strongly recommended.

At this time, the affairs of Greece occupied a considerable portion of the public attention, and though England prudently declined interfering on either side, by any forward or national proceeding, the exertions of spirited individuals were such as to create much indignation, and some severe remonstrances, on the part of the Turkish government; but nothing perhaps could afford a stronger proof of the decrepitude of that once formidable power, and of the lofty ascendancy of Britain, than the incapacity of the Ottoman Porte to follow up the language of remonstrance by a declaration of war. Among those who distinguished themselves by their zealous and personal efforts in this great cause, lord Byron was by far the most eminent; and, therefore, his premature death at Missolonghi, on the 19th of April, was deservedly lamented as a public loss at a most critical period. But severely as this stroke was felt, it did not paralyze the spirit of the Greeks, who continued their operations against the Turks with unabated ardour, and generally with brilliant success.

In Spain, on the contrary, the flame of patriotism, which had recently excited a lively sensation throughout Europe, was now so completely extinguished, that it seemed as though the mass of that infatuated nation accounted tyranny among the natural rights of man, and regarded persecution in the light of a Christian duty. After some remonstrances by the French and English ambassadors, the bigoted Ferdinand and his ministry condescended to publish an amnesty, from which, however, they took care to exclude every man of worth and eminence who had been in any way connected with the Constitutional government. In consequence of this act of vengeance, the prisons were filled, the scaffolds streamed with blood, and thousands were driven to seek an asylum in Britain, where they wait till Providence in its wisdom shall dispel

the darkness, and cause the light of toleration and liberty to shine upon their native land. If any thing could add to the egregious folly of the Spanish monarch, it was his declaration never to consent to the independence of his former colonies, but that he would appeal to the judgment of a congress of European sovereigns, and, in the interim, use all the means in his power to reduce them again to subjection. But the states in South America are no longer appendages of the Spanish crown, and the powers of Europe have had more prudence than to take upon them the office of arbiters in a hopeless concern. While Spain was in this wretched state, Portugal became exposed to the danger of a new revolution, headed by the Infant Don Miguel and the queen, whose object was the establishment of arbitrary power, to be exercised by themselves, though in the name of the king. The monarch, however, considering his life in danger, went secretly, with two princesses, on board the Windsor Castle, an English ship of war, which, for a time, constituted the seat of government. From thence he summoned prince Miguel to appear before him; the result of which was, that the latter acknowledged his errors, and was sent to France, while the queen was put under confinement.

On one side of Africa, the English became embroiled, at the beginning of the year, with the Ashantees, a powerful nation, near Cape Coast Castle. That hostile tribe, to the amount of fifteen thousand men, having come down, under their king, against the Fantees; sir Charles McCarthy, the governor of Sierra Leone, as the ally of the latter, marched to their aid; but, being deserted by them, while the enemy received a reinforcement, the consequence proved fatal; for on the 21st of January, an action took place, in which the English were defeated, and their commander lost his life. This disaster, however, was retrieved on the 11th of July, when the Ashantees were overthrown, in their turn, by colonel Sutherland.

On the other side of the African continent, the dey of Algiers evinced the renewal of a hostile spirit, by committing an insult upon the British consul, and expressing his determination to recede from the treaty by which he had bound himself not to retain any Christian captives in slavery. Upon this, Sir Harry Burrard Neale appeared off Algiers with a squadron, and made such a disposition of his ships as demonstrated to the dey that he had no choice between submission and bombardment. The recollection of what had been performed by lord Exmouth was too strong to allow the dey to hesitate upon this alternative, and accordingly a flag of truce was sent off to the British commander, with an unconditional acceptance of all his demands.

About the same time, the bey of Tunis was compelled to give up some Greeks who had been taken out of a British merchant vessel by one of his corsairs, and carried into captivity.

While these advantages were gained in one part of the world, the British government had to encounter a more formidable enemy in the East Indies. For a considerable time the company's territories had suffered by the aggressions of the Burmese, as the subjects of the king of Ava are called, whose dominions extend along the eastern shore of the bay of Bengal. After enduring every kind of insult from these marauders, the governor-general resolved to collect all the disposable forces of the different presidencies, in order to chastise their insolence. The first operations of the British were promising, but it soon appeared that the enemy they had to contend with was of a character not easily to be daunted; and an attempt to carry some of the works, erected by the Burmese, failed, with considerable loss. On the one hand, the British troops, under sir Alexander Campbell, after a hard contest, took Rangoon, the principal seaport of the Burmese; but these again gained successes in the neighbourhood of Chittagong, broke into the company's territory, and carried their incursions within one hundred and seventy miles of Calcutta; destroying the valuable crops of indigo, and ravaging the whole country. The war now assumed a very serious and alarming aspect, and many sharp encounters took place, till the 8th of July, when the Burmese, fourteen thousand in number, sustained a signal defeat in the vicinity of Dallah, and were forced to retreat, with the loss of about five thousand men. They were strongly fortified on the banks of the river, but the ardour of the British troops overcame all difficulties, and ten stockades were carried by them in one day. Two

more successful attacks were made upon the enemy, in October; but, at this period, the war had now assumed so serious an aspect, that the native troops of the company, at Barrackpore, refused to march against the Burmese. Insubordination soon became general, and it was not till several were killed by the royal regiments, that the mutiny was quelled. In the mean time, an expedition conducted against the island of Tavoy proved successful, and deprived the enemy of a great quantity of stores and ammunition. This achievement was followed by the capture of the city and fortress of Megui, by storm; which acquisition was considered of great importance, as opening a communication between the victors and the Siamese, who are decidedly hostile to the Burman empire. On the 30th of October, the English carried by assault the town and fortress of Martaban, to the eastward of Rangoon, and giving name to the gulf formed by that part of the coast of Pegu. This place was strong, and well defended by a garrison of about four thousand men. Other advantages followed in rapid succession, so that by the end of December the whole line of coast, from Rangoon eastward, had become subject to the British arms. These operations produced such an effect, that the emperor of China became alarmed, and ordered that a line of fortifications and towns should be erected on the frontiers of the Yucatan, towards the Burmese territory, to prevent the violation of the imperial territory by either of the contending parties.

On the 16th of September, this year, Louis the Eighteenth closed his eventful life, after a long and severe illness, which was endured by him with truly Christian meekness. In his disposition, he nearly resembled his unfortunate brother; and, of both kings it may be said, that they were too mild and virtuous for the times in which they lived, and the people they had the misfortune to govern.

On the 3d of February, 1825, the British parliament was opened by commission, when the chancellor, in the name of his majesty, congratulated both houses upon the progressive increase of the public prosperity. Never was there a period in the history of this country, when all the great interests of the nation were, at the same time, in so thriving a condition; or when a feeling of content and satisfaction was more widely diffused through all classes of the people. His majesty, it was observed, felt additional gratification at the circumstance that Ireland was participating in the general prosperity. The outrages, for the suppression of which extraordinary powers were confided to his majesty, had so far ceased, as to warrant the suspension of the exercise of those powers in most of the districts heretofore disturbed. But though industry and commercial enterprise were extending themselves in that part of the united kingdom, it was to be regretted that associations existed in Ireland, which had adopted proceedings irreconcileable with the spirit of the constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm and exasperating animosities, to endanger the peace of society, and to retard the course of national improvement. The immediate application of a remedy to this evil was, therefore, strongly recommended. The next point, in the speech, was the state of India, and the interruption of tranquillity by the unprovoked aggressions and extravagant pretensions of the Burmese government, which rendered hostile operations against that state unavoidable. It was, however, satisfactory to find that none of the native powers had manifested any unfriendly disposition, and that the bravery and conduct displayed by the forces employed against the enemy, afforded the most favourable prospect of a successful termination of the contest. In addressing the house of commons on this subject, it was stated, that though some augmentation in the military establishments became indispensable, yet, from the flourishing condition and progressive improvement of the revenue, it would be still in their power, without affecting public credit, to give additional facilities to the national industry, and to make a further reduction in the burdens of the people. The other topics embraced by the royal exposition, were the negotiations which had been carried on at Constantinople, through his majesty's ambassador, for effecting an amicable termination of the disputes between Russia and the Porte; the commercial arrangements entered into with the kingdoms of Denmark and Hanover; the conventions concluded with Sweden and the United States, for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade; and lastly, the confirmation of the

relations subsisting between this kingdom and those countries, which had established their separation from Spain.

The first object of importance that came under the consideration of parliament this session, and which, with little exception, may be said to have occupied nearly the whole of it, was the state of Ireland. A revival of the committee to inquire into every circumstance connected with the distresses, grievances, conflicting interests, and abuses of trusts in that country, was moved for in the house of lords, on the 10th, by the earl of Liverpool, and, on the same day, Mr. Goulburn, in the commons, brought forward a bill for suppressing all improper and dangerous associations in Ireland. The direct aim of government, however, was to put down the Catholic Association, an institution which had assumed a very alarming port, and conducted its operations in a manner that too clearly indicated a design hostile to the established church, and even the connexion with Great Britain. The debate was adjourned three times, on account of the magnitude of the subject, and the number as well as the length of the speeches which it produced. On the 16th, the motion was carried by two hundred and seventy-eight votes against one hundred and twenty-three. Mr. Brougham now proposed that the Catholic Association should be heard by counsel, and witnesses examined at the bar; but the motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty-two to eighty-nine. On the 25th the bill passed the commons, and, on the 7th of March, it was read the third time in the house of lords.

In the mean time, the committee appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland made their report, the most interesting part of which was that containing the evidence of the Catholic prelacy. From their united testimony, though very cautiously given, it appeared that the pope exercises an absolute authority over the whole body of the Catholic priesthood in Ireland; and that this hierarchy not only claims, but exercises, a plenitude of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, exceeding that intrusted by law to the protestant episcopacy.

As the time drew near for the discussion of the great question, whether the Roman Catholics of Ireland should be admitted to a full participation of civil privileges, the public mind became much agitated, and numerous petitions were poured into both houses of parliament, for and against the proposed concessions. On these occasions, several members took the opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the subject, and, among others, the duke of York, in presenting a petition from the dean and chapter of Windsor, against admitting the demand of the Roman Catholics, delivered a speech, which produced a lively sensation throughout the kingdom. His royal highness said, that twenty-five years had elapsed since he gave his first vote on this question, and that he had never seen any reason to regret or change the line which he then took. He then proceeded to observe, that, though the subject would hereafter be treated with more ability than he could pretend to, yet that he was anxious to touch upon two or three points; one of which was, that the church of England would be placed, by the proposed grant, in a situation in which no other church in the world stands; because, while the Roman Catholic will not allow the parliament to interfere with his church, he requires leave to interfere with that of the establishment, and to legislate for it. "There is another subject, still more delicate," said his royal highness, "on which I cannot help saying a few words. I speak only as an individual; I desire not to be understood to speak for any body else; but consider, my lords, the situation in which you place the sovereign. By the coronation oath, the sovereign is bound to maintain the church established, in her doctrine, discipline, and rights, inviolate. An act of parliament may release any future sovereigns and other men from this oath, or from any other oath to be taken; but can it release an individual who has already taken it? I entreat the house to consider the situation in which the sovereign is thus placed. I feel very strongly on this subject; I cannot forget the deep interest which was taken upon it by one now no more. I have been brought up from my early years in these principles; and from the time when I began to reason for myself, I have entertained them from conviction; and in every situation in which I may be placed, I will maintain them, so help me God!"

On the 23d of March, sir Francis Burdett brought in a bill for removing all

the disqualifications of the Roman Catholics of Ireland; the second reading of which, after some remarks from Mr. Peel, was fixed for the 19th of April, when the old arguments for and against the measure were repeated, without any novelty of illustration; and the house adjourned till the 21st, on which day the debate was resumed, and exhibited the singular feature of two leading members of the cabinet, Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel, taking opposite sides, the former advocating the claims of the Romanists, in a glowing strain of eloquence, and the other resisting them with equal energy and ability. In the end, the motion was carried, the numbers on the division being 268 votes for, and 241 against the bill.

The great struggle was now to be decided in the upper house, where the motion for the second reading was made on the 17th of May, by the earl of Donoughmore, who was aided by the marquis of Camden, the earl of Darnley, the bishop of Norwich, the earl of Limerick, the marquis of Lansdowne, and the earl of Harrowby; who were answered in succession by the marquis of Anglesea, the earl of Longford, the bishop of Chester, the earl of Liverpool, and the lord chancellor. At the conclusion of a most animated debate, the peers divided, for the second reading one hundred and thirty, and against it one hundred and seventy-eight, consequently the bill was thrown out by a majority of forty-eight.

On the 28th of February, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced one of the most satisfactory budgets ever brought forward in parliament, when, instead of calling for new imposts, the whole financial plan consisted of a reduction of those already in existence, the principal of which were, the duties on hemp, coffee, wines, spirits, cider, the assessed taxes, and iron.

Another measure of great importance, and tending to the annihilation of smuggling, was the Consolidation Act of the Customs, which Mr. Huskisson submitted to the house of commons, in a speech equally profound and luminous, on the advantage arising from a free reciprocation of commerce. He concluded by moving a reduction of duties on various articles of foreign produce and manufacture, as cottons, woollens, linens, books, paper, glass, porcelain, and different kinds of goods. Though objections were made to some parts of the plan, all the regulations were ultimately agreed to.

A subject of general interest, which engaged much attention during this session, was the appointment of a committee, to inquire into the effect produced by the repeal of the combination laws. It appeared that, through the pressure of parliamentary business in the preceding year, a bill had been surreptitiously to pass rapidly through both houses, by which, for want of examination, power was given to mechanics of all descriptions, to form themselves into associations against their employers and fellow-workmen, without being amenable even to the common law. The consequence of this mischievous piece of policy was what might have been foreseen; for there was scarcely a branch of business, in which the tyranny of the artificers did not immediately operate to the injury of trade, and the danger of the community. After a long examination of witnesses, the committee made their report, and, at the end of the session, a bill passed through both houses, giving to magistrates the power of imprisoning any workmen for three months, who should leave their labour unfinished, or be guilty of molesting or obstructing any other artificers from exercising their calling.

A proposition, founded on the king's message, for granting annuities of six thousand a year each, to the princess of Kent, and the prince of Cumberland, produced a debate, which it would be difficult and painful to characterize. The motions, however, were carried, after a furious and reiterated contest; but it merits observation, that when, on the 6th of July, parliament was prorogued by commission, the royal speech, delivered by the chancellor, was perfectly silent on the subject.

Thus are we arrived at the resting point, where the labours of recording must give place to the indulgence of reflection. The first impression produced by the retrospect, is astonishment at the convulsions and changes that have distinguished the period through which we have passed.

Old empires have been dismembered, and new ones have risen with a rapidity of succession, to which ancient history cannot supply a parallel. We have witnessed, with awful apprehension, the most tremendous revolutions, shaking the nations, overturning thrones, and spreading desolation throughout the civilised world; so that it seemed as if the very ligaments and bonds of society were dissolving, and the whole moral frame tended to universal anarchy. Amidst these commotions, it has been the lot of Britain to stand eminently conspicuous; assailed on all sides for a long series of years, and yet endearing every new attack with increasing fortitude and vigour of repulsion. Like the palm-tree, her strength became more energetic, in proportion to the difficulties which surrounded her, the enemies she had to encounter, and the combinations that were formed to accomplish her destruction. By the stability of principle, she not only ensured her own safety, but became the refuge of the oppressed, and the deliverer of those states which had been drawn into a confederacy against her.

Nor should it be forgotten, that while the world was in arms, and the most desperate designs were formed to bring all Europe under the despotic sway of one power, Britain was extending justice and benevolence over the earth, breaking the chains of slavery, colonizing uncultivated regions, and spreading the light of knowledge among barbarous and wandering tribes, who had been hitherto as ignorant of moral truth, as of the means of improving their natural condition.

At home also the horrors of war were softened by the duties of humanity. Against a proud and domineering foe, whose progress was marked with blood, the whole British population rose with spontaneous animation, and with one voice dared the threatened invasion, resolutely determined to live free, or die gloriously. Yet in this arduous struggle, so far were the malevolent passions from intermingling with the spirit of patriotism, that never were the charities of social life more beautifully displayed, or actively employed, than at the very crisis when, if any of the surrounding nations felt a concern for Britain, it was only one of tremulous anxiety for her approaching fate.

Collected, however, in herself, while she presented a fearless front to the danger that awaited her, the exercises of love and beneficence were not suspended; but, on the contrary, the arts flourished, industry went on, new plans of charity were devised, education was extended, and the offices of religion sanctified the preparations for national defence. Such was the part borne by this country, in that season of peril, when few could hope for a favourable termination of the contest, and none thought that ever a permanent peace would be secured.

At length, one tremendous shock closed the trial, out of which Britain rose with fresh glory, so that, instead of exhibiting what the timid feared, and the evil-minded anticipated,—desolated cities, and wasted provinces,—she displays, in every quarter, a flourishing commerce, an increasing population, and extensive improvements of every description. Distrust has given way to confidence, and moral harmony is restored for the furtherance of those great designs which Providence has yet to accomplish:

> At whose command th' up-rooted hills retir'd
> Each to his place; they heard his voice, and went
> Obsequious. Heaven his wonted face renewed,
> And with fresh flowrets hill and valley smil'd.

THE END.

LONDON: PRINTED AT THE CAXTON PRESS, BY H. FISHER, SON, AND CO.

INDEX.

ABERCROMBIE, General, defeated before Ticonderago, 440
Abercromby, Sir Ralph, mortally wounded in the battle of Alexandria, 603
Aboukir, battle of, 594
Academy, institution of the royal, 461
Acre, sieges of, 77, 593
Adams, Major, defeats Ali Cawn, 454
Addington, Henry, administration of, 604
Aghrim, battle of, 354
Agricola, his exploits in Britain, 7
Aix la Chapelle, peace of, 424
Alban's, Saint, battle of, 104
Albuera, battle of, 650
Alexander, Emperor of Russia, makes war on France, 627; attacked by Napoleon, 636; his magnanimous conduct, 671
Alexandria, battle of, 602; the city taken, 603
Alfred, the Great, sent to Rome, 19; his accession, 20; defeated by the Danes, 21; recovers his kingdom, 22; death and character of, 23
Algiers, bombardment of, 685; humiliation of, 712
Alliance, the triple, 320
Almanza, battle of, 368
Almeida taken, 646
Amboyna taken, 647
Amelia, death of the Princess, 648
America, discovery of, 188; war with France respecting, 427; imposition of the Stamp Act on, 455; Riots there, 457; the act repealed, *ibid*; a new impost on, 459; occasions fresh commotions, 460, 464; beginning of hostilities, 469; Congress at Philadelphia, 470; its Independence declared, 473; Commissioners sent to restore peace, but without effect, 480; peace concluded with, 511; rupture with, 642; operations in, 660, 665, 673; conclusion of the war, 674
Amherst, General, his achievements, 441
Amiens, peace of, 605
Andre, Major, cruel case of, 494
Anglesey, reduced by the Romans, 6
Angria, an Indian adventurer, defeated, 436
Anholt, taken by the English, 647
Anjou, Duke of, courts Queen Elizabeth, 244
Anne of Cleves, marries Henry VIII. 209
. . . . Princess of Denmark, succeeds William III. 360; war with France, 361; character of Marlborough, *ibid*, his successes, 362; Union with Scotland, 370; the Queen's favourites, 372; Duchess of Marlborough supplanted, *ibid*; prosecution of Sacheverel, 374; disgrace of the Whigs, 378; makes peace, 382; her death, 387
Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, quarrels with William Rufus, 49; recalled, 51
Anson, Admiral, his voyage round the world, 409
Arcot, captured, 439
Argyle, the Earl of, conspires against James II. and executed, 337
. duke of, defeats the rebels, 393
Arlington, the earl of, a member of the cabal, 320
Armada, defeat of the Spanish, 251
Arnold, general, his treachery, 494
Arras, the league of, 155
Arthur, king of Britain, his story, 12
. nephew of king John, murdered, 83
. son of Henry VIII. his marriage and death, 187
Ascalon, battle of, 77
Ashantees, war with the, 712
Ashton, executed for his loyalty, 355
Askew, Anne, a protestant martyr, 213
Asperne, battle of, 640
Assassins, a tribe of, 105
Assye, battle of, 612
Athelstan, king, his reign, 24
Athelwold, deceives Edgar, 27; murdered, 28
Athlone, taken by the English, 354
Atterbury, bishop, banished, 401
Auchmuty, general, takes Java, 652
Augustine, the monk, converts the Anglo-Saxons, 14; made archbishop of Canterbury, 15
Augustus, his designs on Britain, 4
Austerlitz, battle of, 619
Azincourt, battle of, 128

B

Babington, conspires against queen Elizabeth, 245
Bacon, Nicholas, lord keeper, 235
. . . . Francis, lord Verulam, his literary character, 257; his fall, 264
Badajos, siege of, 650, 656
Baillie, colonel, defeated in the East Indies, 467
Bainham, James, a protestant martyr, 202
Baliol, John, made king of Scotland, 109
Baliol, Edward, crowned at Scone, 126; deposed and restored, 127
Balmarino, lord, beheaded for treason, 422
Bannockburn, battle of, 120
Barbadoes, insurrection of the negroes at, 685
Barcelona, taken by the English, 367
Barebone's parliament, why so called, 305
Barnes, Dr. burnt for heresy, 209
Barnet, battle of, 168
Baronies, first created, 41
Barons, disputes between them and John, 84; their conspiracy, 88; obtain the great charter, 90; sell the kingdom to the French, 92; their tyranny, 95; conspire against Henry III. 98
Baroosa, battle of, 649
Bavaria, reduction of, 619
Beauchamp, lord, executed, 141
Beaufort, cardinal, his character, 161
Becket, Thomas-a, archbishop of Canterbury, his disputes with Henry II. 63; reconciled to the king, 66; murdered, 67; Henry does penance at his tomb, 71
Bedford, John, duke of, regent of the kingdom, 156; his conduct to the maid of Orleans, 159; death, 160
Belle Isle, capture of, 449
Benbow, admiral, his bravery, and death, 362
Bernadotte, elected heir to the Swedish throne, 647
Berwick, taken by the English, 110, 127
Bible, translated into Saxon, 24; into English, 204
Bilney, Thomas, a protestant martyr, 202
Birmingham, riots at, 536
Bishoprics, six new ones erected, 204
Bishops, twelve sent to the tower, 282; trial of the seven, 342
Black-hole in Calcutta, catastrophe of the, 436
Blake, admiral, his exploits, 303, 306
Blakeney, general, his defence of Minorca, 430
Blenheim, battle of, 364
Bloody statutes, enacted against protestants, 204
Blore heath, battle of, 164
Blucher, marshal, his progress in France, 668, 670, 679
Boadicea, a British heroine, 6
Bohun, Humphry, his reply to Edward I. 113
Boleyn, Anne, married to Henry VIII. 204; her letter to the king, 205; trial of, 206; executed, 207
Bolingbroke, lord, his ascendancy, 372; concludes the treaty of Utrecht, 383; his character, 385; leaves the kingdom, 390
Bonner, bishop, his cruelties, 230
Borodino, battle of, 658
Boston, America, riots there, 460, 464; deprived of its privileges, 467; abandoned, 472
Bosworth, battle of, 176
Bothwell, earl, murders Darnley, and marries Mary, 239
Boucher, Joan, burnt for heresy, 219
Boulogne, expedition against, 604
Bourbon, capture of the island of, 647
Bourdeaux acknowledges Louis XVIII. 670
Boyne, battle of the, 353
Braddock, general, defeat of, 429
Bradshaw, president at the trial of Charles I. 297
Brandywine, battle of, 478
Breda, peace of, 319
Breton, Cape, taken, 440
Bristol, council held at, 94
Britain, origin of the name, 1; manners and customs of the early inhabitants, 2; subdued by the Romans, 3; invaded by the Picts and Scots, 9
Brooklyn, battle of, 474
Bruce, Robert, competitor for the kingdom of Scotland, 109; crowned, 117
Brunswick, duke of, his imprudent manifesto, 541
Buckingham, Stafford, duke of, assists Richard III. 173; revolts against him, and is beheaded, 175; his son cut off by Cardinal Wolsey, 194
. Villiers, duke of, his rise, 263; accompanies prince Charles to Spain, 265; assassinated, 271
Buenos Ayres, taken by Popham, 625; another expedition against it fails, 629
Bunker's Hill, battle of, 470
Buonaparte, his rise, 566; his progress in Italy, 575; goes to Egypt, 584; defeated before Acre, 593; returns to France, 594; becomes chief consul, 595; renews the war, 609; threatens an invasion, 610; assumes the title of emperor, 616; makes his brother Joseph king of Naples, 624; and Louis king of Holland, 625; his attempt upon Spain, 635; marries the daughter of the emperor Francis, 647; expedition to Russia, 656; defeated at Leipsic, 664; first abdication, 671; returns to Paris, 676; defeated at Waterloo, 678; abdicates again, 680; sent to St. Helena, *ibid*; death, 702

Burdett, Sir Francis, sent to the tower, 645
Burgoyne, general, defeated at Saratoga, 479; inquiry into his conduct, 482
Burke, Edmund, his description of lord Chatham's ministry, 458; motion for settling the disputes with America, 469; his plan of economy, 491; his prosecution of Hastings, 521; censured, 530; opposes the French revolution, 532; theatrical flourish, 546
Burmese, war with the, 712
Bute, earl of, his administration, 448, 452; resigns his employments, 453
Byng, Sir George, his achievements, 398
. . . . admiral John, his hard fate, 431
Byron, admiral, his voyage of discovery, 461; his partial action with the French fleet, 489
. lord his death, 711

C

Cabot, Sebastian, discovers part of America, 188
Cade, John, his insurrection, 163
Cabal, a scandalous administration, 320
Cadiz, expedition against, 267; another by Ormond and Rooke, 362; besieged by the French, 645
Caen, taken by the English, 130
Caer Baden, battle of, 12
Cæsar, Julius, lands in Britain, 3
Calais, siege of, 132; taken by the French, 233
Calcutta, horrid massacre at, 436; taken, *ibid*
Caligula, his expedition to Britain, 5
Camden, chief justice Pratt, created earl, 457
Camden, (America) battle of, 493
Camperdown, naval fight off, 576
Campo Formio, treaty of, 576
Canada, conquest of, 442; bill for the government of, 468
Canning, Mr. duel between him and lord Castlereagh, 643
Canute, the Dane, his reign, 30; anecdote of, 31
Caractacus, a brave British prince, 5
Carbonari, a political sect in Italy, 700
Carlisle, lord, sent to America, 480; challenged by La Fayette, and his answer, 483
Caroline, the consort of George II. her character, 447
. Matilda, married to the king of Denmark, 458; her misfortunes, 466
. Amelia, married to the prince of Wales, 561; inquiry into her conduct, 626; parliamentary grant to, 672; returns to England, 697; her trial, 698; prosecution relinquished, 699; her death, 703
Carr, Robert, earl of Somerset, his rise, 261; murders Sir Thomas Overbury, 262
Cartaret, lord, his administration, 414
Carthagena, expedition against, 411
Cassibelaunus, opposes Cæsar, 3
Castlebar, battle of, 582
Castlereagh, lord, charged with bribery, 639; duel between him and Mr. Canning, 643; his death, 705
Catesby, a wicked instrument of Richard III. 171
. one of the conspirators in the gunpowder plot, 259
Catharine of Arragon, married first to prince Arthur, and next to his brother, 197; proceedings for a divorce, 198; retires to a private life, 201
. the empress, usurps the throne of Russia, 451; her death, 570
. of Braganza, married to Charles II. 317
Cato-street, conspirators discovered in, 695
Cecil, Sir William, the favourite minister of queen Elizabeth, 235
Centaur, loss of the ship, 309
Ceylon, reduction of the Dutch settlements in, 569
Chandenagore, taken, 437
Charles I. when prince of Wales goes to Spain in search of a wife, 264; marries Henrietta of France, 265; succeeds his father, 266; unpopular measures, 267; disputes with parliament, 268; makes war with France, 269; gives his assent to the petition of right, 270; makes peace, 272; rise of the Puritans, *ibid*; case of Hampden, and the trial on ship-money, 274; the king imposes a liturgy upon Scotland, 275; an insurrection there, 276; the English parliament support their northern brethren, *ibid*; signs the death warrant of Strafford, 278; rebellion in Ireland, 280; republicanism in England, 281; the king goes to the house of commons, 283; commencement of a civil war, 284; the king calls a parliament at Oxford, 287; treaty of Uxbridge, 288; the king made prisoner, and sold by the Scots, 291; removed to the Isle of Wight 294; brought to trial, 297; condemned and beheaded, 299
. II. invited to Scotland, 300; his treatment there, 301; defeated, *ibid*; enters England, *ibid*; loses the battle of Worcester, 302; his marvellous escape, *ibid*; restored, 313; lands at Dover, 314; execution of the regicides, 315; liberality of parliament, 316; marries Catherine of Portugal, 317; makes war on the Dutch, 318; treaty of Breda, 319; forms an alliance with France, 321; the test act, 322; a peace concluded, 323; pretended plot, 324; the king treats it with contempt, 327; but the nation is inflamed, *ibid*; numerous executions, 328; the Rye House confederacy, 334; death of the king, 336
Charles the Wise, king of France, 136
. VII. recovers France, 160
. king of Spain, lands in England, 367
. XII. of Sweden, espouses the cause of the pretender, 397
. Edward, grandson of James II. lands in Scotland 415; his error, 419; defeated at Culloden, 420; his remarkable escape, 421
Charlestown, in America, unsuccessful attack on, 472; taken, 492
Charlotte, queen, consort of George III. 449; her death, 690
. princess, daughter of George prince of Wales, her marriage, 683; death, 689
Charter, the great, 90; renewed, 98; established, 113
Chauvelin, dismissed from England, 547
Chesapeak, American frigate, taken by the Shannon, 667
China, embassies to, 669
Cider, commotions occasioned by the tax on, 453; repealed, 457
Cintra, convention of, 637
Ciudad Rodrigo, capture of, 646
Clarence, duke of, murdered, 170
Clarendon, constitutions of, 63
. Hyde, earl of, his excellent character, 315; persecuted, 329
Claudius, subdues part of Britain, 5
Clement VII. (pope) imprisoned, 197
Clergy, curious distinction of the, 112
Clinton, sir Henry, his conduct in America, 474, 479
Clive, lord, his achievements in India, 435; returns thither, 455; puts an end to himself, 467
Closter Seven, treaty of, 434; broken, 443
Coalition, administration, 512
Cobham, lord, cruel death of, 152
Coleman, Edward, suffers for a pretended plot, 327
College, Stephen, executed, 333
Columbus, makes overtures to England, 188
Commons, origin of the house of, 102; oppose Charles I. 268; vote down the house of lords, 299; disputes between them and the lords, 392; contest between the corporation of London and the, 455; conflict with the lords, 515
Commonwealth, monarchy changed to a, 299
Comyn, assassinated by Bruce, 116
Cook, captain, his voyage of discovery, 461; killed by savages, 490
Coote, sir Eyre, his exploits in India, 477, 509; his death, 510
Copenhagen, expedition against, 600, 629
Cornish, sheriff, judicially murdered, 339
Cornwallis, earl, his operations in America, 493, 499; forced to surrender at York-town, 500; defeats Tippoo Saib, 537; his death, 621
Corporation, account of the Charitable, 405
Corresponding Society, meeting of the, 564
Corsica, reduced by France, 463; surrenders to England, 558; abandoned, *ibid*
Corunna, battle of, 638
Cossim Ali Khan, defeated in the East Indies, 454
Cranmer, archbishop, his rise, 199, 202; his conduct to Lambert, 208; defends Cromwell, 210; conspiracy against, 212; attends Henry VIII. on his death-bed, 215; carries on the reformation, 216; burnt, 231
Cressy, or Crecy, battle of, 130
Cromwell, Thomas, lord, his rise, 202; promotes the reformation, 203, 208; passes sentence on Lambert, 209; executed, 210
Cromwell, Oliver, gains the battle of Marston Moor, 287; account of him, 292; seizes the king, 293; his cruelties in Ireland, 301; marches against the Scots, *ibid*; gains the battle of Dunbar, *ibid*; follows Charles into England, and defeats him at Worcester, 302; turns out the parliament, 304; declared protector, 305; humbles the Dutch, 306; and Spain, 307; aims at the crown, but is disappointed, 308; his death, 309
. Richard, proclaimed protector, 309; abdicates his authority, 310
Crosby, lord-mayor of London, sent to the Tower, 465
Crusades, origin of the, 48; account of the second, 73; joined by prince Edward, 104
Culloden, battle of, 420
Cumberland, William, duke of, loses the battle of Fontenoy, 416; defeats the rebels, 420
Curacoa, taken by the English, 629
Cyprus, reduced by Richard I. 77

D

Danby, earl of, impeached, 329
Danegeld, renewal of, 39
Danes, invade England, 18; defeated, 19; their progress, 20; overthrown by Alfred, 25; land under Sweyn, 28; their exactions, 29; massacre of them, *ibid*
Dardanelles, passage of, forced by the English, 628
Darnley, lord, marries Mary queen of Scots, 237; murdered, 239
David, prince of Wales, his cruel death, 108
. king of Scotland, made prisoner, 133
Davidson, case of the secretary, 648

Defender of the Faith, origin of the title, 197
Delhi, battle of, 612
Delinquents, a political term, when first used, 278
Denain, action at, 383
Denmark, rupture with, 629
Dermot, king of Leinster, invites the English to Ireland, 68
Derwentwater, earl of, beheaded, 396
Despard, colonel, his conspiracy, 608
Despenser, Hugh, the favourite of Edward II. 121; put to death, 123
Dessaix, death of general, 598
Dettingen, battle of, 415
Digby, sir Everard, executed, 261
Dogger Bank, battle off the, 502
Domesday Book, account of the, 44
Dominica, captured by the English, 449; recovered by the French, 485
Domingo, St. taken, 558
Douglas, Archibald, taken prisoner, 147
Dover, taken by the conqueror, 38
Drake, sir Francis, his voyage round the world, 244; engages the Spanish armada, 251
Dresden, battle of, 663
Druids, account of the, 2
Duckworth, admiral, his victory, 625; forces the passage of the Dardanelles, 628
Dudley, Edmund, his rapacity, 187; executed, 189
Duel, a remarkable one, 142; a fatal one between lord Mohun and the duke of Hamilton, 384; between Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh, 643
Dumblaine, battle of, 393
Dumourier, general, his successes, 543; escapes, 551
Dunbar, battle of, 301
Duncan, admiral, defeats the Dutch fleet, 576
Dunkirk, put into the hands of the English, 306; sold to the French, 317; siege of, 552
Dunmore, lord, his conduct in America, 470
Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, account of, 25
Dutch, assisted by Elizabeth, 263, attack the English in India, 438; their underhand practices, 491; their fleet surrenders in the Texel, 590

E

Edgar, raised to the throne, 26; his dissipated character, 27
. . . . Atheling, submits to William the Norman, 38; joins in an insurrection, 40
Edgehill, battle of, 286
Edmund, king of England, murdered, 24
. Ironside, divides the kingdom with Canute, 30
Edward the Elder, succeeds Alfred, 23
. the Martyr, his melancholy end, 28
. the Confessor, his reign, 32
. son of Henry III. his spirited conduct, 99; defeats Leicester, 103; goes to the Holy Land, 104; wounded by an assassin, 105; cured by his wife, *ibid*; returns to England, 106; subdues Wales, 107; arbitrates the differences in Scotland, 109; invades that country; 110; makes war upon France, 111; new models the parliament, 112; his exactions, 113; marches against the Scots, 114; gains the battle of Falkirk, 115; dies at Carlisle, 117
. II. succeeds his father, 118; his marriage, 119; the barons conspire against him, *ibid*; marches against the Scots, 120; defeated at Bannockburn, 121; his weak conduct produces a rebellion, 122; opposed by his queen, 123; deposed and murdered, 124
. III. succeeds his father, 124; invades Scotland, 125; concludes a treaty, 126; shakes off the control of Mortimer, *ibid*; takes Berwick, 127; makes war on France, *ibid*; gains the battle of Cressy, 131; his death and character, 137
. IV. son of the duke of York, made king by the earl of Warwick, 166; his cruelties, 167; opposed by Warwick, 168; gains the battle of Barnet, *ibid*; murders the prince of Wales, 169; and his own brother, 170; his death, 171
. V. a minor, succeeds his father, 171; sent to the tower with his brother, and both murdered there, 174
. VI. son of Henry VIII. born, 208; succeeds his father, 216; progress of the Reformation, 217; his death and character, 224
. the Black Prince, goes to France, 130; gains the battle of Cressy, 131; and that of Poictiers, 134; defeats Charles the Wise, 136; his death and character, 137
Edwin, king of Northumberland, converted to Christianity, 15
Edwy, succeeds Edred, 25; deposed, 26
Egbert, king of the West Saxons; 16; crowned king of England, 17; defeats the Danes, 19
Egmont, battle of, 591
Egypt, invaded by the French, 584
Elba, assigned to Napoleon, 671
Eleanor, the wife of Henry II. her jealousy, 70
. . . . wife of Edward I. saves the life of her husband, 105
Elections, act for regulating, 463
Elfrida, her story 27; murders Edward, 28
Elizabeth, queen, her accession, 234; resolves upon a reformation, 235; her ministers, 236; jealous of the queen of Scots, *ibid*; makes war on France, 243; insurrections, 245; cruel treatment of Mary queen of Scots, 247; Elizabeth threatened with an invasion from Spain, 250; places herself at the head of the army, 251; destruction of the armada, 252; rise of the earl of Essex, *ibid*; his execution, and its effects on the queen, 255; her death, 256
Elizabeth, daughter of James I. marries the elector-palatine, 265
Elliot, general, his defence of Gibraltar, 501, 507
Eltham, battle of, 184
Empson, an instrument of oppression, 187; executed, 189
England, original of the kingdom of, 17; character of the people of, 18; end of the Saxon government in, 37; table of the sovereigns of, 446
Essex, kingdom of, 15
. . . . Devereux, earl of, his rise, 252, executed, 255
. . . . Waller, earl of, commands against Charles I. 285
. . . . lord, cuts his throat in the Tower, 336
Ethelbald, usurps the throne, 19
Ethelbert, king of Kent, his conversion, 14
Ethelred, his reign, 20; the son of Edgar, his character, 28; escapes to Normandy, 29
Ethelwolf, subdues Kent, 17, succeeds Egbert, 19; his death, 20
Evesham, battle of, 103
Eugene, prince of Savoy, his military character, 364; visits England, 381
Eustace, count of Boulogne, account of, 32; assists the men of Kent, 39
Eustatius, taken by the English, 501
Excise, scheme of general, 406
Exclusion Bill, account of the, 331
Exeter, duke of, vicisitudes in the history of the, 167
Eylau, battle of, 627

F

Fairfax, a parliamentary general, defeats the royalists at Naseby, 290; bravery of his lady, 297
Falkirk, battle of, 114, royalists defeated at, 420
Falkland, lord, killed at Newbury, 287
. Islands, dispute about, 464
Farmer, captain, blown up in the Quebec frigate, 490
Fawkes, Guy, a conspirator, taken, 259
Feathers Tavern, association of dissenters at the, 465
Felton, John, assassinates the duke of Buckingham, 271
Fenwick, sir John, his hard case, 357
Ferdinand, king of Spain, his bigotry, 711
Feudal law, origin of the, 41
Feversham, earl of, his barbarity, 339
Fisher, bishop, executed, 202
Fitz-Osbert, William, his story, 81
Fleets, alarm excited by the combined Spanish and French, 489
Fleurus, battle of, 537
Floddenfield, battle of, 191
Fontenoy, battle of, 417
Foster, general, his exertions for the pretender, 394; escapes, 396
Fox, Charles James, his coalition with North, 513; brings forward his India bill, *ibid*; defeated and resigns, 514; his violence, 516; sends an agent to Russia, 544; his motion for peace, 548; returns to power, 622; his death, 624
France, its state in the fourteenth century, 127; Salic law introduced there, 128; the English deprived of their dominion over it, 160; its treachery in regard to the colonies, 482; commercial treaty with, 523; ferment in, 526; commencement of the revolution, 530; confederacy against, 540
Francis I. politeness of, 194
Franklin, Benjamin, the author of American independence, 460; his treachery, 467; his influence and double-dealing, 473
Frederic, the elder palatine, marries the daughter of James I. 265; elected king of Bohemia, *ibid*; loses his dominions, 266
Frederic, king of Prussia, his alliance with England, 432; his progress, 433; fortitude, 435; his victories, 443, 451; his death, 523
. prince of Wales, misunderstanding between him and his father, 408; offer of reconciliation to, 412; his death, 447
Friedland, battle of, 627

G

Gage, general, commander of the forces in America, 469
Galgacus, opposes the Romans, 7
Gam, David, bravery of, 154
Game, law for protecting, 426
Gardiner, bishop, his cruelty, 214
Garnet, the Jesuit, executed, 261
Garter, origin of the order of the, 137
Gascoigne, sir William, his fortitude, 150
Gates, general, his generosity, 479; defeated, 493
Gaunt, Mrs. horrible treatment of, 339
. John of, defends Wickliffe, 146
Gaveston, Piers, the favourite of Edward II. 118; put to death, 119

Genoa, siege of, 598
Geoffrey, the natural son of Henry II. 74
George I. elector of Hanover, his accession to the throne, 397; lands at Greenwich, 398; new parliament, 399; violence of the Whigs, 400; impeachments, 401; rebellion in Scotland, 403; defeated, 405; the king goes to Hanover, 407; public discontents, 409; death of the king, 403
. . . . II. succeeds his father, 403; state of parties; 404; treaty of Vienna, 405; scheme of an excise, 406; the king visits his electoral dominions, 408; war with Spain, 409; siege of Carthagena, 411; change of ministers, 412; war with France, 414; rebellion in Scotland, 417; battle of Culloden, 420; severities, 422; peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 423; renewal of the war, 428; alliance with Prussia, 432; successes in the East and West, 435, 441; sudden death of the king, 445
. . . . III. succeeds his grandfather, 447; his popularity, 448; marriage, 449; peace of Fontainebleau, 452; first mental derangement of the king, 456; regency bill, *ibid.*; attempt upon his life, 462; his illness, 527; proceedings on the regency, 528; recovers, 529; his death and character, 693
. IV. his accession, 694; opens parliament, 696; visits Ireland, 702; goes to Hanover, 703; visits Scotland, 705; presents the royal library to the nation, 707
Gerish, in the East Indies, taken, 436
German Town, in America, battle at, 478
Gibraltar, taken by admiral Rooke, 383; siege of, 386; relief of, 501; its defence, 507
Glanville, a judge, his gallantry, 71; goes to the Holy Land, 76
Glendower, Owen, his successes against the English, 147
Gloucester, Robert, earl of, defends the empress Matilda, 87; opposes the earl of Leicester, 102; rebels, 104
. Thomas, duke of, murdered, 142
. Humphrey, duke of, murdered, 161
Goddard, general, his expedition in the East Indies, 496
Godfrey, sir Edmundbury, murdered, 326
Godolphin, earl, his administration, 372; retires, 373
Godwin, earl, his valour, 30; his treachery, 32; death, 33
Good Hope, Cape of, discovered, 188; reduced by the English, 563; attempt to recover it fails, 569; taken again by the English, 625
Gordon, lord George, heads the rioters in St. George's fields, 495; tried and acquitted, 496
Gourdon, Adam de, his bravery, 103
Grafton, duke of, his administration, 458
Grattan, Henry, parliamentary grant to, 504
Greece, insurrection in, 706, 711
Gregory, pope, sends a mission to England, 14
Grenville, George, his administration, 453; proposes the stamp act, 455; his useful act for regulating elections, 463
Grey, lady Jane, married to Dudley, 224; proclaimed queen, 225; beheaded, 229
Guadaloupe, taken, 442
Guesclin, Bertrand, de, defeats the English, 136
Guiscard, a French officer, stabs Harley in the council-chamber, 379
Gunpowder plot, history of the, 259
Gustavus III. of Sweden, assassinated, 542
. IV. deposed, 641

H

Habeas Corpus act, 329
Halidown Hill, battle of, 127
Hamilton, the duke of, raises an army to rescue Charles I. 295; executed, 300
. duke of, killed in a duel, 384
Hampden, John, resists the payment of ship-money, 275; slain, 287
Hampshire, depopulated, 44
Harcourt, sir Simon, a great lawyer and statesman, 372
Hardicanute, the Dane, his reign, 31
Hardy, Thomas, tried and acquitted, 560
Harfleur, taken by storm, 152
Harold, Harefoot, his reign, 31
. the son of earl Godwin, succeeds Edward the Confessor, 34; gains the battle of Stamford, 35; slain at Hastings, 37
Hastings, the Dane, defeated, 22
. the battle of, 36
. lord, murdered, 172
. Warren, proceedings against, 521, 584; his trial commences, 527; acquitted, 592
Hatfield, James, his attempt on the king, 596
Havannah, taken by the English, 450
Havre, taken possession of by the English, 243
Hawke, admiral, defeats the French in Quiberon bay, 444
Hengist, lands in England with his brother Horsa, 11
Hengsdown Hill, battle of, 19
Henry I. his accession, 50; his popularity, 51; defeats his brother Robert, 53; combat between him and his nephew, 54; his death, 55
Henry II. the son of the empress Matilda, lands in England, 59; opposes Stephen, *ibid.*; succeeds to the throne, 60; his power, 61; his disputes with Becket, 63; opposes the Pope, 65; reduces Ireland, 69; his amour with Rosamond, *ibid.*; confederacy formed against him, 70; does penance at the shrine of Becket, 71; reduces Scotland, 72; his death and character, 74
. . . . III. his accession, 93; contest between him and his brother, 95; his conduct produces disaffection, 96; deluded by the Pope, 97; renews the great charter, 98; his wars with the barons, 100; taken in the battle of Lewes, 101; delivered by his son, 103; his death, 104
. . . . IV. (of Lancaster) his duel with the duke of Norfolk, 142; banished, 143; returns, and deposes Richard II. 145; conspiracy against him, 147; gains the battle of Shrewsbury, 148; dies, 150
. . . . V. his wildness when prince of Wales, 150; succeeds his father, 151; lands in France, 152; gains the battle of Axincourt, 153; conquers France, 155; marries the princess Catharine, *ibid.*; his death and character, 156
. . . . VI. a minor on the death of his father, 156; crowned at Paris, 159; leaves France, 160; marries Margaret of Anjou, 161; opposed by Richard, duke of York, 162; made prisoner, 165; escapes, 166; taken at Hexham, *ibid.*; delivered by Warwick, 168; again captured, *ibid.*; murdered, 169
. . . . VII. when earl of Richmond, takes refuge in Bretagne, 174; narrowly escapes being delivered up, *ibid.*; lands in Wales, 176; defeats Richard III. at the battle of Bosworth, 177; his economy, 178; marries Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. *ibid.*; insurrection against him, 179; makes a treaty with France, 181; death and character, 188
. . . . VIII. succeeds his father, 189; enters into a league against France, 190; war with the Scots, 191; makes peace with Francis I. 193; holds a tournament, 194; his extravagance, 195; writes against Luther, and receives the title of 'defender of the faith,' 197; falls in love with Anne Boleyn, 198; solicits a divorce from Catharine, *ibid.*; consults the universities on the subject, 200; marries without the consent of the Pope, 201; asserts his supremacy over the church, 202; dissolves the monasteries, 203; yet punishes the reformers, 204; puts Anne Boleyn to death, and marries Jane Seymour, 207; loses his third wife, 208; marries and divorces Anne of Cleves, 209; espouses Catharine Howard, 210; causes her to be executed, 211; marries Catharine Parr, 212; his cruelties, 214; his death and character, 215
. . . . prince of Wales, son of James I. his death, 261
Heptarchy, account of the Saxon, 13
Hereford, Roger, earl of, his conspiracy, 42
. Henry, duke of, banished, 142
Hermione, register ship, captured, 452
Hexham, battle of, 166
Hogue, naval fight off La, 355
Hohenlinden, battle of, 599
Holkar, an Indian chief, his depredations and defeat, 621
Holland, revolution in, 320, 584; taken by the French, 560; changed into a kingdom, 625
Holt, chief justice, his character, 357
Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, burnt, 230
Hosier, admiral, his unsuccessful expedition, 402
Hotham, Sir John, keeps Hull against Charles I. 285
Hotspur, son of the earl of Northumberland, 148
Howard, Sir Edward, his gallantry, 190
. Catharine, marries Henry VIII. and put to death, 210
. earl of Surrey, put to death, 214
Howe, general, his conduct in America, 473, 475
. . . . earl, relieves Gibraltar, 508; defeats the French fleet, 557
Hughes, Sir Edward, his actions with the French in the East Indies, 509
Hughly, in the East Indies, taken, 436
Hull, Charles I. refused admission into, 285
Humbert, general, lands in Ireland, 582
Hunt, trial of Henry, 692
Hurricane, dreadful, 496
Hyder Ali, his rise, 460; his successes, 496; defeated, 503; a complete victory over, 509; his death, 510

I

Ina, king of the West Saxons, 16
Independents, a republican sect, 288
India Bills of Fox and Pitt, 513, 518
Innocent III. lays England under an interdict, 85
Ireland, annexed to the English crown, 68; rebellion there under Tyrone, 253; rebellion there in the reign of Charles I. 280; cruelties of Cromwell in, 300; contest between king James and king William in, 350; its parliament made dependent, 398; discontents in, 462; indulgences granted to, 490; motions in favour of, 504; French expedition to, 569; rebellion in, 579; united to Great Britain, 596; insurrection in, 610; king's visit to, 702; propositions in regard to the church of, 707
Isaac, king of Cyprus, his treachery, 77

Isabella, wife of Edward II. conspires against him, 122; her amours with Mortimer, 123; confined for life, 124
J
Jacobins, a faction in France, 540
Jacobites, a political party in England, 356, 397
Jamaica, taken by the English, 307
James, king of Scotland, slain, 193
. . . . I. of England, and VI. of Scotland, his exertions to save his mother, 248; succeeds Elizabeth, 257; his disputes with parliament, 258; plot against his life, 259; his moderation, 261; his favourites, 262; his partiality to Spain, 264; his death and character, 266
. . . . II. succeeds his brother Charles, 336; his open avowal of popery, 337; opposed by Monmouth, 338; cruelties practised in the West, 339; forms a Catholic council, 340; sends an ambassador to the Pope, and receives a nuncio, 341; attempts on the Universities, 342; imprisonment of the seven bishops, 343; their acquittal, *ibid*; birth of a prince, 344; a conspiracy formed, 345; the prince of Orange invited over, *ibid*; the king makes concessions, 346; the prince lands in Torbay, *ibid*; James marches to Salisbury, 347; returns to London, *ibid*; escapes to France, 348; parliament declares the throne vacant, 349; James lands in Ireland, 350; defeated at the Boyne, 353; returns to France, 354; his death, 356
Jane of Flanders, her heroism, 129
Java, reduction of, 652
Jefferies, chancellor, his brutality, 339
Jekyll, Sir Joseph, altercation between him and Walpole, 390
Jena, battle of, 626
Jersey, attack on the island of, 498
Jervis, admiral, defeats the Spaniards, 572
Jews, conduct of William Rufus to the, 49; massacre of the, 75; cruel treatment of them, 100, 106; act for naturalising, 426
Joan of Arc, her story, 157
John, king, his treachery, 79; usurps the throne, 82; murders his nephew Arthur, 83; loses Normandy, 84; his quarrel with the Pope, 85; submission, 87; grants the great charter, 90; takes Rochester, 92; recovers his authority, 93; his death, *ibid*.
. . . king of France, taken prisoner, 135; his noble conduct and death, *ibid*.
. . . king of Bohemia, slain at the battle of Cressy, 131
. . . of Gaunt, supports Wickliffe, 146
Johnstone, commodore, defeats Suffrein, 501; takes four sail of Dutch East Indiamen, 502
Jones, Paul, his exploits, 499
Joseph II. emperor of Germany, his measures produced a revolution, 526; his death, 534
Joyce, cornet, seizes Charles I. at Holdenby, 293
Jubilee, on the anniversary of the king's accession, 643
Julius II. Pope, his ambition, 189
Junius, a celebrated but unknown libeller, 464
Jury, origin of the trial by, 10
Juxon, bishop, attends Charles I. 298
K
Kempenfelt, admiral, lost in the Royal George, 509
Kent, reduction of the kingdom of, 17; its inhabitants oppose the Normans, 39
. . . duke of, his death, 693
Kenwith, the Danish castle of, taken, 21
Keppel, admiral, his partial action with the French fleet, 483; tried and acquitted, *ibid*
Ket, raises an insurrection in Norfolk, 220
Kilmarnock, lord, executed for treason, 422
Kilwarden, murder of, 610
Kirby and Wade, two captains shot for cowardice, 363
Kirke, colonel, his cruelties, 339; smart answer to king James, 340
Kleber, general, assassinated, 597
Kosciusko, defeated, 559
Kutusoff, his defence of Russia, 668
Kynegels, king of Wessex, 16
L
Lake, general, defeated in Ireland, 592; gains the battle of Laswari, 612; pursues Holkar, 621
Lally, general, character of, 438; beheaded, 449
Lambert, disputes with Henry VIII. and executed, 208
. general, opposes Monk, 312
Landrecies, siege of, 556
Land Tax, reduced, 458
Lanfranc, archbishop, his character, 46
Languide, battle of, 240
Langton, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, 84; calls a synod, 88; his conduct to John, 90
Laswari, battle of, 612
Latimer, bishop, burnt at Oxford, 231
Laud, archbishop, his government of the church, 272; beheaded, 296
Lauderdale, duke of, a member of the cabal, 321; complained of as a grievance, 328
Lavalette, his escape, 661
Layer, Christopher, executed for a conspiracy, 401
Lee, general, taken prisoner, 474
Leicester, earl of, raises an insurrection against Henry II. 71
. Simon, earl of, conspires against Henry III. 96, 100; gains the battle of Lewes, 101; slain, 103
Leicester, Robert, earl of, a favourite of queen Elizabeth, 244
Leipsic, battle of, 664
Leo X. Pope, grants indulgences, 196; confers the title of 'defender of the faith' on Henry VIII. 197
Leopold, conduct of the emperor, to Richard I. 78
Levellers, a political sect, 295
Lewes, battle of, 100
Lewis, dauphin of France, acknowledged king of England, 92; deposed, 94
Lexington, battle of, 469
Libel, alteration of the law of, 539
Library of George III. given to the public, 707
Limerick, siege of, 353; surrenders on terms, 354
Linois, admiral, defeated by a fleet of Indiamen, 614
Lippe, count de la, his achievements in Portugal, 450
Lisle, lady, judicial murder of, 339
Liturgy, abolition of the, 288
Llewellyn, prince of Wales, submits to Edward I. 107; slain, 108
Lodi, battle of, 566
Lollards, a sect of religious reformers, 151
Loudon, taken by Alfred, 22; takes part with Simon de Montfort, 100; pestilence in, 133; supports the Yorkists, 166; dismantled by Monk, 312; plague and fire in, 319; the corporation presents a bold remonstrance to the king, 463; contest between the citizens and the house of commons, 465; dreadful riots in, 495
Londonderry, siege of, 351
. death of the marquis of, 705
Longbeard, the advocate of the poor, 81
Longchamp, chancellor, quarrels with the bishop of Durham, 78
Louis XVI. dissolves the convention of notables, 526; attempts to escape, but seized, 537; his weakness, 541; murdered, 543
. . . XVIII. lands in England, 638; returns to France, 671; obliged to quit Paris, 677; restored, 680; death, 713
Loval, Simon, lord, beheaded, 422
Lucie, St. taken by the English, 485
Luneville, peace of, 599
Luther, his reformation, 196
M
M'Carthy, Sir Charles, killed, 712
Macclesfield, lord, tried for malversation, 403
Mackarel, Dr. his insurrection, 207
Madrid, taken by the English, 656
Magdalen College, Oxford, resists the arbitrary mandate of James II. 342
Magna Charta, origin of the, 90; renewed, 98; established, 113
Mahrattas, make war on the British, 611
Maida, battle of, 625
Malaga, engagement near, 366
Malmesbury, lord, his ineffectual negotiation for peace, 576
Malplaquet, battle of, 376
Malta, taken by the French, 584; by the English, 600
Manchester, riots at, 688, 692
Manilla, reduced by the English, 451
Marr, earl of, appears for the pretender, 393
Marengo, battle of, 598
Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI. her heroic conduct, 164; defeated at Northampton, 165; gains the battles of Wakefield and St. Alban's, *ibid*
Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, her resolution, 414
Maria Antoinette, inhumanly butchered, 554
Marlborough, John, duke of, his successful campaigns, 362; gains the battle of Blenheim, 364; receives as a reward the manor of Woodstock, 365; gains the battle of Ramillies, 368; victory of Oudenarde, 375; Malplaquet, 376; insolence of his wife, 377; deprived of his places, 380; challenges earl Poulet, 383
Marriages, act against clandestine, 495; another for regulating royal, 466
Marston Moor, battle of, 287
Martinico, taken by the English, 450
Mary, queen of England, her accession, 224; opposed by Northumberland, 225; secures the throne, 227; restores popery, 228; marries Philip of Spain, 229; her cruelties, 230; her supposed pregnancy, 232; makes war on France, 233; Calais taken by the French, *ibid*; death of the queen, 234
. . . . queen of Scots, her history, 236; kept in close confinement, 245; tried for a conspiracy, 247; executed, 249
Massachusetts, insurrection in, 460; the congress there publish an address, 469
Massena, defeated at Zurich, 587; checks the progress of Suwarrow, 589; commands in Portugal, 646; his retreat, 650
Mathews and Lestock, two admirals, their contention and sentence, 416
. general, his cruelties and defeat, 510
Matilda, daughter of Henry I. marries the emperor, Henry V. and next Geoffrey Plantagenet, 54; lands in England, 57; crowned, 58; deposed, *ibid*
Mauritius, capture of the isle of, 647
Maximilian, the emperor, serves under Henry VIII. 190
Meal-tub plot, 330

Melville, lord, impeached, 617; and acquitted, 623
Mercia, kingdom of, 13; Christianity introduced into, 15
Merlin, a Welsh prophet, 108
Methuen, battle of, 117
Middlesex, violent elections for, 459, 462
Minden, battle of, 444
Minorca, taken by the French, 431; retaken, 585
Monasteries, dissolution of the, 203
Monk, general, (duke of Albemarle,) account of, 310; restores monarchy, 311; his actions at sea, 318
Monmouth, duke of, concerned in the Rye-house plot, 334; breaks out into rebellion, but defeated and put to death, 338
Montfort, the count de, assists Edward III. 128; taken prisoner, 129
Montgomery, an American general, killed, 471
Montrose, marquis of, barbarous treatment of, 300
Moore, sir John, his unfortunate mission to Sweden, 635; goes to Spain, 637; killed at Corunna, 638
More, sir Thomas, his death and character, 203
Moreau, his exploits, 568; defeated at Cassano, 587; repulses the Austrians, 599; gains the battle of Hohenlinden, *ibid*
Mortimer, the favourite of queen Isabella, 123; his power, 125; put to death, 126
Moscow, conflagration of, 656
Murat, Joachim, put to death, 681
Murray, Alexander, his hard treatment, 425
Musselburgh, battle of, 217

N

Napaul, in the East Indies, war there, 675
Naples, revolutions in, 589, 700
Naseby, battle of, 290
Navy, mutiny in the, 573; suppressed, 574
Negapatam, taken, 503
Nelson, admiral lord, his unsuccessful attempt on Teneriffe, 577; defeats the French at Aboukir, 584; his conduct at Naples, 589; his attack on Copenhagen, 601; fails at Boulogne, 604; pursues the combined fleets to the West Indies, 620; attacks them off Trafalgar, and is killed, 621
Netherlands, revolution in the, 526
Neville, earl of Warwick, the king-maker, 164; defeats queen Margaret, 165; turns to the Lancastrians, 167; defeated and slain, 168
Neville's Cross, battle of, 133
Newbury, battle of, 286
Newfoundland, discovered, 188; taken by the French, but recovered, 451
Ney, his treachery, 677; executed, 681
Niagara, battle near, 441
Nimeguen, treaty of, 323
Nootka Sound, disputes about, 583
Nicholson, Margaret, her attempt on the life of George III. 527
Nile, battle of the, 584
Norfolk, banishment of Thomas, duke of, 146; execution of the duke of, 215; rebellion raised in favour of the queen of Scots, by the duke of, 242; he is beheaded, 243
. insurrection in, 220
Normandy, united to England, 48; separated, 83
Normans, their ascendancy in England, 38; disputes between them and the English, 111
North, lord, his rise, 459; administration, 463; resigns, 503; coalesces with Fox, 512
Northallerton, battle of, 56
Northampton, council at, 64; battle of, 165
"North Briton," a libellous paper, 453
Northumberland, kingdom of, 13; Christianity introduced there, 15; reduced, 17; rebellion in, 25; rises against the Danes, 40; its earl conspires against Henry IV. 148; pardoned, 149; slain, *ibid*
Norton, sir Fletcher, his speech to the king, 477
Nottingham, royal standard erected there, 285
Noyon, battle of, 53

O

Oates, Titus, an infamous impostor, 324; his punishment, 337
O'Connor, Arthur, tried for high-treason, 579
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and earl of Kent, 44
Offa, his treachery, 15
Oldcastle, sir John, his cruel death, 152
Oliver, alderman, sent to the Tower, 465
Onslow, Arthur, retires with a pension, 448
Orange, prince of, marries the princess Mary, 323
Ordeal, trial by, 41
Ordinance, self-denying, 289
Orkneys, subdued by the Romans, 7
Orleans, account of the maid of, 157
. siege of, 158
Ormond, duke of, succeeds Marlborough, 383; quits the kingdom, and is impeached, 392; enters into the Spanish service, 398
Orthes, battle near, 669
Ostorius, a Roman general, commands in Britain, 5
Oswy, king of Northumberland, his conversion, 15
Otterbourne, battle of, 141
Oude, revolution in the province of, 454
Oudenarde, battle of, 375
Overbury, sir Thomas, murder of, 262

10

Oxford, foundation of the university of, 23; riot at, 97; mad parliament at, 98, parliament called there by Charles I. 287; and by Charles II. 331
Oxford, Vere, earl of, a favourite of Richard II. 140; fined by Henry VII. 186
. Harley, earl of, his rise, 372; his life attempted by Guiscard, 379; impeached, 390

P

Palatine, the elector, marries the daughter of James I. 265
Palliser, sir Hugh, his disputes with admiral Keppel, 484
Pandolf, the papal legate in England, 86
Paoli, Pascal, his attempts in Corsica, 463
Paris, massacre of, 244; peace of, 452; riots at, 541; entered by the allied sovereigns, 670; a second visitation of, 680
Paris, Van, a Dutchman, put to death for heresy, 219
Parker, admiral, defeats the Dutch fleet, 502
. captain, killed off Boulogne, 604
Parliament, the mad, 98; original of the, 102; new-modelled, 112; proceedings of the long, 277; two sitting at once, 287; the rump, 296; dissolved by Cromwell, 304; Barebone's, 305; a free one called through Monk, 313; convention, 349
Parr, Catharine, marries Henry VIII. 212; plot against her, frustrated, 214; marries sir Thomas Seymour, and dies in childbed, 218
Parry, a conspirator, executed, 245
. . . . captain, his voyages of discovery, 691
Patna, battle of, 455
Paul, emperor of Russia, his death, 601
Paulinus, a Roman general in Britain, 6; a bishop, his zeal, 15
Pelagius, account of the heresy of, 9
Pelham, Mr. his administration, 424
Pembroke, Strongbow, earl of, made king of Leinster, 69
. the earl of, chosen guardian of the kingdom, 94; taken prisoner, 136
Perceval, Mr. his administration, 643; assassinated, 653
Percy, commonly called Hotspur, slain, 148
. . . one of the contrivers of the gunpowder plot, 259
Pestilence, dreadful one over Europe, 133
Peter, the Hermit, preacher of the crusade, 48
. . . . of Pontefract, cruel treatment of, 87
. . . the cruel, king of Castile, supported by the English, 130
. . . of Russia, deposed, 451
Peterborough, earl of, his exploits, 367
Peter-pence, origin of, 15
Petition of Right, 270
Philip, king of France, leagues against king John, 86; outwitted by the pope, 87; unites with the barons, 92
. . . . de Valois, opposed by Edward III. 128; defeated, 131; his death, 133
. . . . of Spain, marries queen Mary, 228; makes overtures to Elizabeth, 244
Philippa, queen of Edward III. intercedes for the burghers of Calais, 132; marches against the Scots, 133
Pierre, Eustace de St. his patriotism, 132
Pierson, major, killed in the defence of Jersey, 499
Pigot, lord, governor of Madras, his extraordinary case, 476
Pilnitz, treaty of, 540
Pindarrees, a horde of Indian depredators, 690
Pitt, William, his administration, 439; resigns, 449; advanced to the peerage, 458; his extraordinary cabinet, *ibid*; opposes the American war, 468, 477; his last speech and death, 481
. . . his son, first public appearance of, 498; his motion for a reform of parliament, 505, 512; made chancellor of the exchequer, 505; resigns, 512; becomes first lord of the treasury, 514; his firmness, 515; resigns, 604; returns to office, 614; his death, 622
Plague, great one in London, 319
Plantagenet, Geoffrey, marries the empress Matilda, 54; end of the race, 177
Play-houses, restriction on, 407
Plot, account of the gunpowder, 259
Poictiers, battle of, 134
Poland, revolutions in, 542, 559
Pole, cardinal, his death and character, 234
Pondicherry, taken by the English, 439; given up at the peace, 452; retaken, 485
Popham, sir Home, takes Buenos Ayres, 625; brought to a court-martial for it, 628
Portland, administration of the duke of, 631
Porto-Bello, taken, 409
Portugal, attacked by France and Spain, 450; an army sent by Buonaparte to occupy, 630. the royal family in consequence removed to America, 633
Potolsk, battle of, 657
Presbyterians, their influence, 288
Preston, lord, execution of, 355
Preston, battle of, 305
Preston Pans, battle of, 418
Pretender, his weak attempts to recover the throne, 368; a rising in his favour, 393; defeated, 395; death of the, 427
Prior, sent ambassador to France, 361
Priestley, Dr. his house burnt by rioters, 536

Prince of Wales, strange motion respecting, 524; his speech in the lords, 540; marriage of, 561; his correspondence with the king and duke of York, 613
Prynne, his punishment for libels, 274; returns from imprisonment, 279
Puritans, their origin and character, 272

Q

Quadruple Alliance, account of the, 397
Quebec, reduction of, 441; Americans make an unsuccessful attempt on, 471
. frigate, blown up, 490
Quiberon, French defeated in the bay of, 444; fatal expedition to, 563
Quintin, St. battle of, 233

R

Raleigh, Sir Walter, colonizes Virginia, 256; his literary character, 257; tried for a conspiracy, but reprieved, *ibid*; sacrificed to Spain, 263
Ramillies, battle of, 368
Rastadt, congress of, 383
Rawdon, lord, his gallant conduct, 499
Reading, battle of, 20
Reformation, original of the, 196; progress of the, 216; renewed and confirmed, 235; in Scotland, 236
Regency, appointed, 648
Regicides, trial and execution of the, 315
Restoration of the monarchy, 314
Revolution, account of the, 349
Rhe, expedition to the isle of, 269
Richard I. rebels against his father, 72; joins the king of France, 73; his compunction, 74; succeeds to the throne, 75; his rapacity, 76; goes to the Holy Land, and takes Cyprus, 77; defeats Saladin, *ibid*; seized by the duke of Austria, 78; ransomed, 79; returns, 80; his death, 81
. II. succeeds his grandfather, Edward III. 138; his presence of mind, 139; conspiracy against him, 140; assumes the sovereignty, 141; puts the duke of Gloucester to death, 142; banishes the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, *ibid*; his effeminacy, 143; goes to Ireland, 144; insurrection in his absence, *ibid*; deposed, and murdered, 145
. III. murders Henry VI. 169; supplants his nephew, 173; usurps the throne, 174; defeats Buckingham, 175; encounters Henry, earl of Richmond, at Bosworth, and falls in battle, 177
. duke of York, aspires to the crown, 162; his ascendancy, 163; gains the battle of St. Alban's, 164; escapes to Ireland, *ibid*; slain, 165
Ridley, bishop, burnt at Oxford, 231
Rights, declaration of, 349
Rizzio, David, murder of, 237
Robert, duke of Normandy, quarrels with his father, 43; his filial affection, 44; character of, 46; anecdote of, 47; goes to the Holy Land, 50; dies in prison, 53
Robespierre, an inhuman tyrant, 553; put to death, 559
Rochester, taken by king John, 92
Rockingham, administration of the marquis of, 503; his death, 505
Rodney, admiral, defeats the Spanish fleet, 492; his conduct at St. Eustatius, 501; his victory over De Grasse, 506
Rogers, John, a protestant martyr, 230
Roman Catholics, bill passed in favour of, 486; riots occasioned by it, 487, 495; farther attempts made to relieve, 630, 648; a modification of their claims, 705
Romans, invade Britain, 3; their empire shaken, 8; quit Britain, *ibid*.
Rome, corrupt state of the church of, 196
Rooke, admiral, unsuccessful before Cadiz, 362; but gains an advantage at Vigo, *ibid*; takes Gibraltar, 366
Rosamond, the story of fair, 70
Ross, the battle of New, 581
. . . . captain, his voyage to the north, 691
Royal George, overset at Portsmouth, 509
Rumbold, Sir George, seized at Hamburgh, 615
Rump Parliament, why so called, 296; revives, 310
Runnymede, magna charta signed in, 90
Rupert, prince, embarks in the royal cause, 286; his naval exploits, 318
Russel, William, lord, his execution, 335
Russia, invasion of, 656
Rutland, earl of, his treachery, 147
Ruyter, admiral, de, his achievements, 318, 321
Rye House, conspiracy of, 334
Ryswick, treaty of, 358

S

Sacheverel, Dr. his trial for preaching two political sermons, 374
Sackville, lord George, his disgrace, 444
Saladin, defeated by Richard I. 77
Salamanca, battle of, 655
Salic Law, origin of the, 128
Salisbury, Robert, earl of, his craft, 257
Sandwich, earl of, perishes in a sea fight, 321
Saragossa, siege of, 636
Saumarez, admiral, engages a French squadron at Algesiras, 603
Sawtre, William, burnt for heresy, 149
Saxe, marshal, his military character, 416
Saxons, invited to Britain, 10; their barbarity, 14; end of their government, 17
Say, lord, beheaded by rebels, 163
Schomberg, duke of, account of, 352; killed, 353
Scotland, united to England, 369; rebellions in, 393, 418; riots in, 487; dispute respecting the peerage of, 523; bill passed in favour of the episcopal church of, 539; king's visit to, 705
Scots, invade England, 9; defeated, 56; compelled to do homage to the king of England, 72; their disputes about the succession, 109; subdued by Edward I. 110; renew hostilities, 113; defeat the English, 120; defeated, 127; invade England, 133; overthrown by the earl of Northumberland, 147; assist the French, 155; make war on Henry VIII. 191; war declared against them, 217; join the English puritans against the king, 275; sell their sovereign to his enemies for a sum of money, 291; recover their loyalty, and invite over Charles II. 309
Sebastian, St. siege of, 662
Sedgemoor, battle of, 338
Seringapatam, capture of, 592
Seymour, lady Jane, marries Henry VIII. 207; her death, 208
. lord high admiral, executed, 218
Shaftesbury, lord, tried and acquitted, 333; quits the kingdom, 334
Sharp, Dr. prosecution of, 340
Shaw, Dr. a timeserving hypocrite, 173
Shelburne, earl of, his administration, 505; resigns, 512
Ship-money, an illegal impost, 268, 275
Shore, Jane, her story, 170, 172
Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, shipwrecked, 369
Shrewsbury, battle of, 148
Sicily, quarrel between the English and the people of, 76
Sidney, Algernon, executed, 335
Sierra Leone, a colony settled there, 535
Sigebert, restores christianity, 15
Simnel, Lambert, his imposture, 179
Sinking Fund, introduced, 521
Slave Trade, motion for its abolition, 527, 538; carried, 623
Smith, Sir Sidney, defeats Buonaparte before Acre, 594; signs the treaty of El Arisch, 597
. . . . John, his case, 711
Somerset, the duke of, adheres to the house of Lancaster, 163
. Seymour, duke of, protector of the kingdom, 216; causes his own brother to be executed, 218; beheaded, 223
South Sea Scheme, its ruinous effects, 399
Spa Fields, meeting of rioters in, 683
Spain, war for the succession of, 367; takes part with the Americans, 486; Joseph Buonaparte made king of, 635; the Spaniards rise in a mass, 636; insurrection in, 706; wretched state of, 711
Spensers, death of the two, 123
Spurs, the battle of, 191
Stafford, lord, tried and condemned for a pretended plot, 328
Stamp Act, first proposed, 455; riots in consequence, 457
Stamford, battle of, 34
Stanley, lord, leaves Richard III. 176
Stapledon, Walter, bishop of Exeter, murdered, 12
Star Chamber, that court abolished, 279
Stephen of Blois, usurps the English throne, 55; grants a new charter, 56; opposed by the empress Matilda, 57; a civil war ensues, 58; Henry, the son of Matilda, contends with Stephen, 59; death of the usurper, 60
Stirling, battle of, 114
Stoke, battle of, 180
Strafford, earl of, his character and ascendancy, 272; impeached, 277; beheaded, 278
Strongbow, earl, his exploits in Ireland, 68
Stuart, extinction of the line of, 457
Suffolk, duke of, murdered, 162
Surinam, reduction of, 591
Sussex, kingdom of, conversion of the, 15
Suwarrow, his exploits in Italy, 587; enters Switzerland, 589
Sweyne, the Dane, invades England, 28, 29
Switzerland, the French seize, 583

T

Talavera, battle of, 641
Tallard, marshal, defeated and taken prisoner at Blenheim, 364
Tarragona, horrible carnage at, 651
Temple, Sir William, account of, 320
Teneriffe, expedition against, 57
Terouenne, siege of, 190
Test Act, passed, 322
Tewkesbury, battle of, 169
Thanet, isle of, taken by the Danes, 19
Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, 61
Tilsit, treaty of, 628
Toleration, an attempt to amend the act of, 649
Tooke, John Horn, his trial, 560; elected into parliament, 605
Tippoo Saib, defeats colonel Baillie, 497; gains a victory over colonel Braithwaite, 509; new war with, 535; defeated by lord Cornwallis, 537; delivers up

his sons as hostages, 558; renews the war, and loses his capital and life, 592
Tories, or high church party, 330
Tosti, governor of Northumberland, deposed, 33; lands in England, 34; slain, 35
Toulon, unsuccessful attempt upon, 369; surrendered to the English, 592; abandoned, 553
Tournay, siege of, 191; taken, 376
Toussaint, L'Ouverture, cruelty towards, 607
Townshend, Charles, his incapacity, 459
Towton, battle of, 166
Trafalgar, battle of, 620
Tresilian, a judge, execution of, 141
Trinidad, capture of the island of, 572
Tromp, admiral, Van, his bravery, 303
Troyes, treaty of, 155
Tyler, Wat, his insurrection, 139
Tyrone, his rebellion in Ireland, 253
Tyrrel, Walter, accidentally kills William Rufus, 50

U

Ubba, the Danish chief, slain, 21
Uffa, the Saxon, lands in England, 13
Ulm, surrendered by Mack, 619
Union, of England and Scotland, 369; with Ireland, 596
Universities, their decision on the divorce of Henry VIII. 200
Utrecht, peace of, 392
Uxbridge, treaty of, 288

V

Valenciennes, siege of, 551
Vane, Sir Henry, Cromwell's character of, 304
Vendee, insurrection in La, 569, 563
Venner, the leader of an insurrection, 315
Verneuil, battle of, 157
Vernon, admiral, takes Porto Bello, 409
Verona, confederation at, 707
Versailles, treaty of, 511
Vidomar, defends his castle against Richard I. 61
Vienna, congress at, 682; entered by the French, 619; taken again by them, 639
Vigo, success of the English at, 362
Villeneuve, defeated by lord Nelson, 620
Villeroy, marshal, account of, 363
Vimeira, battle of, 636
Vincent's, Isle of, taken, 498
Vincent, Cape St. battle off, 572
Vinegar Hill, action of, 561
Vittoria, battle of, 651
Vortigern, invites over the Saxons, 10; his passion for Rowena, 12

W

Wagram, battle of, 640
Wakefield, battle of, 165
Walcheren, expedition to, 642
Wales, subdued by the English, 33; Llewellyn the last independent prince of, 108
Wallace, the Scottish patriot, his story, 113; betrayed, 115; put to death, 116
Wallingford House, cabal of, 309
Walpole, Sir Robert, his rise, 373; his violence, 390; his administration, 406, 408; resigns, 412
Walsingham, Sir Francis, his skill as a statesman, 246
Waltheof, earl, his fate, 42
Walworth, Sir William, slays Wat Tyler, 139
Warbeck, Perkin, his story, 181; marries lady Gordon, 183; executed, 185
Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, 193
Warrants, case of general, 454
Warwick, Dudley, earl of, his ambition, 220; made duke of Northumberland, 222; marries his son to lady Jane Grey, 224; executed, 227
Washington, George, appointed commander of the American forces, 471; against a separation, 473; his prudence, 475, 477; suppresses a mutiny, 499; compels lord Cornwallis to surrender, 500
Waterloo, battle of, 678; bridge opened, 683
Watt, Robert, executed at Edinburgh, 459
Wellesley, marquis, his government of India, 611
Wellesley, Sir Arthur, gains the battle of Assye, 612; goes to Portugal, 636; gains the battle of Talavera, 641; created a marquis and duke, 660; gains the battle of Orthes, 669; defeats Napoleon at Waterloo, 678; parliamentary grant to, 682
Welsh, rise against Rufus, 48; cruelties of king John to the, 86; invade England, 100; subdued, 107; attack England under Owen Glendower, 147; their heroism at the battle of Azincourt, 154
West Indies, improvement in the, 711
Westminster, extraordinary election for, 425; violent contest between Fox and Wray, 517
Wexford, massacre at, 581
Whigs, a political party, 330
Whitelocke, general, broke for his conduct at Buenos Ayres, 669
Wickliffe, begins the reformation, 145; prevalence of his opinions, 149
Wilberforce, Mr. moves the abolition of the slave trade, 527, 538
Wilkes, John, the author of the 'North Briton,' 453; sent to the tower, 454; expelled parliament, 455; elected for Middlesex, 459; imprisoned, 460; re-elected, 462; his good conduct in the riots, 496
William I. duke of Normandy, invades England, 36; defeats Harold, 37; puts down a conspiracy, 40; divides the land, 41; troubled by his family, 43; defeated by his son Robert, 44; makes war on France, 45; his death and character, 46
. . . . II. his accession, 46; his tyranny, 47; repels the Welsh, 48, quarrels with archbishop Anselm, 49, anecdote of, *ibid*; slain by accident, 50
. . . . III. (prince of Orange,) marries the daughter of James duke of York, 323; his ambition, 344; invited to England, 345; lands in Torbay, 346; encourages the flight of James, 348; declared king, 350; gains the battle of the Boyne, 353; his death, 359
. . . . king of Scotland, invades England, 71; taken prisoner, 72
. . . . son of duke Robert of Normandy, 53
. . . . son of Henry I. perishes at sea, 54
Wilton, battle of, 17
Wit, De, improves the Dutch navy, 318
Withlaf, a tributary chief of Mercia, 17
Wolfe, general, slain at Quebec, 442
Wolsey, Thomas, his rise, 192; rapacity, 195; fall and death, 200
Worcester, battle of, 302
Wyat, Sir Thomas, his rebellion, 228
Wykeham, William of, chancellor, 141

Y

York, contest for, between the English and Normans, 40
. . . . massacre of the Jews at, 75
. . . . archbishop of, his conspiracy, 149
. . . . Edward, duke of, death of, 459
. . . . Frederick, duke of, his marriage, 537; embarks for Holland, 551; unsuccessful before Dunkirk, 552; gains the battle of Calleau, 556; his expedition to Holland, 590; inquiry into his conduct, 599; resigns his place, *ibid*; re-appointed, 648; thanks voted to, 682; death of his duchess, 699
. . . . Charles, made chancellor, and destroys himself, 463

Z

Zante, reduction of, 642

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

Portrait of Dr. Goldsmith to face the Title.
Map of England under the Saxons page 9
Map of England and Wales 18
William I.—William II.—Henry I.—Stephen.—Henry II. 38
Richard I.—John.—Henry. III.—Edward I.—Edward II. 75
Edward III.—Richard II.—Henry IV.—Henry V.—Henry VI. 125
Edward IV.—Edward V.—Richard III.—Henry VII.—Henry VIII. 169
Edward VI.—Mary.—Elizabeth.—James I.—Charles I. 217
Charles II.—Cromwell.—James II.—William III.—Mary II. 299
Anne.—George I.—George II.—George III.—George IV. 380
Grenville—Townshend, &c. 453
Wilkes—Tooke, &c. 459
Eldon—Howe, &c. 614
Scene at Leipsic 664
Allied Sovereigns at Paris 670

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building



